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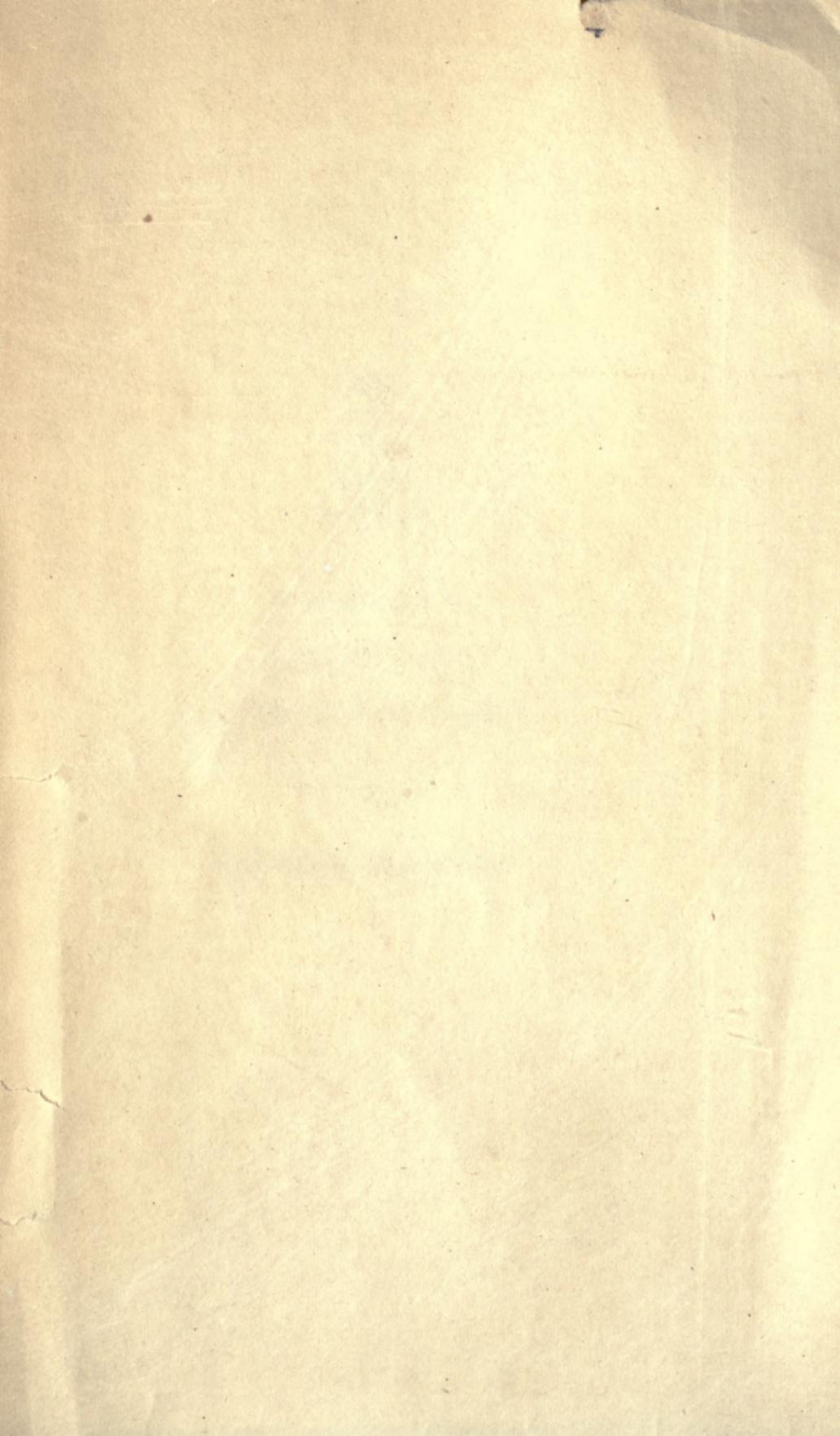


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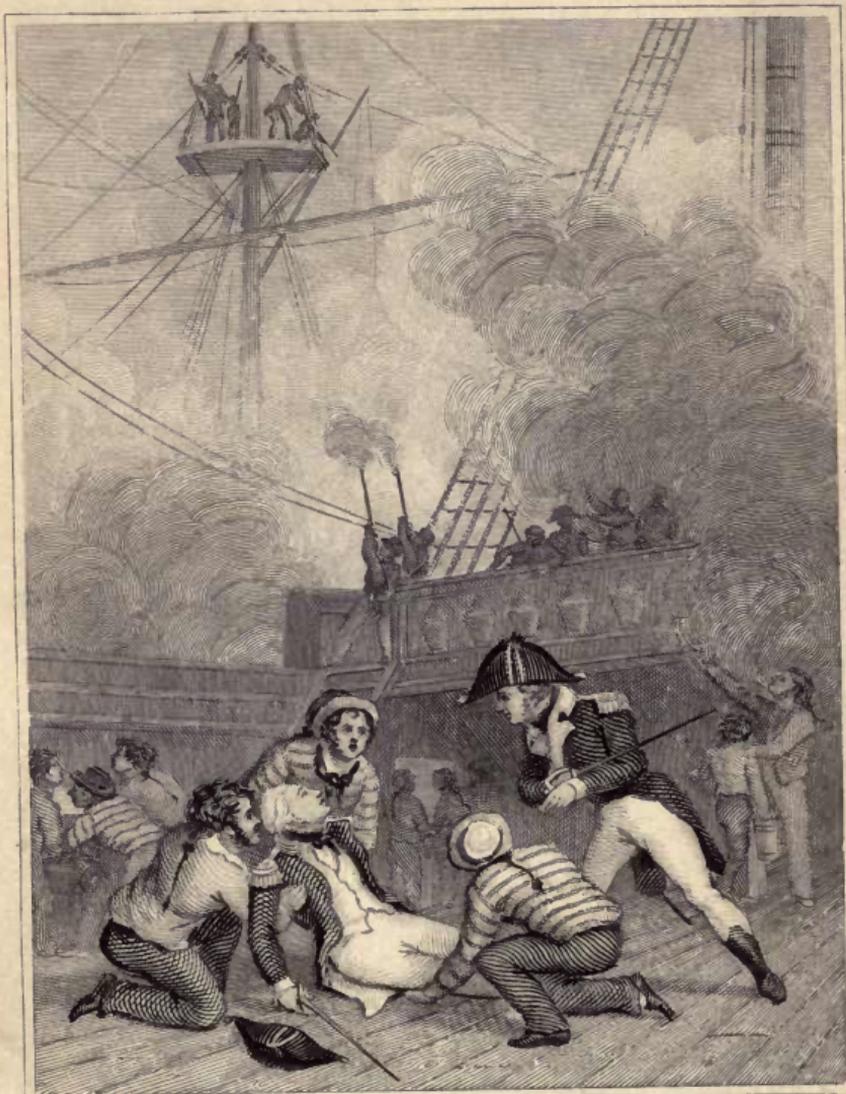
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NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

TIME OF CÆSAR TO THE CHINESE WAR OF 1841.

CHIEFLY ABRIDGED FROM THE WORK OF

DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

Illustrated by Numerous Portraits and Engravings

From Designs

BY PROFESSOR GILFILLAN.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD GRIFFIN & CO.

1841.

PREFACE.

IN offering a new work to the public on the subject of our naval triumphs, and illustrative of the lives and characters of the gallant men by whom those triumphs have been achieved, it is unnecessary to be very diffuse in pointing out its importance. The title of the work will of itself be sufficient to interest the feelings, and excite the curiosity of the reader. Yet, perhaps, a few observations may not be thought inappropriate by way of introduction.

The utility of naval history to the people of this country may be said to be self-evident, since there can be no doubt that to our maritime supremacy we are indebted, not only for commercial prosperity, but for our very existence as a nation. It is perhaps to their consciousness of this latter circumstance that in the eyes of Britons our marine, and those who are entrusted with its command, form at all times the mainstay of British power; and accordingly it is not merely as a figure of speech, but as a palpable trueism, that in speaking of our ships of war, we are accustomed to call them our "wooden walls," and "bulwarks of the deep." Nor is there any wonder that it should be so, when we reflect on what has been accomplished by means of this element of political power, as well as of national glory. Let a single fact speak in evidence as follows; it is

worth a whole volume of commentary. Until the end of the seventeenth century, our maritime wars were confined to the fighting of a few battles with one or two fleets, to the making of a few cruises, a few detached blockades, or some special enterprise; and these generally comprehended the entire labours of a campaign. In our last great naval war, however, of which the nineteenth century has witnessed the commencement and the termination, the bold and magnificent idea was conceived, and carried into effect, of attacking, nearly at the same moment, the fleets of France, of Spain, of Holland, of Denmark, of Italy, and even of America, and the result was, that single handed, we triumphed over them all. We not only blockaded the military ports which could give refuge to squadrons or flotillas, but effectually barred the entrance of our enemies' trading vessels to every commercial port of any importance; and thus a spectacle was exhibited to the world, of which till then no maritime nation had ever afforded an example—that of an insular power, moderate in point of extent, as well as population, being enabled by means of its ships of war alone, to form a continued line of observation, along all the coasts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, at one and the same time. In fact, the whole continents of the two worlds were simultaneously besieged, their islands were successively captured, and the commerce of nations was made to flow in such channels only as the victors chose to dictate. But this was not all. After twenty years constant fighting, although we had commenced the struggle with a population of only thirty millions, we finished it by consolidating our political power, and extending our empire over not less than eighty millions,

including the conquered and the conquering. Let it be remembered to her honour, too, that Great Britain never reckoned, during the whole period, more than 145,000 seamen and marines employed in her service, while performing these astonishing efforts, these miracles of naval enterprise, valour, and skill. Never was the national energy of a people more magnificently displayed—and the grand scale upon which it was so triumphantly carried into effect, was unquestionably owing to the efficiency of our navy.

There are other considerations, however, which make our naval power at once the pride, the honour, and the glory of Britons. It has been the means of extending our empire to the remotest quarters of the globe. In every period, since it became a distinct service, it has been the chief safe-guard of the nation against invasion from abroad; and, at the same time, the protector of our commercial interests both upon the ocean and in foreign ports. It has enabled us to establish commercial relations with every nation in the world, to form numerous flourishing colonies, to open up new marts for commerce, and to increase our trade and manufactures to an extent unparalleled in the history of nations. But, what is perhaps of not less importance, it has established on an imperishable basis, our fame as a great and a free people, eminent alike for perseverance and skill in the peaceful pursuits of industry, and for magnanimity and heroism in the art of war. A distinguished writer has well remarked, that “these are the glorious trophies of maritime empire, and the fruits of that dominion over the sea, which was claimed by the earliest possessors of the island; but which,

in later times, has been so completely established, by an uninterrupted succession of noble achievements, on what is emphatically called our natural element, as may be truly said to have left the fleets of Britain without a rival."

In the following work, the reader will find ample details, illustrative of what is stated above. These have been drawn from the most authentic sources, and no pains have been spared to render it equally interesting, curious, and useful, and at the same time, authoritative as to facts and controverted points in our naval history. It is hoped that one principal object desired to be obtained by the Author, will be found fully accomplished—that of rendering the work a substitute for those voluminous and cumbrous productions usually denominated naval histories, and making it truly what such a work ought to be—a portable library, adapted alike for the cabin of a ship and for the chest of a sailor.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY—THE BRITONS—THE ROMANS—THE SAXONS—THE DANES—THE NORMANS—ALFRED—CŒUR-DE-LION.

ABOUT the beginning of the seventeenth century a controversy was maintained between men no less celebrated than Grotius and Selden, regarding what was termed the sovereignty of England over the narrow seas. During this controversy, Selden, the advocate of England, in his work styled "Mare Clausum," went so far as to assert that "the English have a hereditary uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of these seas, conveyed to them from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity." Without perplexing our readers with an abstract discussion of this question, it is of importance to bear in mind that only by power could our ancestors have acquired the sovereignty of the seas; and that only by power can we and our children maintain it.

Rob Roy's motto must be ours in this matter—

—————"The good old rule
 sufficeth us; the simple plan,
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can."

We may rest well assured that should foreign nations acquire a superiority over us in bravery and nautical skill, they will little regard our speculative right of sovereignty.

Knowledge is power, and it is upon the union of knowledge and bravery that our maritime superiority depends. While, then, it is trusted that science will continue to direct its aim steadily to the improvement of our methods of navigation and shipbuilding, and to the manufacture of offensive and defensive weapons of war, be ours the humbler, but not unimportant task, to keep before our British youths the example of their heroic fathers: and while thousands of young hearts are glowing with admiration at learning to emulate the excellent deeds of the heroes of other days, our country shall not want defenders, should the sound of hostile cannon be again heard upon our shores.

The long peace with which we have happily been blessed, renders it still the more necessary that the histories of our naval heroes should not only be guarded against any danger of falling into oblivion, but that a knowledge of them should be more and more widely diffused. Yet, even while we write, threats of war are heard all around us.

Our merchant vessels and deep-sea steam-ships, form, no doubt, a useful, nay, an indispensable school for navigators. But the daring actions of a St. Vincent, a Nelson, and a Collingwood, are no longer passed from mouth to mouth among the eager crowd—no longer form the engrossing topic at the social board—are no longer celebrated by the peal of bells, amid the glare of illuminations. No! the living memory of these glorious deeds is chiefly confined to the hoary veteran, as he sits by the fire with the companions of his former victories, and with cheerful garrulity “fights all his battles o’er again.”

To the young, these tales can only be matter of history; and we need no excuse for reproducing that history in a varied form, convinced that, notwithstanding the able works before the public, there is still ample room for their extension.

It is obvious, at first, that the origin of the maritime character of the British is to be attributed to their situation as inhabitants of an island, surrounded by rugged shores, and begirt by stormy seas. The natural bent thus given, acquired strength, and was confirmed by subsequent occurrences in the history of the country. It is highly probable, indeed, that the first colonists of Britain were bold adventurers, who, fearless of the raging billows, risked themselves

and families in frail barks, in search of freedom or of fortune.

It might thus be expected, as we find it to be the case, that the earliest historical notices which we find of Britain have reference to its ships; although we must admit that its early history, like that of all other nations, with one exception, is involved in obscurity, and deformed by fable. Thus one of the earliest of British writers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, gives a somewhat circumstantial account of the first settlement of this island by Brito, who is supposed to have arrived with a fleet from the North of Europe. That Geoffrey's account is in many respects fabulous, there can be no doubt; but that it is not altogether so, there is evidence sufficient to lead us to conclude. There are records of a trade having existed between the Phenicians and the British at a very early period; and we find that at the time of the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, the island was populous and warlike, possessing a numerous and powerful fleet.

Cæsar's history is probably the first account approaching to authenticity, which we have of this island; and if we make allowance for the prejudices he may be supposed to entertain for a people whom he regarded as barbarous, and who had all but baffled his yet resistless armies, we may place considerable confidence in his narration.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, he was not, indeed, opposed upon the sea. The British had sent their fleet to the assistance of the Veneti, a people of Gaul, then at war with the Romans. In the defeat of the Veneti, the British fleet was destroyed, and it was to punish the Britons, for having aided his enemies, which formed the pretence for the invasion. It seems sufficiently apparent, however, that there had existed previously a superiority on the seas on the part of the islanders, which Cæsar was bent on extinguishing. In the vain boast that he had done so for ever, he, on his return home, consecrated to Venus, as Goddess of the Sea, a military ornament, embroidered with British pearl, intimating by this that Cæsar arrogated to himself the sovereignty of the sea as conquered from the Britons. Hence "*Vincula dare Oceano,*" to give laws to the ocean, and "*Britannos subjugare,*" to subdue the Britons, became convertible terms with subsequent authors, who all endeavour to place Cæsar's British expedition in this light as by far the most glorious one.

At a later period of the Roman empire, we find Carausius, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet in the

British seas, declaring himself independent by its means, and that of a portion of the army, and assuming the imperial purple in opposition to the emperor Maximian. He also held the Gallic town Gessoriacum, now Boulogne, in France, and the adjacent coast, which have been repeatedly in the power of England in more modern times. From these places he so harassed Gaul, Italy, and Spain, by his fleets, that Maximian, however unwillingly, at length, as a condition of peace, acknowledged him emperor in Britain. Having repelled the hostile incursions of the Scots and Picts into the southern parts of the island, he made peace with these nations, and turned his attention to the defence of his dominions from a renewed attack, threatened by the Roman emperors. To this end he took care, by every possible means, to increase his fleet, and concluded a treaty with the Franks and other nations, who were seated on the Thracian Bosphorus, and who were become famous for their power by sea. By this treaty, it was stipulated that these nations should send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, which, passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, should join his navy in the British seas, and act in conjunction with the fleet of Carausius against the Romans. This certainly is a transaction worthy of being recorded in our naval history, as a proof of the spirit of our ancestors in contesting the sovereignty of the sea with so formidable an opponent. He was not, however, successful. While the emperor Maximian raised a numerous army, his colleague Constantius fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail. While this was doing, Constantius besieged Carausius, in Boulogne, who, having the sea open, defended himself without much difficulty, evincing to his enemies, that while he held this advantage, their siege would be to little purpose; but Constantius having found a way to block up the port by a work of a new contrivance, Carausius, with a few gallant followers, broke through the Roman camp during the night, and, embarking in a small vessel, crossed over to Britain, where he had a strong fleet and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this step, on hearing that the sea had destroyed the works of the Romans, and left the port open. Constantius now assembled his fleet, sailed through the Straits, met and completely defeated the Franks, before Carausius could join his confederates. Carausius promptly prepared for the defence of Britain, when he was assassinated by one of his officers, Alectus, after a reign of seven years.

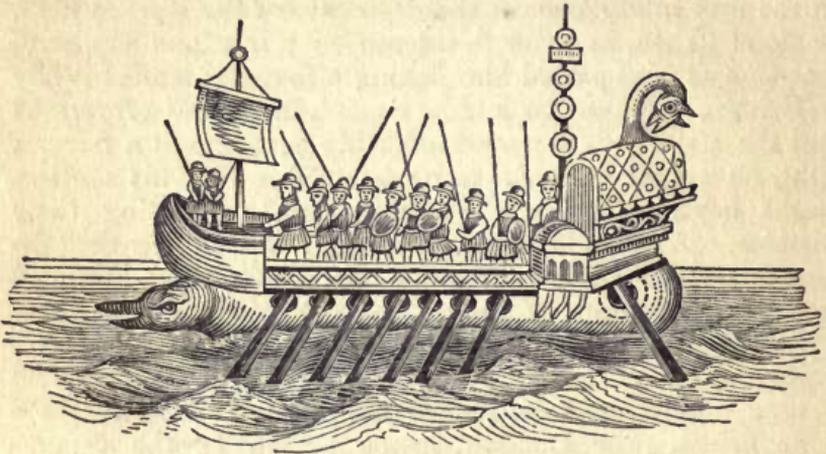
Alectus assumed the vacant sceptre, and although stained with the guilt of murder, appears to have been a brave and skilful sailor. He kept his dominions and his forces, and was for some time superior in power at sea, sending out his squadrons to annoy the adjacent coasts of Gaul, and to interrupt the trade of all the Roman provinces. Constantius having re-assembled his fleet, sailed from the coast of Gaul towards that of Britain. Alectus, with a navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the Isle of Wight, whence, on the first intelligence of the departure of the Roman fleet, he stood to sea, in order to intercept it; but it so happened that Constantius passed him during a fog, and landed safely in Britain. No sooner had he landed, than from a foresight that the British fleet would infallibly beat him at a fair sea fight, he caused his ships to be set on fire, that his soldiers might have no hope of escaping, but by beating their enemies. Alectus hastened to return; but finding that the recollection of his treachery to Carcausius had alienated from him the minds of his subjects, he rashly, and at a disadvantage, engaged the enemy, and perished on the field of battle.

One of his generals, named Gallus, was drowned in a little brook, near London, hence named by the Saxons Walbrook.

It is interesting to recall these ancient achievements in nautical warfare, and to compare them with recent events, on the same scenes, the flotilla at Boulogne, the battle of St. Vincent's, the escape of Bonaparte's fleet from Nelson on the expedition to Egypt.

Constantine the Great was an Englishman by birth, and this circumstance, together with his equitable and prudent government, seems to have reconciled the British to the Roman dominion. He paid much attention to naval affairs; and various seaports were fortified under his orders, some of which remain to this day. Among them were *Othona*, supposed to be Hastings; *Dubris*, certainly now Dover; *Lemmanis*, now Hythe, Gariannonum, Yarmouth. Constantine was born at York in the year 272, and died in 337. He was the first emperor who professed Christianity; was the founder of Constantinople, now the capital of Turkey; and, what bears more upon our present subject, was one of the earliest promoters of the maritime power of Great Britain.

It may be worth while to caution the reader against supposing that the ships in use at the times we have referred to were at all equal, in point either of size or construction, to modern ships of war. Many of them were propelled principally by means of oars, and were called galleys. The following engraving, and that at the end of this chapter, may afford to the curious some idea of the appearance of two varieties of these galleys.



Ancient Galley.

For a considerable period little occurred worthy of notice, connected with our present subject. The disorders which occurred in Britain, consequent upon the decline of the Roman empire, and which ended in the establishment of the Saxon race, and the retirement of the ancient Britons into Wales, were unfavourable to the development of any extensive and constant system of naval warfare.

The Saxons, however, took up the spirit of their predecessors; and we have numerous instances recorded of their having been the terror of their enemies by sea. During the repeated invasions of England by the Danes, various and bloody battles took place between the hostile fleets.

Alfred the Great, the most illustrious of our Anglo-Saxon kings, is believed to have been born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in the year 849. When yet a boy, he seems to have been sent by his father, king Ethelwolf, on a mission to Rome, where he so ingratiated himself, that on an erroneous report of the death of his father, the Pope annointed him

king, although the youngest son. At this comparatively polished court, young Alfred imbibed that taste for civilised society which afterwards so much characterised him. His early education was neglected; but the cares of a good mother were sufficient to sow the seeds of future improvement. He was first excited to learn to read, by hearing the recital of Saxon poems; and having mastered his native tongue, he proceeded to the study of Latin, and became entirely devoted to retirement and literature, until at the age of twenty-two, the death of his brothers, and the attacks of the Danes, called him to be at the same time the defender and ruler of his countrymen. Alfred paid particular attention to the improvement of his navy, and was generally victorious at sea. He has a claim, then, to stand first, in time, among our naval heroes, and thus a brief account of his life is not out of place here.

His father died when he was only ten years old, and was succeeded by his elder sons in succession. At this time the condition of England was most calamitous, having been in a great measure laid waste by the Danes, who had established themselves in several of the central districts. "Alfred himself," says one of his biographers, "had no great cause to be satisfied with the generosity, or even justice, of his brothers towards him; but philosophy had rendered him contented with a small maintenance, in lieu of a large patrimony which his father bequeathed him." On the summons of his brother, however, he quitted his beloved studies, and took up arms against the invaders; and on the death of Ethelred, he ascended the throne, at the age of twenty-two. It would be unsuitable to the nature of this work to trace minutely all the public events of this busy and very important reign, we shall, therefore, confine ourselves chiefly to those which are connected with the character of the monarch as an improver of the navy.

When the reins of government fell into his hands, he found the country destroyed, all the cities and great towns demolished, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been sometimes compelled to fight nine or ten battles in a year. In short, their wealth, their strength, their spirits were exhausted; and, instead of attempting to defend themselves, as they were wont, they began every where to submit to the Danes, and to embrace rather a settled slavery than a precarious freedom, in a country now become a desert, and where it was a difficult matter to find subsistence,

even when for a small time released from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not despair of the public safety, but with equal vigour and prudence applied himself at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; so that, in a short time, encouraged by his example, the Saxons began to resume their spirits, and in many battles defeated the Danes, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit the country; and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongst them upon reasonable conditions, and in a regular way.

There were two maxims which the king steadily pursued, by which he extricated himself from his troubles. The first was, fighting the enemy, if possible, at sea; by the steady pursuit of which method he had constantly a fleet, and considerable numbers of experienced sailors. But, as it was impossible to guard all the coasts of his dominions, and, as the enemies' squadrons were frequently superior to his own, he was sometimes obliged to fight on shore; and, in this case, he likewise used all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time, either to gain intelligence, or to get refreshment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ablest men, not only in the sciences, but also in the arts, and to converse with them frequently and familiarly. By this means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a comparison of information, of which even those from whom he learned them were ignorant; and by his superior judgment, so adapted the intelligence he received, as to render his small force successful, both at sea and land, against his numerous enemies.

In maritime affairs he was particularly skilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the sagacity he discovered in providing a kind of ships of a new construction, devised by himself, which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practised in naval armaments, and whose experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his superiors in navigation. He considered with himself, that as the fleets of these invaders were frequently built in a hurry, hastily drawn together, meanly provided, in respect to victuals and rigging, and crowded with men, a few ships of a larger size, built in a new manner, of well seasoned materials, thoroughly supplied with ammunition and provision, and manned by expert seamen, must at first sight surprise, and, in the course of an

engagement, destroy numbers, without any great hazard to themselves. In pursuance of this project, he caused a certain number of ships to be built, capable of holding each sixty rowers, and, as in that, double in all other respects to the largest ships then in use. These he sent to sea, with an express command, neither to receive nor give quarter, but to put to death all who fell into their power: instructions, perfectly suited to the design on which these ships were fitted out, and to the circumstances the king's affairs then were in.

It appears, from good authority, that these ships were galleys, since in the Mediterranean these vessels are common, because they are convenient, for the same reason which inclined king Alfred to make use of them, the facility of running with them close under shore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet swifter than the vessels in common use, in a duplicate proportion, which is the true sense of what ancient writers say of them, may be easily conceived; and thence their great utility arose. In point of numbers, the king had no hope of equalling his enemies; but, by this contrivance, he removed that difficulty, which seemed otherwise insuperable. With a squadron of these ships, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the same number of the enemy, because the force of his ships rendered those on board them able to contend against as many as they could grapple with; and, in case of the enemy's having either the weather-gage, or some other accidental advantage, their swiftness enabled them to bear away, and gain the ports, which were all his own. Their instructions were not deemed cruel, because, whatever their enemies might think of themselves, they were esteemed by the Saxons, and with reason, enemies to mankind, incapable, as experience had convinced them, of keeping faith, and therefore unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this severity was necessary, for two reasons: first, in respect to self-defence, these ships, though large in comparison of other vessels, were, however, not large enough to contain prisoners with any safety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, exclusive of rowers, above a hundred and twenty men, if so many. Secondly, it was prudent, for the sake of example, in order to strike a terror into these rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infesting this island, and inclined rather to prosecute their designs on some other coast. Add to this, these galleys were built after quite another model

than Danish ships; so that they were wholly strange to the enemy, who, for a long time, knew not how to board them, though their courage might be great, and themselves, for the age in which they lived, able seamen.

The same year that a few of these ships were first built, six pirates, of an unusual size, infested the Isle of Wight, and the coasts of Devonshire. The king immediately ordered nine of his new vessels in quest of them, with instructions to get, if possible, between them and the shore. Three of the pirates, as soon as they perceived them, ran aground, but the other three stood out to sea, and boldly engaged the king's ships. Of these, two were taken, and all the men killed; the third, indeed, escaped, but with five men only. They then attacked the ships which ran aground, and killed a great number of men. At length the tide took them off, but in so battered and leaky a condition, that it was with much difficulty they reached the coast of the South Saxons, where, again running on shore two of their vessels, the men endeavoured to escape, but were taken, and carried to Winchester, and there, by order of the king, were hanged. The third vessel, though the men in her were grievously wounded, escaped; and, in this single year, not fewer than twenty ships, with all the men on board them, were destroyed on the south coast only, which sufficiently demonstrates what mighty advantages were derived from this happy invention of the king.

Though the care of his own fleet was very commendable in Alfred, yet the concern which he showed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his subjects, and the discovering and describing distant countries, deserves still higher praise, because the first might be, in some measure, ascribed to necessity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was incontestibly the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of use to all the nations of Europe. It was in order to farther these views, that he kept constantly in his court, at a very great expense, the most eminent men, for worth and knowledge, of various nations, besides the inhabitants of the British isles; from whom he learned whatever was known in those days, which was more than the moderns imagine. Two instances have been transmitted, with authentic circumstances, from his time to ours. The first was, his sending certain persons to discover the utmost extent of the Arctic regions, and the possibility of a passage on that side to the

north-east. The other was, his correspondence with the Indies. Facts, so extraordinary in themselves, of such high importance, in respect to the subject of which this work treats, and hitherto left in such obscurity by those who ought to have given us a better account of them, that dwelling upon them will be considered rather as a just tribute to Alfred's memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as an unnecessary digression.

Sir John Spelman tells us, that he had been informed there was in the Cotton library a memorial of a voyage of one Othter, a Dane, performed, by this king's orders, for the discovery of a north-east passage. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation inserted in the Saxon version of Orosius, made by king Alfred himself, whereby it appears that Othter, for so he is called in this authentic manuscript, was a native of Heliogoland, a man of great substance, of more than ordinary skill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce of the north. He surveyed the coasts of Norway and Lapland, by the direction of king Alfred, and presented him, not only with a clear description of those countries and their inhabitants, but also brought him some of the horse-whale's teeth, which were then esteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale fishing. This probably encouraged the king to send Wulfstan, an Englishman, to view these northern countries, of which he also gave him a relation. Both these narratives are written with such accuracy in point of geography, so much plainness and probability in respect to facts, and are intermixed with such just and prudent observations, that whoever shall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, wrote, many hundred years afterwards, of the same countries, will readily confess, that the age of Alfred was an age of good sense, and far superior in knowledge to some of those which succeeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what Othter or Wulfstan deliver, but all exactly conformable to what the discoveries of the last and present age have taught us.

As to the Indian voyage, it was occasioned chiefly by the king's charity, who, hearing of the distress of the Christians of St. Thomas, resolved to send them relief. The person he made choice of was one Suithelm, called in Latin *Sigelmus*, a priest, who honestly executed his commission, and was so fortunate as to return back, bringing with him an

immense treasure of Indian goods, and among them precious stones, perfumes, and other curiosities, of which the king made presents to foreign princes. As the reward of so acceptable a service, Sigelmus was made bishop of Sherburn; and William of Malmesbury, in his pontifical history, gives us a distinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only struck with wonder such as lived in the time when it was performed, but was considered with admiration even in the age in which he lived, adding that Sigelmus had left to his church several of these Indian curiosities, as unquestionable evidences of so extraordinary a thing. These Christians of St. Thomas inhabited the peninsula of India, and the commodities, which Sigelmus is said to have brought back, are precisely those of their country. Spelman observes farther, that the value and use of these curiosities being little known here, the king sought out for artists of all sorts, particularly goldsmiths and jewellers, for the working of them, and such were the defects of those times, and so excellent was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in those works also, the artificers themselves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius, and manufactured what he designed for them. And, as if there was something peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have still remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the island of Athelney, which was the king's retreat, when he fled from the Danes in the beginning of his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monastery. This curious relic is yet preserved in the Ashmolean collection of curiosities, and, besides its excellent workmanship, has a Saxon inscription, to this purpose: ÆLFREDUS ME JUSSIT FABRICARI; *i. e.* Ælfred directed me to be made.

Great and beneficial as the warlike exploits of Alfred were, they were not the only services which he rendered his country. As a legislator, a reformer of manners, and a promoter of learning and the arts, his exertions, in such an age, were still more extraordinary. He effected a complete change in the institutions of his country, which, though good in their principles, had sunk into a state of barbarism. He framed a complete body of laws, which Spelman supposes to have been the foundation of the common law of the land. The institution of trial by jury, that palladium of English liberty, is attributed to his wisdom and his justice. The

division of the kingdom into shires, hundreds, and tithings, for the purposes of judicature and police, is attributed to him; and he caused a general survey of the kingdom to be taken, called the "Book of Winchester," of which the Domesday-book is only a new edition. He was a rigorous reformer of judicial administration; for, it is recorded, that in one year he inflicted capital punishment on forty-four judges, for iniquitous practices in the execution of their office. Alfred is considered also as a founder of the political constitution of England, at least of that part of it which ordains the regular convocation of the states. His great council consisted of bishops, earls, the king's aldermen, and his chief thanes or barons. These were called, by an express law, to London, twice a-year, for the purpose of well governing the realm, and this constituted an image of later parliaments. The encouragement of learning, and his own proficiency in it, were very extraordinary features in Alfred's character. He himself was, probably, the most learned person of his kingdom, and he stands at the head of the list of royal authors. In private life, he was one of the most amiable of men. His person corresponded with his mental excellencies; for, though the hardships which he had endured made him liable to great infirmities, he had by nature a handsome and vigorous form, and a dignified and engaging aspect. After a glorious reign of twenty-eight years and a-half, he died, in 901, in the vigour of his faculties, being only in his fifty-third year.

The spirit of Alfred survived in more than one of his descendants. Edgar, his great-grandson, applied himself, from the commencement of his reign, to the increasing of his maritime force, and was proud of having acquired the title of Protector of Commerce. His fleet is described as being not only far superior to those of any of his predecessors, but even as much more powerful than those of all the contemporaneous European princes put together. His ships were, frequently, not fewer in number than four thousand. These he usually had divided into three distinct fleets, stationed each on a different coast of the kingdom, which they vigilantly guarded; and he himself, in order to keep up the discipline and activity of his seamen, as well as to inspect his sea-ports, took a voyage annually round the island, escorted by one or other of these fleets.

The Saxon race having degenerated, through misgovernment, and the country being torn by domestic broils, the

Danes were permitted to acquire an ascendant on the ocean. No sooner did Sweyn, king of Denmark, find himself superior at sea, than he set up a title to the kingdom, which the Saxons were no longer able to resist. This is one, and an early proof, that this island is no longer safe, than while it is the first maritime power; whence the importance of our navy is too manifest to be denied, and we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our constitution, so both must be defended by our fleets.

The Danish kings, whose dynasty was very brief, supported the honour of the English flag. Among them Canute is a name renowned in history, for his virtue in peace, and his valour in war.

The Saxon kings were again restored, and finally terminated with the weak minded Edward, who, by his imbecility, exposed his kingdom to the dangers of a disputed succession, which was decided in favour of William the Norman, by the only right which either of the disputants had, namely, that of the sword, at the battle of Hastings, in the year 1066.

The earlier monarchs of the Norman blood were deeply tinged with the spirit of chivalry, which in that age became so prevalent; and which, preferring in honour individual acts of bravery to combined movements, naturally encouraged combats by land, where single exploits were more conspicuously marked. Accordingly, we do not find that William the Conqueror, or his immediate successors, were themselves distinguished as sailors, although they were too politic princes not to endeavour to keep up their naval power. To this they were chiefly induced, by the necessity of providing for the immediate defence of their coasts, and in order to have in readiness the means of transport for their numerous armies, engaged in continental wars; for we now, for the first time, find England assuming the character of a continental power, and exercising an influence, which has varied in extent, but never since entirely ceased, upon the balance of power in Europe.

William the First burned the fleet, said to have consisted of nine hundred vessels, which brought over his victorious army, either to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, or by cutting off all hope of retreat, to add desperation to the courage of his soldiers, a very common practice in ancient warfare. The English fleet was carried off, after the battle of Hastings, by the sons of Harold, who

took refuge in the Northern seas, and thus William had his navy to create anew. In consequence, he was exposed to several alarming invasions from the Danes, whose king had some pretensions to the English throne. William, however, by that singular union of bravery and policy which he possessed, ultimately got rid of these formidable visitors, and obtained leisure, which he well employed, to strengthen his power by sea.

Henry the First, the youngest son of the Conqueror, succeeded his brother, William the Second, to the exclusion of the elder brother Robert. Henry was born in England, and having married a princess of the Saxon line, re-established the Saxon institutions, and became popular among his native subjects. This he found a strong safeguard against the hostile attempts of his brother, the unfortunate Duke of Normandy, who, on his return from the Holy Land, prepared to vindicate his claim to the throne. Henry did not omit to increase his shipping, and gave directions to his officers, who had the custody of the coasts, called, in the language of those times, *butescarles*, to be vigilant in preventing all persons from coming out of Normandy into England. Time soon discovered the wisdom of the king's precaution, which, however, proved unavailing. Duke Robert, who was a prince of valour, and many amiable qualities, prepared a great fleet and army for the invasion; but, it is believed, by the historians of these times, that he never would have been permitted to land, had Henry's commanders done their duty. Several of them, however, appear to have been brought over to be partisans of the Duke, and joined him, with the ships under their command, as soon as he had put to sea. Robert's invasion proved unsuccessful.

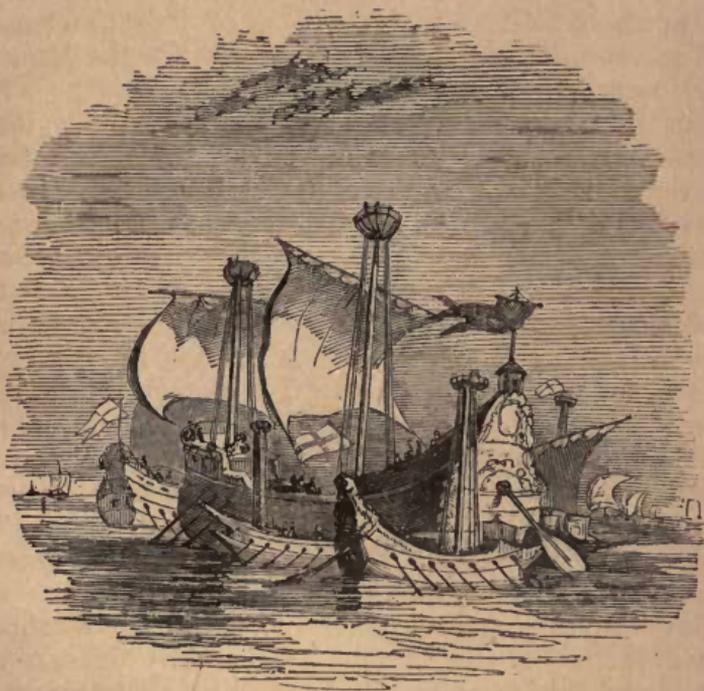
An occurrence took place, in the reign of this king, which gives an idea of the small size of the largest ships in use at that time. Henry's eldest son, William, was wrecked on his return from Normanby, and all on board perished, amounting to upwards of two hundred persons. Now, as the ship thus lost had been newly built for William, who had been made Duke of Normandy by his father, and was a generous and popular prince, it is reasonable to infer that it would be one of the first class.

During the reign of Stephen, which was greatly distracted by civil wars, we do not find much mention made of naval exploits.

It was otherwise during the reign of his nephew and successor, Henry the Second, the first who established the English power in Ireland. This king was engaged in many and extensive wars, in all which he supported himself with undaunted courage and admirable conduct. In Normandy he defeated the king of France, with whom his own son, Henry, had unnaturally allied himself. The Earl of Flanders, who had raised great forces, with an intention of invading England, was forced to abandon his enterprise, and disperse his forces; and these successes the king was chiefly enabled to obtain, by means of his superior power at sea, on which, though some contests ensued between him and his son Henry, yet they were quickly over; for the king's ships destroyed most of those of the rebels and of their confederates, and rendering all attempts at invading England hopeless, while their dominions lay open to his attacks, compelled them to conclude peace, upon the terms prescribed.

Richard, the lion-hearted, had, it is well known, his whole heart bent upon the chivalrous attempt to conquer the Holy Land. For the safe transport of his troops, and their protection on distant shores, as well as to keep up his communication with home, it was requisite that he should attend to his navy; and, we are told, that he raised a much greater naval force than had ever been known in this country, since the coming of the Normans, and withal, says a well known author, carried the English fame to such a height, as astonished the whole world, and was the true source of that respect, which has ever since been paid to the English flag.

On his expedition to Jerusalem, Richard anchored off Messina, and having had some difference with the king of Sicily, attacked and took that capital, which he did not return without a heavy ransom. In this were included four large galleons, and fifteen galleys, by which accession, the English fleet, when the king sailed from Sicily for Cyprus, consisted of thirteen capital ships, of extraordinary burden, one hundred and fifty ships of war, and fifty galleys, besides vessels of less size, and tenders. In their passage to Cyprus, they were sorely shaken by a tempest, and several ships lost. The ship, which carried Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre, and who was contracted to king Richard, was very near perishing, by being denied admittance into one of the ports of that island, by Isaac, king of Cyprus. This was an insult, not to be borne by the chivalrous Richard, who, bearing down upon the island with his whole fleet,



Battle between Coeur-de-Lion and the Great Saracen Ship.

made a descent with all his forces, and reduced it completely in a short space of time, having taken the king prisoner.

Here he received Guy, formerly king of Jerusalem, with several other Christian princes of the east, who swore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors, with a considerable body of troops, in Cyprus, he sailed from thence, with a much better fleet than he brought with him, for it consisted of two hundred and fifty-four stout ships, and upwards of sixty galleys. In his passage to Acon or Ptolemais, he took a huge vessel of the Saracens, laden with ammunition and provisions, bound for the same place, which was then besieged by the Christian army. The size of this ship was so extraordinary, that it highly deserves notice. Matthew Paris calls it *Dromunda*, and tells us, that the ships of the English fleet attacked it briskly, though it lay like a great floating castle in the sea, and was in a manner impenetrable. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no fewer than fifteen hundred men, of whom the king caused thirteen hundred to be drowned, and kept the remaining two hundred prisoners, who, another writer says, were all persons of distinction. After this victory, the king proceeded to Acon, which he blocked up by sea, at the same time that his forces, in conjunction with those of other Christian princes, besieged it by land, so that, at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole strength of the Saracens, under their famous prince Saladin.

These are the earliest well authenticated instances we have of the use of the navy, on an extensive scale, in blockading; and they were successful too, and that against what appears to have been no contemptible foe, if we may judge from the Saracen vessel *Dromunda*, just mentioned as having been so gallantly boarded by the English sailors.

The heroic Richard died in 1199. Of all our princes, none better understood the value of a naval force, and how to use it, as appears, not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his establishing the laws of Oleron, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the constant care he took in supporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging seamen, whereby he drew numbers from all parts of Europe into his service; and by a like vigilance in promoting and protecting commerce.

John, Richard's brother, assumed the throne, to the exclusion of his nephew Arthur; and, his title being thus

defective, we need not be surprised to find, that in addition to foreign wars, his whole reign was a series of domestic revolts, and seditious intrigues. He was in many respects an unjust and imprudent prince, but, with regard to our subject, we must do him justice.

That he had just notions as to maritime force, and was tender of his sovereignty over the seas, is evident from this, that very early in his reign, he, with the assent of the peers at Hastings, enacted, that if any of the commanders of his fleet should meet with ships of a foreign nation at sea, the masters of which refused to strike to the royal flag, then such ships, if taken, were to be deemed good prizes; even though it should appear afterwards, that the state, of which their owners were subjects, was in amity with England. It cannot be supposed, that this striking to the royal flag was now first claimed, but rather, that as an old right, it was, for the preventing unnecessary disputes, clearly asserted. If it had been otherwise, one would imagine that it would prove more still; since no prince, who was not confessedly superior at sea, could ever have set up, and carried into practice, so extraordinary a pretension. We may therefore conclude, that this, together with his warrant for pressing all ships into service, when he had occasion for transports, with other things of the like nature, were, in consequence of ancient usage.

While engaged with his revolted barons, in the struggle which ended in obtaining that bulwark of English freedom, *Magna Charta*, the French king invaded John's continental dominions.

This so exasperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high spirit, that he resolved to conquer the French first, and make one experiment more of the fidelity of his subjects. In order to this, he assembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to pass into Normandy: but, when all was ready, and the nobility seemed thoroughly disposed to behave as became them, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, came, and, in the name of the Pope, forbade him to proceed. The king, unwillingly, obeyed; and yet, repenting of this step, he the next day put to sea, with a few faithful subjects, hoping that the rest, either out of fear or shame, would have followed; but in this he was disappointed, for they not only remained where they were, but, by sending after the king's small squadron, prevailed on many to come

back, so that the expedition was entirely frustrated, which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly mortified and offended the seamen, of whom no fewer than fourteen thousand had come from different parts of the kingdom, in order to serve on board the royal fleet. This, at the same time that it shows king John's misfortune, demonstrates also how great our maritime force was in those days, and what wise regulations subsisted, since such a number of seamen could be so easily drawn together. Our best writers agree, that the Archbishop, and the Earl of Pembroke, prevented the king from being able to assemble such a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them: for he always kept the hearts of the seamen, and, by doing so, defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of France to struggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is a fact of the highest importance to our subject.

John, having been called to Ireland to settle the distracted affairs of that kingdom, over which he had been viceroy during the life of his brother, and, having succeeded to his satisfaction, found, on his return, that the Welsh, and his disaffected barons, had revolted, and that the Pope, having excommunicated him, had given his kingdom, according to the assumed powers of the haughty pontiffs of those days, to the king of France. He made immense preparations, by land and sea, to repel the French, who had prepared a very numerous fleet, when the interference of the Pope, upon John's submission, put a stop to the threatened invasion. Philip Augustus, of France, though he obeyed the Pope with an ill will, yet resolved to make some use of this mighty armament, and, therefore, turned it against the Earl of Flanders; sending the best part of his fleet to lay waste the coasts of that country, while himself, with a great army, entered it by land. King John was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered his navy, under the command of his brother, the Earl of Salisbury, to sail to the assistance of his ally. He, finding the French fleet, partly riding in the road, and partly at anchor, in the haven of Dam in Flanders, first attacked and destroyed those without, and then landing his forces, fell upon the French in the harbour, by sea and land, and after an obstinate dispute, took them all; sending home three hundred sail, well laden with provisions, to carry the news of the victory, and setting all the rest on fire. So fortunate was this prince at sea, because his sailors were

faithful, who was so unlucky on shore, through the treachery of his great men.

The subsequent actions of John's life, are not materially connected with our naval history, although it is said that in all his disasters his sailors remained loyal to him. He died in 1216.

His son, and successor, who was only ten years of age on his father's death, turned out to be an irresolute and feeble prince. The Earl of Pembroke, his guardian, during his minority, succeeded in driving out the French, who, by the aid of the rebellious barons, had gained a footing in the island, during the latter days of John. In this contest, a maritime exploit, of some note, occurred. Lewis having gone over to Calais, in order to procure reinforcements, embarked them on board a fleet of eighty stout ships, and put to sea. Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover castle, assisted by Philip de Albanie and John Marshall, resolved to encounter him with the strength of the Cinque-ports, and accordingly met him at sea, with forty sail of ships. The English, perceiving that the French had the advantage of them, both in ships and men, made use of their superiority in skill; so that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the transports, and sunk them with all the soldiers on board: their long bows also did them notable service; and, to prevent the French from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their decks, which, the wind blowing fresh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them, so that, declining the dispute, they as fast as possible bore away for the shore, and, landing at Sandwich, Lewis, in revenge for the mischief their ships had done him, burned it to the ground. The English were every way gainers by this engagement, as on the other hand it entirely ruined the affairs of Lewis, who was now forced to shut himself up in London, where, very soon after, he was besieged, the English fleet, in the mean time, blocking up the mouth of the Thames. He quickly saw how great his danger was, and how little reason he had to expect relief. In this situation, he did all that was left for him to do; that is to say, he entered into a treaty with the Earl of Pembroke, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of England, and provided the best he could for himself and his adherents, which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners, and remains an incontestible proof, that as nothing but our intestine divisions can invite an invasion,

so, while we retain the sovereignty of the sea, such attempts, in the end, must prove fatal to those who undertake them.

The use of lime, for the purpose alluded to in the account of the battle between the French and English, seems not to have been lost sight of: for we find, that in the celebrated fight between the Shannon and the Chesapeake, during the last American war, the Americans had a quantity of lime on board, for this very purpose.

Through the long and unhappy reign of Henry the Third, the English navy seriously declined.

Edward the First was a vigorous and successful monarch; and, amid his various schemes of conquest in France and in Scotland, did not neglect his claims to maritime superiority, as the following process of international law, fully illustrates.

Philip the Fair, being at war with the Flemings, that prince thought fit to send a great fleet to sea, under the command of a Genoese nobleman, whose name was Reyner Grimbaltz, to whom he gave the title of Admiral, and who, under colour of this commission, took several ships of different nations, bound for the ports of Flanders, laden with various kinds of goods. Upon this, complaints were made to the kings of England and France, who jointly appointed commissioners to hear and determine the matters contained in them.

To these commissioners, therefore, a remonstrance was presented, in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the English seas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewise of the merchants, mariners, strangers resident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of England, and other territories subject to the said king of England; as also the inhabitants of other maritime places, such as Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Germany, Zealand, Holland, Frizeland, Denmark, Norway, &c., setting forth, "that, whereas the kings of England, by right of the said kingdom, have, from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable possession of the sovereignty of the English seas, and of the islands situate within the same, with power of ordaining and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be; and of taking security, and giving protection, in all cases where need shall require; and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among

all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof; and, also, of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which, to the exercise of sovereign jurisdiction in the places aforesaid, may appertain: and, whereas, Botetort, admiral of the said sea, deputed by the said king of England, and all other admirals, deputed by the said king of England, and his ancestors, formerly kings of England, have been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign guard, with power of jurisdiction, and all the other powers before-mentioned, (except in case of appeal, and complaint made of them to their sovereigns, the kings of England, in default of justice, or for evil judgment,) and especially of making prohibitions, doing justice, and taking security for good behaviour, from all manner of people carrying arms on the said sea, or sailing in ships, otherwise fitted out and armed than merchant ships used to be, and in all other cases where a man may have reasonable cause of suspicion towards them of piracy, or other misdoings: and, whereas, the masters of ships, of the said kingdom of England, in the absence of the said admirals, have been in peaceable possession of, taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the said sea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions, franchises, and customs: and, whereas, in the first article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the said kings at Paris, the words following are set down, *viz.* First of all, it is agreed and concluded between us, the envoys and agents above-mentioned, in the names of the said kings, that they shall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies, against all the world (except the church of Rome), in such manner, that if any one or more, whosoever they be, shall go about to interrupt, hinder, or molest the said kings, in their franchises, liberties, privileges, rights, or customs, of them and their kingdoms, they shall be good and faithful friends, and aiding against all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep, and maintain, the above-mentioned franchises, liberties, rights, and customs, &c.; and that the one should not be of counsel, nor give aid or assistance in any thing whereby the other may lose life, limb, estate, or honour. And, whereas, Mr. Reyner Grimbaltz, Master of the ships of the said king of France,

who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his sovereign aforesaid, in his war against the Flemings, did, (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and against the tenor and obligation of the said alliance, and the intention of those who made it,) wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiral, in the said sea of England, &c. &c."

We need not farther detail the appeal; but shall give the conclusions our author draws on the subject:—

1. It appears, from this paper, that the dominion of the sea had not only been claimed, but exercised and possessed, by the kings of England, from times immemorial; which is sufficient to give some credit to the facts which we have related from the British history: for as to the times, since the Roman invasion, they were, in an historical sense, within memory.

2. It is clear, from hence, what the dominion of the sea was, namely, a jurisdiction over the vessels of all nations, passing thereon, for the common benefit of all, for the preventing piracies, the protection of commerce, and the decision of unforeseen disputes.

3. It is no less apparent, that this was an exclusive jurisdiction, in which no other potentate had any share, which must have been founded, either in common consent, or in superiority of strength; either of which afforded a good title.

4. We see, by this remonstrance, that the dominion of the sea, resting in the king of England, was a point, not only known to, but maintained by, the Genoese, Spaniards, Germans, Hollanders, Danes, and, in short, by all the maritime powers then in Europe; which is sufficient to evince, that trade was far from being at a low ebb, and that the prerogative of the crown of England, in this respect, had been hitherto so exercised, as to render it a common advantage.

5. We perceive, that foreigners were so jealous of the assuming temper of the French princes, that they would not admit the commander-in-chief of their naval force to bear the title of Admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to jurisdiction; and, therefore, would have this Reyner Grimbaltz styled only Master of the ships to the king of France.

6. We must observe, that the commissioners, to whom this remonstrance is addressed, neither had, nor claimed, any naval jurisdiction whatsoever, but were appointed to hear and determine, whether king Edward's prerogative, as

sovereign of the sea, had been invaded by this Reyner Grim-baltz, in contravention of the first article of a treaty between the crowns of England and France, whereby the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives; and, consequently, the French king was bound to maintain this prerogative of king Edward, which gave occasion to the commission.

7. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair, not to our historians, but to our records; whence we may safely deduce this consequence, that the want of facts, to support such a jurisdiction throughout preceding reigns, ought not to be urged as a just objection; because, as I once before hinted, most of those, who applied themselves to writing history, were very little acquainted with these matters.

But there is one thing more, relating to this affair, which deserves particular attention; and that is, the plea put in by Reyner Grimbaltz, in answer to this remonstrance. He did not dispute the king of England's sovereignty; he did not plead any power derived to himself from the French king's commission: but what he insisted on was, the third article of the treaty before-mentioned, which he would have to be thus understood: that king Edward having contracted not to give any aid or assistance, or to suffer any aid or assistance to be given to the enemies of king Philip; and having also actually issued out a prohibition, forbidding any such practices, it followed, in his opinion, that all such as, after this prohibition, relieved the Flemings, by merchandise or otherwise, were to be esteemed enemies, of whatsoever nation they were; and that he, having taken none but the persons and goods of such, conceived himself to have a permission so to do, by virtue of the said prohibition, whereby king Edward, according to his interpretation, had signified, that he would not take it as an injury done to him, although the ships of such offenders should be taken in his seas by the French king's officers. I shall not enter into the reasonableness or validity of this defence; but content myself with observing, that it contains the clearest concession, on the part of France, that can be desired; because this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commission of the prince he served, but from the king of England's prohibition; so that, in reality, he asserts himself to have acted under the English sovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal. Many other instances, of this king's claiming and exercising the sove-

reignty of the sea, might be produced. Edward the First died in 1307.

Nothing worthy of record, regarding naval affairs, occurred in the reign of the unfortunate Edward the Second.

Edward the Third retrieved the navy of England, and raised the glory of her arms. Having laid a claim to the throne of France, he went to war with that country. In the important war which ensued, although its celebrity depends chiefly upon the achievements of the English armies, yet the naval supremacy of England was nobly maintained.

The claim of Edward to the crown of France, which gave rise to many wars between the two kingdoms, was not very well founded, yet the title was kept up, until a comparatively recent period. A matter, so much influencing the hostilities both by sea and land, which afterwards took place between the two countries, ought to be understood, even now when its practical effects have only ceased within these few years, if, indeed, with some they are not still the root of national prejudices. The following is the account of Hume:—*

“It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it to a determinate origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But, though positive law seems wanting among the French, for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was established, beyond controversy, on some ancient, as well as some modern, precedents. During the first race of the monarchy, the Franks were so rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and, in that period of their history, there were frequent instances of kings advanced to royalty, in prejudice of females, who were related to the crown, by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male succession in the second race; and though the instances were neither so frequent,

* See Hume's History of England, Vol. iii. Edin. 1818.

nor so certain, during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet, to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males, and no female, and none who founded his title on a female had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three sons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Isabella, Queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret, sister to *Eudes*, Duke of Burgundy; and as his Queen was then pregnant, Philip, his younger brother, was appointed regent, until it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The Queen bore a male, who lived only a few days: Philip was proclaimed king; and as the Duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France.

“ Philip died, after a short reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without dispute or controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short: he left one daughter; but as his Queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The Queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the regency ceased; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

“ The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the cousin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse founded.

“ The principle of excluding females was of old an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: it was supported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly and deliberately decided; and, what placed it still

farther beyond controversy, if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions, since the three last kings had all left daughters, who were still alive, and who stood before him in the order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert, that though his mother, Isabella, was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, besides that this pretension was more favourable to Charles, king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was so contrary to the established principles of succession, in every country of Europe, was so repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France ever thought of Edward's claim. Philip's title was universally recognised; and he never imagined that he had a competitor, much less so formidable a one as the king of England."

Even by the Salic law then, the claim of our kings to the crown of France, the pretence of so many bloody wars, was unfounded. The Salic law itself, however, although prevalent in the more barbarous ages, never was adopted by England, which has been before, as now, "great, glorious, and free," under the sceptre of a Queen.

James D'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, had acquired, by his popular talents, a complete ascendancy over the Flemings, and having been brought to second Edward's views, engaged his countrymen to throw off all dependance upon France, and to support the claims of the English king.

In 1338, king Edward, by the middle of July, drew his numerous army down to the coast of Suffolk, and at Orwell embarked them on board a fleet of five hundred sail, with which he passed over to Antwerp. On his arrival, he was received with great joy by the allies, particularly the Emperor Lewis; but the subsidies he paid them were excessive; nor could he immediately make use of their assistance, the French king declining a battle. In the mean time, by the advice of the Flemings, he assumed the arms and title of king of France; but while the king spent his time in marches and countermarches, in which, however, he gained some advantages over the enemy, the French and their allies, the Scots, did a great deal of mischief on the English coasts with their fleet. The town of Hastings they ruined, alarmed all the western coast, burned Plymouth, and insulted Bristol; all which was owing to the king's employing the

greatest part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the Scots; yet, in two instances, the English valour and naval force appeared with great lustre. A squadron of thirteen sail of French ships attacked five English, who defended themselves so valiantly, that, though they lost the *Edward* and the *Christopher*, two of the largest, yet the other three escaped, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy. The mariners of the *Cinque-ports* also, taking advantage of a thick fog, manned all their small craft, and ran over to *Boulogne*, where they did notable service; for they not only burned the lower town, but destroyed four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty lesser vessels, which lay in the harbour, and consumed the dock and arsenal, filled with naval stores.

In 1340, king *Edward* returned to England, in the month of February, in order to hold a parliament, to provide for the expenses of the war, wherein he succeeded, to the utmost extent of his expectations; and, in return for the readiness expressed by his subjects to assist him, he made many good laws, and granted great privileges to merchants. After this, with a strong fleet, he passed over into *Flanders*, and gave the French a terrible defeat at sea.

We have many remarkable particulars, in relation to this battle, in various writers. The Lord *Cobham* was first sent by the king to view the French fleet, which he found drawn up in line of battle; and, having given the king an account of the vast number and great force of their ships, that brave prince answered, "Well, by the assistance of God and *St. George*, I will now revenge all the wrongs I have received." He ordered the battle himself, directing his ships to be drawn up in two lines; the first consisting of vessels of the greatest force, so ranged, that, between two ships filled with archers, there was one wherein were men at arms, the ships in the wings being also manned with archers; the second line he used as a reserve, and drew from thence supplies as they became necessary. The battle lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night; and, even after this, there was a second dispute; for thirty French ships endeavouring to escape in the dark, the English attacked them, under the command of the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and took the *James* of *Dieppe*, and sunk several others. The king behaved with equal courage and conduct throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in person, and moving, as occasion required, from place to place. This is known as

the battle of Sluys, and Edward's letter, announcing the victory, has been held to be the first naval despatch recorded in history.

The French fleet were extremely well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing stones, with which they did a great deal of mischief; but they were less dexterous in managing their ships than the English; and this seems to have been one great cause of their defeat. The victory, however, cost the English a great deal of blood; for a large ship and a galley, belonging to Hull, were sunk, with all on board, by a volley of stones: and in a great ship, which belonged to the king, there were but two men and a woman that escaped. In all, the English lost about four thousand men; and amongst them, the following knights: Sir Thomas Monthermer, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Boteler, and Sir Thomas Poinings. On the whole, it appears to have been a very hard fought battle; and the victory seems entirely due to the skill and courage of the English sailors, who were more adroit in working their ships, as the men at arms were more ready in boarding than the French; and the archers, also, did excellent service. King Edward kept the sea three days, to put his victory out of dispute; and then, landing his forces, marched to Ghent, in order to join his confederates.

The siege of Calais, by this monarch, is a remarkable event in history. The fleet, used in the blockade of that city, consisted of seven hundred and thirty-eight sail, manned by about fifteen thousand seamen.

In 1349, a squadron of Spanish ships passed suddenly up the Garonne; and finding many English vessels at Bourdeaux, laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the English seamen, and carried away the ships, though in time of full peace. King Edward having intelligence that a squadron of Spanish ships, richly laden, were on the point of returning from Flanders, he drew together at Sandwich a squadron of fifty sail, on board which he embarked in person about midsummer, having with him the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Arundel, and Gloucester, with many other persons of distinction. They met with the Spanish fleet on the coast near Winchelsea, which consisted of forty-four very large ships, styled caracks: they were beyond compa-

rison, bigger and stronger than the English vessels; and yet the latter attacked them with great boldness. The Spaniards defended themselves resolutely, and chose, at last, death rather than captivity, refusing quarter, though it was offered them. Twenty-four of these great ships, laden with cloth and other valuable goods, were taken, and brought into the English harbours, and the rest escaped by a speedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused himself to be represented on a gold coin, standing in the midst of a ship with a sword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name transmitted to posterity, as
THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS.

We need not enter into any farther details, to show how nobly this monarch asserted and maintained his claim to the sovereignty of the seas.

No sooner was the breath out of Edward's body, than the French began to insult the English coasts. The Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, were in their turns attacked, and nearly destroyed. It is very remarkable, how early we find foreign nations taking advantage of any internal cause of weakness, to direct their efforts against the maritime superiority of this country. It teaches us an important lesson, that our vigilance ought never to be relaxed, to preserve the navy in an efficient condition.

Richard the Second, grandson of Edward, and son of the renowned Black Prince, succeeded while a minor. He was feeble in character, and unsuccessful in his undertakings. Under his reign, we find the first mention of the Scots having become at all formidable by sea. It is stated that Mercer, who is called a privateer, but who, in all probability, was directly commissioned by the Scottish government, made an expedition to the east coasts of England with a small squadron, carried off several vessels from under the walls of Scarborough castle, and afterwards, adding several French and Spanish ships to his fleet, became formidable, and interrupted greatly the English commerce. What the pusillanimity of the King permitted to pass unresented, was redressed by one of a class of men, seldom behind, when public spirit is demanded. John Philpot, a citizen and alderman of London, fitted out a squadron at his own expense, gave battle to, and defeated Mercer, and cleared the English coasts of its enemies. For this good service, he narrowly escaped being punished by the imbecile king's council. It

is a dangerous thing to do good to a monarch against his will. Gulliver was not thanked for extinguishing the fire in the royal palace at Lilliput.

Henry the Fourth put an end to the useless reign of Richard, by usurping the throne, in the year 1399. The naval history of the country immediately resumes its importance.

In 1403, the king, Henry, who was then a widower, married Joan, the daughter of Charles, king of Navarre, and widow of the Duke of Brittany. The inhabitants of that duchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at sea, suddenly landed in the west, and burned Plymouth, at a time when the king's hands were full, through the conspiracy of the Earl of Northumberland, and other great lords. This, however, did not remain long unrevenged, for the inhabitants of Plymouth having fitted out a squadron, under the command of William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas, he seized forty ships laden with iron, oil, soap, and wine, and then burned the like number in their harbours, reducing the towns of Penmarch and St. Matthew, and wasting, with fire and sword, a great part of the coast of Brittany. Admiral de Castel, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time, attempted to land in the Isle of Wight; but failing of success there, he steered for Devonshire, where actually landing, he briskly attacked Dartmouth, but was defeated by the country militia, with the loss of four hundred men, and two hundred taken; among whom, were himself, and two other persons of distinction; yet his squadron, and the Flemings, still infested the coast, took many ships, and, to show their inveterate hatred to the English nation, most inhumanly hanged all the seamen who fell into their hands. In the mean time, the French, without any regard to the treaty subsisting between the two crowns, invaded the duchy of Guyenne, and sent an army of twelve thousand men, with a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, to the assistance of Owen Glendour: these forces they safely debarked in Milford Haven; but the Lord Berkley and Henry Pay, who commanded the squadron of the Cinqueports, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burned fifteen of the French vessels, which so frightened those on board the rest, that soon after they fled home.

About the same time, the Earl of Kent sailed, with a considerable fleet, to the coast of Flanders, where he cruized for some time upon the enemy, the Flemings being then sub-

ject to a prince of the house of France ; at last, entering the port of Sluys, they found four ships lying at anchor, took three Genoese merchantmen, of a very large size, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant resistance ; after which they searched all the ports on the Norman coast, and making descents into several places, burned at least six and thirty towns ; and then, with an immense booty, returned in triumph to Rye. Some mariners, belonging to the port of Cley, in Norfolk, sailing on the north coast in a stout bark, took, near Flamborough-head, a Scots ship, having on board Prince James, Duke of Rothesay, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards succeeded, by the name of James the First. Him, with his attendants, an Earl, and a Bishop, they sent to king Henry, at Windsor, who kept him there, as a prisoner indeed ; but, during his captivity, used him in all respects as a prince. In support of Owen Glendour, the Welsh insurgent, the French court sent another squadron to the coast of Wales, of which only thirty arrived, the rest being taken by the English ; and a short time after, the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the Cinque-ports, surprised the Rochelle fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty sail of merchantment, richly laden, and took them all. These exploits, in vessels belonging to merchants, show, beyond all contradiction, that trade in those days was in a flourishing condition.

The king, in 1407, narrowly escaped the fate of the Scots prince. He had spent part of the summer at Leeds castle, in Kent ; and, his affairs calling him into Essex, he ventured to sail from the port of Queenborough with only five ships : in his passage, he was attacked by certain French privateers, who, after a very brisk engagement, took every vessel but that in which the king was, and carried them to their own coasts. This taught the monarch, the necessity of keeping better fleets at sea ; and, therefore, he ordered a very strong one to be fitted out the next year, under the command of the Earl of Kent, who effectually scoured the narrow seas, and, when he had cleared our own coasts, stood over to Brittany, where he boldly landed in the little island of Briehac, and there attacked a town of the same name, in which the privateers had taken shelter, took it by storm, and put them all to the sword ; but, in this action, received himself a wound, which proved mortal.

Henry the Fifth was deeply affected, by what may well be termed a madness, with which several of our most illus-

trious English kings have been tinged, namely, a desire to conquer France. The king of England never had even a shadow of a title to the throne of France; and it would have been well for his subjects had he employed the energies of a great and generous mind, for undoubtedly such was the mind of Henry the Fifth, in improving the condition of his own subjects and in securing their liberties, to which he was no enemy, rather than in carrying war and devastation into the territories of their nearest neighbours, who should be their best friends.

Henry himself does not appear to have been a sailor, although, as a soldier, history does not record the name of any man more renowned for personal bravery.

The battle of Agincourt raised the English fame in arms; but it did not immediately add much to Henry's power. Harfleur was the most important place retained by him in the French territories; and to recover it, the whole efforts of the French were directed. They invested it both by sea and land.

The place was gallantly defended by the Earl of Dorset, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at last he was brought to such straits, that without relief it was evident the town must be lost. King Henry directed, therefore, an army of twenty thousand men to be drawn together, and having embarked them on board a fleet of four hundred sail, sent them, under his brother John, Duke of Bedford, to attack the French navy. This service he performed with courage and conduct; for, having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the French with such vigour, that after a long and bloody dispute, he entirely defeated them, taking or sinking five hundred sail. Not long after, the French army retired from before Harfleur, and the Earl of Dorset, with his garrison, which was now reinforced, made excursions through Normandy. In 1417, the Earl of Huntingdon, being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and size of their ships, taking the French admiral prisoner, with four large Genoese ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy, so great in those days, and so well directed, too, was the English power at sea.

Our author, in concluding his account of this reign, says, it may be supposed that the dominion of the sea was fully

maintained under so enterprising a prince, and one who was so remarkably jealous of his rights; I say, this might have been well supposed, though there had been no express evidence of it, which, however, is far from being wanting. He took occasion to have his title and authority, in this respect, mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament; he maintained strong squadrons at sea and on the coasts, humbled all the maritime powers of Europe in his time, on account of the succours they gave the French, and thereby drew great advantages to his subjects, especially from the trade of Flanders, which, by a close alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, he, in a manner, absolutely secured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was excessively distressed, as well through the interruption of foreign commerce, as by the immense taxes levied for the support of his wars, insomuch that, in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament, the feebleness and poverty of the people, and besought him to apply the only remedy which could preserve them from ruin, a speedy peace. All this he did, to obtain his French dominions, which, in his son's time, the wisest men in England thought more expedient to lose than keep, time and experience having always justified this fundamental maxim of English policy, that the subjects' wealth can have no other source than trade, and the majesty of the crown no better support than a firm trust in the people's love, and, in consequence of their extensive commerce, a constant, as well as a superior, power at sea.

During the civil wars which now followed, between the houses of York and Lancaster, not much requires to be noticed regarding naval affairs. It is worthy of remark, however, that the Earl of Warwick, "king-making Warwick," as he is styled, who exercised so much influence during these civil wars, was chiefly indebted to his shipping for the ascendancy which he gained. He was Lord High-Admiral of England, and Governor of Calais. In that office, he evinced his diligence and his regard for his country's honour, by fitting out several squadrons for the public service, to the principal officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. But soon after the accommodation between the Yorkists and their opponents, he had an opportunity of signalizing himself upon the sea in person. Returning to his government of Calais, with thirteen ships under his command, he fell in with a large fleet, belonging, as it is said by the historians, to different powers, and particularly

the Spaniards, who had, before this, commenced hostilities against the English. Their lading was very rich, but their convoy much stronger than the force which the Earl had with him. Notwithstanding this, he fought them for almost two days, took six of their largest ships, laden with wines and other commodities, to the value of upwards of ten thousand pounds, killed a thousand of their men, and destroyed, or run ashore, about twenty-six of their ships besides.

The Lubeckers, who then made a great figure in European commerce, happening to have a large share in this fleet, entered a complaint at the court of England against the Earl of Warwick, for this action; and on the thirty-first of July, 1458, king Henry appointed commissioners to examine into the affair. Warwick had disposed of the ships and cargoes at Calais, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. And it is conjectured, that the French and Spaniards were really the owners of the fleet, but that they agreed with the Lubeckers, who were a neutral power, to demand satisfaction of the English admiral. This action, however, was far from being disagreeable to the nation.

The whole of Warwick's history indicates the importance attached to the sovereignty of the seas, and marks his popularity among the sailors.

It is foreign to our purpose, to detail the events which ensued during the civil wars, which ended in seating Henry the Seventh on the throne of England. That the maritime superiority of our country was a matter of pride then, as now, is shown in a work, still preserved, and entitled, "*De politica conservativa maris.*" It is written in verse. We know not by whom, or exactly when it was composed, and yet we may come pretty near the time, for it is said, in the close, to have been examined and approved by the wise baron of Hungerford, which nobleman lost his head at Salisbury, in 1466, being the sixth of Edward the Fourth: consequently this book must have been written some time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. The title to the general introduction runs thus:—"Here beginneth the prologue of the processe of the libel of ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENGLAND to keep the SEA, and namely the NARROWE SEA: showing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to ENGLAND, and to all ENGLISHMEN."

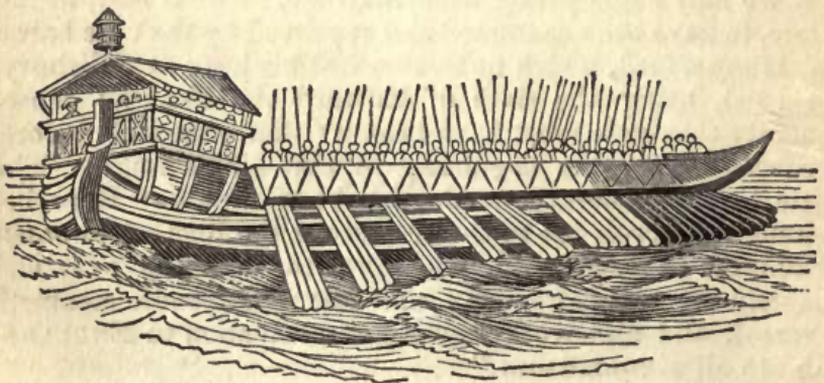
In this introduction, the author shows both the utility and the necessity of England's preserving the dominion of the

sea, and tells us, that the emperor Sigismund, who came over hither in 1416, and went into France with Henry the Fifth, advised him to keep the two towns of Dover and Calais, as carefully as he would his two eyes.

It will be at once understood, that during the times of the history, of which so rapid a sketch has just been given, a very great diversity of means of warlike annoyance were in use. In the earlier times, the vessels which were then probably mere galleys impelled by means of oars, were armed with beaks or prows, which they forcibly drove against each other; their principal aim being to sink the enemy; while these attacked and defended with javelins, spears, shields, and other weapons, resembling, in the most material respects, those used on shore.

Cannons are supposed to have been invented in 1330, and were used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in 1346. We do not find that they were used at sea before 1377, when the Venetians employed them against the Genoese; and it is not probable that the English would be long behind in adopting them; yet it seems they were not manufactured in England until 1547. Bombs and mortars were invented in 1634. The introduction of these warlike engines, and of fire-arms in general, gave an entire new character to the face of war, both by land and sea; and it is probable that steam will, in any future extensive war, produce a still farther change, at least in naval matters.

Of the exact dates of the introduction of various descriptions of cannon, and of the consequent changes in the size and forms of ships, we have no authority which can be entirely relied on.



Galley of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY THE SEVENTH—ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL NAVY AS A DISTINCT SERVICE—HENRY THE EIGHTH—EDWARD THE SIXTH—MARY—SIR JOHN CABOT—SEBASTIAN CABOT—HOWARD—SIR JOHN DUDLEY.

SOME writers date what they term the origin of the English navy, from the reign of Henry the Seventh, upon the ground that he was the first who built and maintained, at the public charge, ships of war. It is not disputed, indeed, that before this the sea forces of our kings were hastily assembled upon emergencies, were hired from merchants, and contributed by the then five principal seaport towns, to this day called the Cinque-ports. The hurried equipment and manning of these vessels, formed the only difference between ships of war, and ships of commerce. The introduction of cannon, leading to a great enlargement in the size, and change of the form of ships, contributed to bring on an alteration in this respect, although even later than the time we speak of, we find the royal ships employed occasionally as merchantmen, as in recent times the East Indiamen, and other large merchant vessels, were not unprepared for defence.

Our author tells us that Henry laid out £14,000 in the construction of a new ship, called THE GREAT HARRY, and which, properly speaking, was the *first ship* of the *royal navy*; for though he, as well as other princes, hired many ships, exclusive of those furnished by the ports, when he had occasion to transport forces abroad, yet he seems to have been the only king who thought of avoiding this inconvenience, by raising such a naval force as might be at all times sufficient for the service of the state; a design worthy of his wisdom to project, and of being in some degree perfected under the more fortunate reign of his son.

Henry's policy was, generally speaking, peaceful; but he was politic enough to keep his navy in a highly efficient, and, indeed, in a progressive state, in order to prevent the attacks

of enemies. Henry was ever anxious to guide the attention of his subjects to trade, which he both himself understood, and, unlike the French statesman, who was told that the greatest favour he could do to commerce, was to let it alone, knew how to encourage it. His long residence in Bretagne had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater skill in naval affairs, than most of his predecessors; and this was so well known, that eminent seamen, even in foreign countries, frequently, on that account, addressed themselves to him for favour and protection. Nor was it but by accident, that he was deprived of the glory of having patronised Columbus in the discovery of America. That illustrious navigator, disgusted at the indifference with which his proposals had been entertained by the governments of Genoa and Portugal, sent his brother Bartholomew to explain his plans, and request the means of carrying them into effect from Henry.

Bartholomew, on his voyage, was taken by pirates, and it was only after many difficulties, and a long delay, that he found his way to the court of Henry. The king liked his schemes so well, that they came soon to an agreement; but, by a new series of cross accidents, he was prevented from seeing his brother, until the latter, desponding of a reply to his communication to Henry, had concluded an agreement with the crown of Spain, and had sailed on that voyage of discovery, which terminated in placing the American islands at the disposal of Spain. This was in 1492.

John Cabot was by birth a Venetian, but had settled at Bristol for the purposes of trade. This man was of an enterprising spirit, and being emulous of the fame of Columbus, he addressed himself to the king, with proposals for making like discoveries, in case he met with due encouragement. His offer was readily accepted; and the king, by letters patent, dated March the fifth, in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, leave to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them, with many privileges, reserving to himself one-fifth part of the profits; and with this single restraint, that the ships they fitted out, should be obliged to return to the port of Bristol. Though these letters patent were granted in 1495, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to set out any ships; and then John Cabot had a permission from the king, to take six English ships in any

haven of the realm, of the burden of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as should be willing to go with him.

In consequence of this license, the king, at his own expense, caused a ship to be equipped at Bristol: to this the merchants of that city, and of London, added three or four small vessels, freighted with proper commodities, which fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1497. Our old chronicle writers, particularly Fabian, tell us of a very rich island, which John Cabot promised to discover; but in this they seem to mistake the matter, for want of thoroughly understanding the subject of which they were writing. John Cabot was too wise a man to pretend to know, before he saw it, what country he should discover, whether island or continent; but what he proposed was, to find a north-west passage to the Indies; so that he appears to have reasoned in the same manner that Columbus did, who imagined that, as the Portuguese, by sailing east, came to the west coast of the Indies, so he, by sailing west, might reach their opposite shore. This, with his discovering the island of Baccaloes, or Newfoundland, was certainly the source of this story.

John Cabot, having his son Sebastian with him, sailed happily on their north-west course, till the twenty-fourth of June, 1497, about five in the morning, when they first discovered land, which John Cabot, for that reason, called *Prima Vista*, that is, first seen. Another island, less than the first, he styled the island of St. John, because it was found on the feast of St. John Baptist. He afterwards sailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned, with a good cargo, and three savages on board, into England, where, it seems, he was knighted for this exploit, since on the map of his discoveries, drawn by his son Sebastian, and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall, there was this inscription under the author's picture: Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis, Aurati, &c.

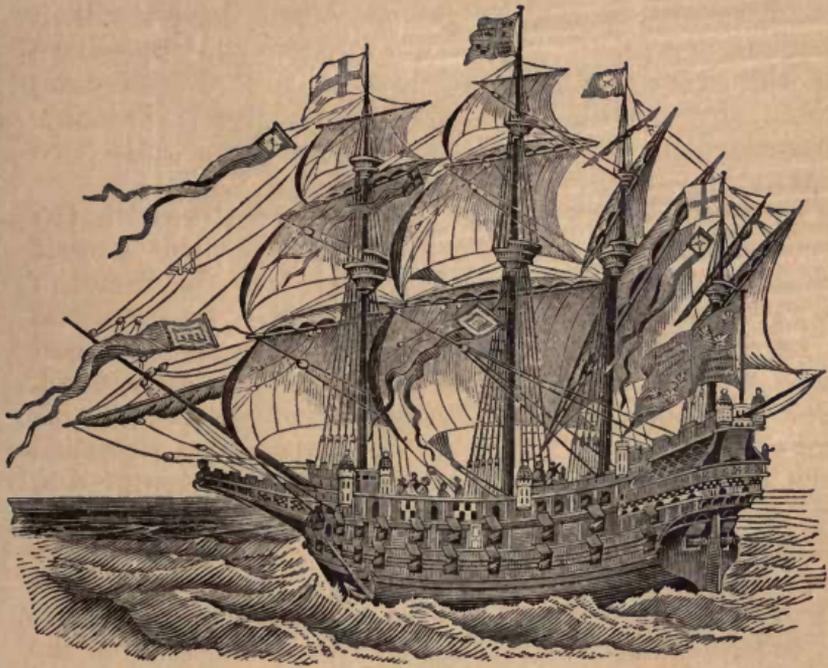
This was a very important discovery; since, in truth, it was the first time the continent of America had been seen; Columbus being unacquainted therewith, till his last voyage, which was the year following, when he coasted along a part of the isthmus of Darien. It is somewhat strange, that our English writers have delivered these matters so confusedly, especially such as lived under the reigns of queen Elizabeth, and king James the First, and, consequently, in and near the

time of Cabot's son; yet, so inaccurate are their relations, that some have been induced thereby to doubt, whether John Cabot made any discoveries at all. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Purchas, to whose labours the world is so much indebted, discovers a good deal of distaste, that America should be so called, from Americus Vesputius; and asserts, that it ought rather to be called Cabotiana, or Sebastiana: because, says he, Sebastian Cabot discovered more of it than Americus, or Columbus himself. In Stowe, and Speed, we find this very discovery ascribed wholly to Sebastian, without any mention of his father; and yet in Fabian's Chronicle, who lived in those days, we have these two remarkable passages:—

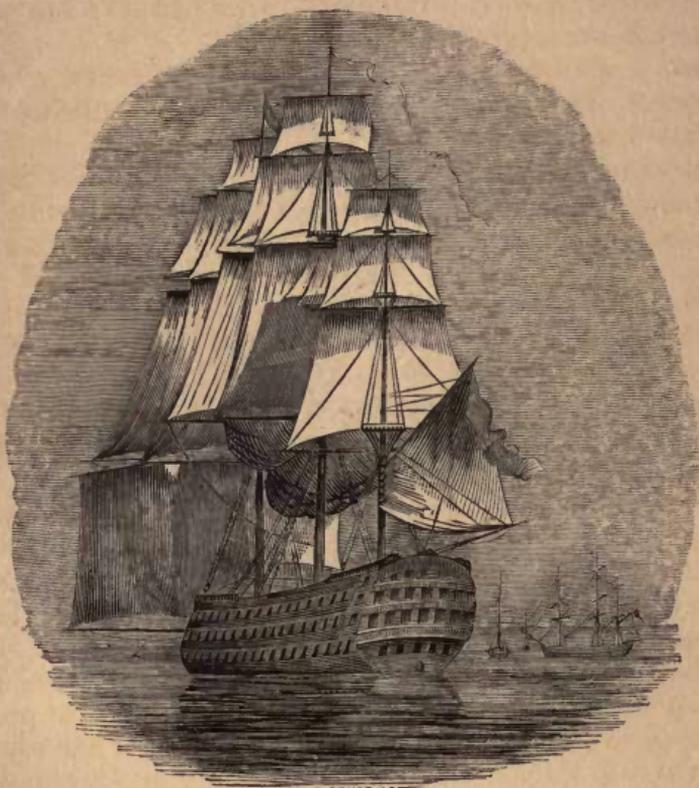
“In the thirteenth year of king Henry the Seventh, (by means of one John Cabot, a Venetian, who made himself very expert and cunning in the knowledge of the circuit of the world, and islands of the same, as by a sea-card, and other demonstrations reasonable, he showed,) the king caused to man and victual a ship at Bristol, to search for an island, which he said he knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities; which ship, thus manned and victualled at the king's cost, diverse merchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her, as chief patron, the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristol three or four small ships, freighted with slight and gross merchandises, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, points, and other trifles; and so departed from Bristol in the beginning of May, of whom in this mayor's time returned no tidings.”

Under the fourteenth year of the same king's reign, he tells us, “There were brought unto him,” *i. e.* Henry the Seventh, “three men taken in the new found island; these,” says he, “were clothed in beasts' skins, and did eat raw flesh, and spake such speech, that no man could understand them, and in their demeanour like brute beasts, whom the king kept a time after, of the which, about two years after, I saw two, apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster palace, which at that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were; but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word.”

Thus it appears, from the best authority that can be desired, that of a contemporary writer, this discovery was made by Sir John Cabot, the father of Sebastian; and, indeed, so much we might have gathered, if we had wanted



The Great Harry, built in 1511.



British Line-of-Battle Ship, 1841

this authority: for Sebastian Cabot being, as we shall see hereafter, alive in 1557, it is plain, that, at the time this voyage was made, he could not be above twenty years old; when, though he might accompany his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. It is probable that John Cabot died in England; but when or where is uncertain.

Cabot well deserves this notice, as being the first who, on an extended scale, led on the enterprise of Englishmen in maritime discovery.

Henry the Eighth followed up the policy of his father, with regard to his navy; but his ambition, his pride, and capricious temper, involved him in numerous wars. In 1511, a fierce engagement took place between the French and English fleets; and the Sovereign, or Regent, the largest English ship being burned, the king built another of still greater burden, called Henry Grace de Dieu, and by some the Great Harry, after the ship of the same name built by his father. This is said to have been the first ship which had four masts, the Regent having had three.

With the political and domestic character of Henry the Eighth, both of which were tyrannical, and the latter detestable, we have nothing farther to do. We are bound to add, that the laws made in his time, for the facilitating and support of inland navigation, clearly demonstrate, that the importance of large rivers began to be understood and esteemed more, than during the civil wars, when public welfare gave way to private interest. The Thames, the Ouse, the Ex, the rivers of Southampton, the Severn, &c., were freed from wears and other obstructions: on the same principle an act passed, for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls and other oppressive duties on the Severn, were suppressed, that the great communication by that noble river, might be as free as possible. The making of cables and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal stay of Bridport in Dorsetshire, was secured to that place by statute. More than one law was passed, to prevent the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured and choaked up by the stream works of the tin mines. An act was also passed, in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in a manner spoiled, the king expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds, out of his own coffers, in building a new pier

and other necessary works. But not to dwell upon subjects that might employ a volume, let us barely mention his founding the two royal yards at Woolwich and Deptford, the cradles of Britain's naval power; and his founding at the latter, his noble marine guild, or fraternity, of the Trinity.

We may now, the English navy having, as such, assumed a national form, not altogether depending on the will of the sovereign, bring more prominently forward the biographies of individual Admirals, whose histories, nevertheless, cannot be separated from, because indeed they form a part of, that of the times in which they lived.

SIR EDWARD HOWARD, LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, AND KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.—If the advantage of an illustrious descent adds to the reputation of great achievements, then the memory of this very gallant and worthy man will have a double right to our respect. He was a second son of the noble House of Norfolk, and derived, from the example of his father, qualities which adorn the highest titles, namely, untainted loyalty, and invincible courage. He began early to show his inclination to the sea-service, since we find him employed in the Flanders expedition in 1492, when king Henry the Seventh thought fit to assist the Duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects. The Flemings, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, had grown uneasy under the yoke of the house of Austria, and under the command of the Baron de Ravenstein, began to throw it off. In order to this, they seized the town and harbour of Sluys, from whence they fitted out abundance of vessels, of pretty considerable force, and, under colour of pursuing their enemies, took and plundered vessels of all nations, without distinction; and as the English trade to Flanders was then very extensive, the English ships suffered at least as much as any other, which was the true reason why king Henry, upon the first application of the Duke of Burgundy, sent a squadron of twelve sail, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, with whom Sir Edward Howard, then a very young man, went out to learn the art of war. The Duke of Saxony, in consequence of his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, marched with an army into Flanders, and besieged Sluys by land; and Sir Edward Poynings blocked it up with his fleet by sea.

The port was defended by two strong castles, which the Flemings, who had nothing to trust to but force, defended with unparalleled obstinacy; insomuch, that though Poynings attacked them constantly every day, for twenty days successively, yet he made no great impression, till, at last, through accident, the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the castles was preserved, took fire, whereupon the besieged were glad to surrender their city to the Duke of Saxony, and their port and castles to the English. In this expedition, Sir Edward was made a knight, for his extraordinary bravery, of which he gave frequent instances during that long reign, and so thoroughly established his reputation, that king Henry the Eighth, on his succession, made choice of him for his standard bearer, which, in those days, was considered not only as a mark of particular favour, but as a testimony also of the highest confidence and greatest respect.

In the fourth year of the same reign, he was created Lord High-Admiral of England, and, in that station, conveyed the Marquis of Dorset into Spain. The Lord Admiral, after the landing of the forces, put to sea again, and, arriving on the coasts of Bretagne, landed some of his men about Conquet and Brest, who ravaged the country, and burned several of the little towns. This roused the French, who began immediately to fit out a great fleet, in order to drive, if possible, the English from their coasts; and as this armament was very extraordinary, king Henry sent a squadron of five and twenty tall ships, which he caused to be fitted out under his own eye, at Portsmouth, to the assistance of the admiral. Among these were two capital ships; one called the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the horse to the king, and the other, which was the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. When these vessels had joined the admiral, his fleet consisted of no less than forty-five sail, with which he immediately resolved to attack the enemy, who were, by this time, ready to come out of the harbour of Brest. Authors differ much as to their number.

Our writers say it consisted of thirty-nine, and the French only of twenty sail; the Admiral, Primauguet, was a brave man. The ship he commanded was called the Cordelier, which was so large, as to be able to carry twelve hundred fighting men, exclusive of mariners. At this time there were nine hundred on board, and, encouraged by their gal-

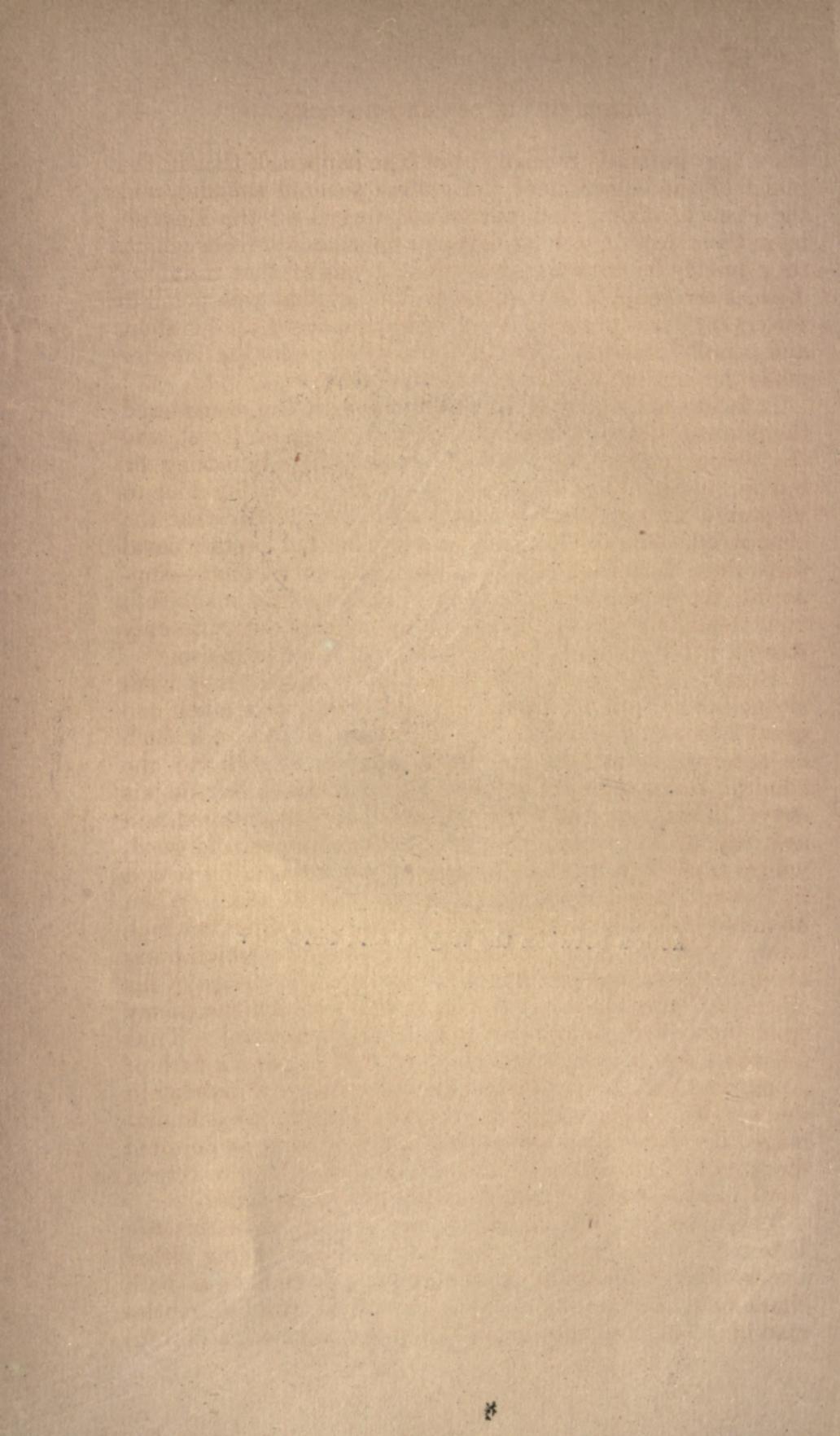
lant officer, they did their duty bravely. Sir Thomas Knevet, in the *Regent*, which was a much less ship, attacked and boarded them. The action lasted for some time with equal vigour on both sides: at last both the admirals' ships took fire, and burned together, wherein were lost upwards of sixteen hundred valiant men. It seems this accident struck both fleets with amazement, so that they separated, without fighting, each claiming the victory, to which, probably, neither had a very good title.

In the beginning of the following April, Admiral Howard put to sea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war, besides small vessels, and forced the French into the harbour of Brest, where they fortified themselves, in order to wait the arrival of a squadron of galleys from the Mediterranean. Sir Edward Howard, having considered their posture, resolved, since it was impossible to attack them, to burn the country round about, which he accordingly performed, in spite of all the care they could take to prevent it; and yet the French lay still under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks lashed together, which they proposed to have set on fire, in case the English attempted to force them to a battle. While the admiral was thus employed, he had intelligence that Pregel, with the six galleys from the Mediterranean, had arrived, and taken shelter in the bay of Conquet. This accident induced him to change his measures, so that he now resolved first to destroy the galleys, if possible, and then return to the fleet. Upon his advancing to reconnoitre Pregel's squadron, he found them at anchor between two rocks, on each of which stood a strong fort, and which was like to give him still more trouble. They lay so far up in the bay, that he could bring none of his ships of force to engage them. The only method, therefore, of which he could think, was to put the bravest of his sailors on board two galleys, which were in his fleet, and with these to venture in, and try what might be done against all six.

This being resolved on, he went himself, attended by Sir Thomas Cheyne, and Sir John Wallop, on board one of them; and sent Lord Ferrers, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Sidney, on board the other; and having a brisk gale of wind, sailed directly into the bay, where, with his own galley, he attacked the French admiral. As soon as they were grappled, Sir Edward Howard, followed by seventeen of the bravest of his sailors, boarded the enemy, and



Action between the Regent and Cordelier.



were very gallantly received ; but it so happened, that in the midst of the engagement the galleys sheered asunder, and the French, taking that advantage, forced all the English upon their decks overboard, except one seaman, from whom they quickly learned that the admiral was of that number. Lord Ferrers, in the other galley, did all that was possible for a very brave man to do ; but having spent all his shot, and perceiving, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewise made the best of his way out of the harbour.

It is said, that Sir Edward Howard having considered the posture of the French fleet in the haven of Brest, and the consequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be present at so glorious an action, desiring rather that the king should have the honour of destroying the French naval force than himself—a loyal and generous proposition—supposing the honour, not the danger, too great for a subject ; and, measuring his master's courage by his own, the only standard men of his rank and temper of mind ever use.

But his letter being laid before the Council, they were altogether of another opinion, conceiving it was much too great a hazard for his majesty to expose his person in such an enterprise ; and, therefore, they wrote sharply to the admiral, commanding him not to send excuses, but do his duty. This, as it well might, piqued him to the utmost, and as it was his avowed maxim, That a seaman never did good, who was not resolute to a degree of madness, so he took a sudden resolution of acting in the manner he did. When he found his galley slide away, and saw the danger to which he was exposed, he took his chain of gold nobles which hung about his neck, and his great gold whistle, the ensign of his office, and threw them into the sea, to prevent the enemy from possessing the spoils of an English admiral. Thus fell the great Sir Edward Howard, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1513, a sacrifice to his too quick sense of honour in the service. His loss was to the manifest and acknowledged detriment of his country : for his death so dejected the spirits of his sailors, that the fleet was obliged to return home, which, had he lived, would not have happened.

There never, certainly, was a braver man than this Sir Edward Howard ; and he was very far from being either a mere soldier, or a mere seaman, though so eminent in both characters : but he was what it became an English gentleman of so high quality to be—an able statesman, a faithful

counsellor, and a free speaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels; and yet he was against her quarrelling on every slight occasion, or against her interests. He particularly dissuaded a breach with the Flemings, for these wise and strong reasons, that such a war was prejudicial to commerce abroad; that it diminished the customs, while it increased the public expenses; that it served the French, by constraining the inhabitants of Flanders to deal with them against their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourse with those by whom they were principally improved.

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THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY, AND DUKE OF NORFOLK.—Thomas Howard was the elder brother of Sir Edward, and succeeded him as Lord High-Admiral. Although a man of great ability, he was not so famous for naval exploits as his brother: still he ably sustained the reputation of the English sailor. He commanded, under the title of Earl of Surrey, the English army at the battle of Flodden; and, indeed, as a general, was ranked among the highest of his time. It is deserving of remark, that in former times we find the Admiral and the General much more frequently combined than we do at a later period. This can only arise from the circumstance of the duties required from the two services being more distinctly circumscribed and limited: for we cannot doubt, that had Wellington turned his attention to naval tactics, and Nelson been bred a soldier, the one might have been the victor of the Nile, and the second the conqueror of Waterloo.

This Earl of Surrey, having succeeded to the title of Duke of Norfolk, incurred the dislike of his capricious king, whose lawless lust was his only will, and was thrown into the tower and condemned to death. He was saved, however, by the death of the king, who having lived to be a burden to himself and a scourge to his subjects, died in 1547.— This relief to suffering humanity came too late to save the gallant son of Norfolk, the poet-soldier Lord Surrey, who for imaginary crimes was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1547.

Sir William Fitzwilliams was another of the naval heroes of these days, and was identified with the Howards in many of their victories, and was undoubtedly a gallant sailor. He was created Earl of Southampton. He died in 1542.

Although martial exploits have generally attracted more

renown than peaceful exertions, for the benefit of mankind, still on careful consideration it will be found that a high degree of courage, as well as skill and perseverance, is required in the conduct of a voyage of discovery.

That a preference is given, and is due to the former, may be easily accounted for. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and to those who expose their lives to defend their altars and their homes, no praise too high can be given, no reward too great can be offered. Improvement is the second law of nature; and to those whose lives are periled, and whose energies are exerted in pointing out paths, which may lead to the improvement of the human race, high indeed is the admiration which is due.

Of voyages of discovery, during this reign, we find the following notices; the first of them referring to a much talked of subject—the North-west passage.

Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, in the year 1527, addressed himself to the king by a letter, wherein he represented what great advantages the emperor of Germany, and the king of Portugal, drew from their colonies, and exhorted him to undertake discoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, supported by very plausible reasons. The king, understanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, ordered two ships to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. Thorne himself had the direction. One of the ships was lost, and the other returned home, without discovering any north-west passage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in such as were concerned. Mr. Thorne, the principal undertaker, was afterwards mayor of Bristol.

In 1530, Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, and himself esteemed one of the ablest seamen of his time, fitted out a stout tall ship, says our author, at his own expense, called the Paul of Plymouth, of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons, in which he made three voyages to the coast of Brazil, touching also on the coast of Guinea, where he traded in slaves, gold, and elephants' teeth, opening thereby the channel of that rich and extensive commerce, which has been since carried on in those parts.

Less successful, though undertaken with greater hopes, was the famous voyage of Mr. Hore of London, a worthy merchant, and one of the most remarkable men of his time.

His person was tall and graceful, his knowledge solid and extensive, his behaviour insinuating and polite; all which is necessary to be observed, since, by his discourses on the honour and profit of discoveries in North America, he inspired no fewer than thirty gentlemen, of family and fortune, with a desire of sharing in the fatigues of his intended voyage. They equipped two ships, one called the Trinity, of one hundred and forty tons, commanded by Mr. Hore, the other the Minion, of less burden; and on board these there embarked, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

They sailed from Gravesend on the thirtieth of April, 1536, and without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coast of Newfoundland, where, while they were intent on discoveries, they were reduced to the greatest distress for want of food. At last, when they were on the point of being all starved, a French ship arrived, well furnished with provisions, of which they made themselves masters, and returned therein to England. Some months after, arrived the Frenchmen, whom they had spoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received; into which king Henry having made a strict inquiry, he was so much moved at the miseries that these brave men had suffered, that he generously repaid the French to their satisfaction, out of the treasury, and promoted several of those who returned from this disastrous voyage; amongst the rest, Mr. Armigal Wade, who was many years after clerk of the council to himself and his son Edward the Sixth. One thing more I must remark, before I quit this subject, and that is, that the Reverend Mr. Hakluyt, from whom we have these particulars, rode two hundred miles, in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. Butts, the only surviving person of those who had made this voyage.

The English commerce, during the reign of this prince, extended itself very much, especially towards the newly discovered lands in the north, to which by degrees a regular trade was fixed, and in the Levant, encouraged by the great intercourse between the king and the two maritime states of Italy, Venice and Genoa.

Edward the Sixth, who died while yet a minor, was as amiable as his father was hateful. His uncles, the Seymours, rendered his reign unhappy, by fraternal discords, the protector, the Duke of Somerset, having promoted, or at least concurred in, the death of his brother, the High Admiral Seymour, upon a very doubtful, if not frivolous,

charge of treason. Somerset himself suffered death for nominal treason, imputed to him by the intriguing Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Amid such transactions, and at a time when the attention of all was directed to religious discussions, consequent to the reformation, we look in vain for heroic exploits. Yet even in this reign attention was paid to trade and to maritime discovery; and with it is intimately connected the history of Sebastian Cabot.

SEBASTIAN CABOT was the son of Sir John Cabot, of whom we have already given some account. He was born at Bristol about the year 1477. Sebastian was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography; and by the time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent skill in the practical part of navigation.

The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father, for the discovery of the north-west passage, of which we have given some account. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to North America; but whether Sebastian Cabot did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the new found land, is doubtful, because incongruous relations of this voyage are found in different authors. For instance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebastian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, that the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships fitted out at his own expense; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Bristol. Besides this, an intelligent Spanish writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when Cabot sailed, at the expense of King Henry the Seventh, in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond Cape Labrador, somewhat more than fifty-eight degrees north latitude, then, turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to thirty-eight degrees, which agrees very well with our accounts of John Cabot's voyage; but Ramusio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebastian Cabot before him

when he wrote, speaks of a voyage wherein he sailed north and by west, to sixty-seven degrees and a-half, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors.

The writers in those days had no precision ; they set down facts very confusedly, without much attending to circumstances, and were still less solicitous about dates, which gives those who come after them much trouble, and that often without attaining any certainty. It is, however, probable, that Sebastian made more than one, perhaps more than two voyages into these parts, by virtue of king Henry the Seventh's commission ; and if so, he well deserved the character Sir William Monson has given of him, and of his important discoveries, which the reader will be pleased to see in Sir William's own words, the authority of the writer, from his perfect knowledge of the subject, being of much weight.

“ To come to the particulars,” says he, “ of augmentation of our trade, of our plantations, and our discoveries, because every man shall have his due therein, I will begin with Newfoundland, lying upon the main continent of America, which the king of Spain challenges as first discoverer ; but as we acknowledge the king of Spain the first light of the west and south-west parts of America, so we, and all the world must confess, that we were the first who took possession, for the crown of England, of the north part thereof, and not above two years difference betwixt the one and the other. And as the Spaniards have, from that day and year, held their possession in the west, so have we done the like in the north ; and though there is no respect, in comparison of the wealth betwixt the countries, yet England may boast, that the discovery, from the year aforesaid, to this very day, hath afforded the subject annually one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and increased the number of many a good ship, and mariners, as our western parts can witness, by their fishing in Newfoundland. Neither can Spain challenge a more natural right than we to its discovery ; for in that case we are both alike.

“ If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their right, it is Italy that must assume the discovery to itself, as well in the one part of America as in the other. Genoa, and Christopher Columbus by name, must carry away the praise of it from Spain ; for Spain had not that voyage in agitation, or thought of it, till Columbus not only proposed, but accomplished it. The like may be said of

Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, who, by his earnest intercession to Henry the Seventh, drew him to the discovery of Newfoundland, and called it by the name of *Bacallao*, an Indian name for fish, from the abundance of fish he found upon that coast."

This shows plainly the great sagacity and unbiassed impartiality of this ingenious author, who points very justly to those advantages which had, even in his time, accrued to this nation from these discoveries, and fairly ascribes to Italy the honour of producing those incomparable persons by whom they were made; for, though he is a little mistaken in the name, ascribing to Sebastian what was due to Sir John Cabot, yet he is right as to the fact, for Sir John was a citizen and native of Venice, which fully justifies his compliment to Italy, the Mother of Science, and the Nurse of the Fine Arts.

It seems that Cabot had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir Thomas Pert, in Henry the Eighth's time Vice-Admiral of England, who procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make discoveries; but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the south to the East Indies, for he sailed first to Brazil, and missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto-Rico, where he carried on some traffic, and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went, not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert, his coadjutor, of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of a person who lived in those times.

This disappointment, in all probability, might dispose Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain, where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would admit, being declared pilot-major, or chief pilot of Spain, and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery, which in those days were many and important. His great capacity and improved integrity induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, in relation to a voyage to be undertaken at their expense, by the newly-found passage of Magellan, to the Moluccos, which at length he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spanish historian Herrera.

He sailed, says he, about the beginning of April, 1525,

first to the Canaries, then to the islands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape St. Augustine, and the island of Patos, and near the bay of All-Saints he met a French ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the said island; but there the Indians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force four sons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of Plate, having left ashore on a desert island Martin Mendez, his Vice-Admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion, he went not to the Spice islands, as well because he had not provisions, as by reason that the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Straits. He sailed up the river La Plata, and about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called *San Salvador*, very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side, whither he brought up his vessels and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make discoveries, thinking that although he did not pass through the Straits to the Spice islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless.

He thence discovered the shores of the river La Plata, where he found many islands and rivers, and, keeping along the greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, to which the Indians gave the name of Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brazil, and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, a thing which in those parts he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five of his Spaniards.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, this eminent seaman, having left the service of Spain, was introduced to the Duke of Somerset, then Lord-Protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot

had applied himself, than could have been expected, for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this island and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entering, conveniences and inconveniences, and, in short, could answer any question about them that a sailor could ask. We need not wonder, therefore, that with such a prince, Cabot was in high esteem, or that in his favour a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause, in which patent this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. He continued thenceforward highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade.

In the month of May, 1552, the king granted a license, together with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery of a passage by the north to the East Indies. Sebastian Cabot was at that time governor of the company of merchant adventurers on whose advice this enterprise was undertaken, and by whose interest this countenance from the court was procured. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely, but as I observe there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, so I am apt to believe that there must have been two distinct undertakings, one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect, and the other by a joint-stock of the merchants, which did. When this matter was first proposed, the king lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*, to Barnes, Lord Mayor of London, and Mr. Garret, one of the sheriffs; Mr. York and Mr. Wyndham, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king to deliver two ships of like burden, and in as good condition, at midsummer, 1554. In consideration also of the expense and trouble of Sebastian Cabot, his Majesty made him a present of two hundred pounds.

A year afterwards this grand undertaking was brought to bear, and thereupon Sebastian Cabot delivered to the commander-in-chief those directions by which he was to regulate his conduct, the title of which ran thus:—"Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of, and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabot, Esq.,

governor of the mystery and company of merchant adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown, the ninth of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1553." This shows how great a trust was reposed in this gentleman by the government and by the merchants of England, and the instructions themselves, which we still have entire, are the clearest proofs of his sagacity and penetration, and the fullest justification of such as reposed their trust in him.

Many have surmised that he was a knight, whence we often find him styled Sir Sebastian; but the very title of those instructions I have cited proves the contrary, as also the charter granted by king Philip and queen Mary, in the first year of their reign, to the merchants of Russia, since styled the Russia Company, whereby Sebastian Cabota is made governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade; but so far from being styled knight, that he is called only Sebastian Cabota, without any distinction at all. Indeed, he is styled Sebastian Cabot, Esq., in the letters patent, bearing date at St. James's, November 27, 1555, in the second and third years of Philip and Mary, wherein their Majesties are pleased to grant him an annuity of one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence during his natural life; as he also is in the letters patent, dated at Westminster, May 29, 1557, the third and fourth of the same reign, when these princes were pleased to permit him to surrender the former patent, and as a reward for his great merit, to grant him the like annuity as before, not only during his life, but also to continue the same to William Worthington, Esq., a friend no doubt of Cabot's, for his natural life likewise. After this we find him very active in the affairs of the company, in the year 1556, and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is observed, that on the 27th of April that year he went down to Gravesend, and there went on board the Serch-thrift, a small vessel fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors, and on his return to Gravesend he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, that upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the Christopher, where, says Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended

discovery, he entered into the dance himself. This, except the renewing his patent, is the last circumstance relating to Cabot that I can meet with anywhere; and as it is certain that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity; so I look upon it as certain, that he died some time in the next year, when, if not four score, he was at least much upwards of seventy.

He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom; for he it was who first took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such mighty consequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in their inquiries ever since.

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST has not earned for herself any very enviable character in history. She was a weak-minded woman, and permitted her judgment to be perverted, and her heart hardened by a cruel superstition, imposed upon her by designing persons, who hoped through her means to restore the influence of the Romish priesthood, abolished by her father, whose name is redeemed from universal infamy by that abolition alone.

In pursuance of her darling object, that of restoring the papal power, Mary accepted the offer of a matrimonial alliance with Philip, son of Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, one of the most politic and successful princes of modern history, yet devoid of every spark of noble and generous feeling. Philip inherited from his father nothing but his bigotry and his kingdoms, and his only object in marrying the queen of England, who was much his senior, and whom he seems never to have loved, was to bring back that kingdom to the Catholic religion. This unfortunate alliance had considerable influence upon our naval history. Our author tells us that the queen caused a fleet of twenty-eight sail to be equipped, the command of which she gave to the Lord William Howard, created baron of Effingham in the first year of her reign, and Lord High-Admiral. He was sent to sea under pretence of guarding the coast, but in reality his squadron was designed to escort prince Philip, which was, however, a needless care, since his own fleet consisted of a hundred and sixty sail. With this naval force he entered the narrow seas, his Admiral car-

rying the Spanish flag in his main-top, a thing which gave such offence to the gallant Admiral of England, that he saluted him with a shot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince—a circumstance worthy of immortal remembrance, and one would think, too, of imitation.

Had the alliance between Spain and England at this period been truly national, and not merely personal between the two sovereigns, most important consequences to Europe might have been the results. Both countries were at war with France; but instead of availing themselves of mutual support against that power, their jealousies, chiefly founded on the difference in religions, rendered any sincere alliance impracticable. Mary died in 1558, worn out by bodily disease and mental distress acting and reacting upon each other.

Voyages of discovery were not likely to be undertaken with much spirit under the circumstances inevitably attendant upon so unhappy a reign. Nevertheless we find that one attempt at least was made to discover the passage to the north by the East Indies. It was in this reign also that our merchants began to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Russian territories. A company was established for carrying on the trade with that country, and the representative of the Czar of Moscovy was publicly received at London by Mary and Philip. Owing to the immense riches derived from the possession of Mexico and Peru, Spain might, at the period of which we now speak, be justly deemed the most powerful nation of Europe, and Philip, either from complaisance towards his queen, or from a more subtle motive, permitted the English to share in the favour which Spain enjoyed in foreign ports. Events lead us to believe that Philip entertained the design of reconciling England to the Holy See, and of adding to his already extensive dominions. The fate of his Armada in the subsequent reign dissipated this vision; in the meantime, the English trade benefited by his influence.

One of the most remarkable men of these times raised himself first into rank and fame by his abilities and bravery as a seaman, although he afterwards rendered his fame a bad one by his unprincipled ambition. He forfeited his life by his rebellion upon the accession of Mary; but a very brief notice of him may not be out of place in connexion with her reign.

SIR JOHN DUDLEY, AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT LISLE, EARL OF WARWICK, AND DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.— This aspiring man, son of Edmund Dudley, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born in 1502, and was about eight years of age at the time of his father's execution for alleged treason. In 1511, an act was passed, by which the attainder of Edmund Dudley was reversed, and John Dudley, the son, was restored in blood, in consequence of which he inherited a large property which had been left by his father. While he was very young he attended the Duke of Suffolk in an expedition to France, where, on account of his gallantry and heroism, he obtained the honour of knighthood. He was afterwards patronised by Cardinal Wolsey and Lord Cromwell. When Lady Anne Cleves arrived in England, Dudley was made Master of the Horse to the intended queen. He was also appointed Master of the Armoury in the Tower. On the 1st of May, 1539, he was the first of the grand challengers in the triumphant tournaments held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence, and acted his part with much spirit. In 1542, he was, by letters patent, raised to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, a title which belonged to his mother in her own right; at the next festival of St. George he was elected Knight of the Garter. This was soon after followed by a much higher instance of the king's trust and confidence; for his Majesty, on account of his abilities and courage, constituted him Lord Admiral of England for life. He had, previously to this, distinguished himself in the naval service of his country, and had, in particular, been engaged with the Admiral,* a ship of Sluys, which he boarded and took, fighting her ship to ship. In the year 1544, he sailed as Lord High-Admiral of England, with a fleet of two hundred sail, in order to invade Scotland. The troops were landed about four miles from Leith, whence they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the vanguard, and the Earl of Hertford the main. In Scotland they did a great deal of mischief, scouring the coasts, burning some of the towns, and destroying all the vessels that came within their reach. From Scotland, the Admiral proceeded to assist the king in his enterprize at Boulogne, and very much

* From the style of the old writers, there is some room for doubt whether this was a ship named "The Admiral," or whether it was the Admiral's ship.

contributed to the capture of that place, of which, as a reward for his services, he was appointed governor. In 1546, he was appointed Lieutenant-General and commander at sea, and with a very inferior force, not only frustrated an intended invasion by the French, but, in return, carried the alarm to their coasts, which is thus related:—The French monarch being much vexed at the loss of Boulogne, hired from several of the Italian powers, at a great expense, a considerable number of ships, and having assembled upwards of two hundred sail, besides galleys, gave the command of this fleet to Annebault, admiral of France, in hopes of recovering Boulogne, and also with a design of making some attempts on the English coasts. Between Alderney and Guernsey, their galleys attacked the English Lord Admiral, Lisle, who had then but a small squadron with him, and they made every exertion to take his own ship, but he defended himself so well against eighteen of their vessels at once, that they were glad to retire. At length, the whole French fleet appeared before St. Helen's, and making a show of attempting something upon the coast, the Lord Admiral advanced, his fleet consisting of sixty sail; but, after exchanging some shot, the French retired. The English fleet being then reinforced, and having taken some troops on board, offered the French battle again, which they accepted, and a sharp engagement ensued for two hours, till night parted the two fleets, when the French retired to Havre de Grace, and appeared no more. The English Admiral, however, soon after paid a visit to the coast of France, and landing six thousand men at Treport, burned the town and abbey, with thirty ships which were in the harbour, all which he did with the loss of fourteen men only, and then returned with his fleet to England.

Viscount Lisle was one of the commissioners who received the oath of Francis on the peace, and who made a settlement of the army accounts; for these and other important services, he was amply rewarded by grants of church lands, which relieved him from the embarrassment which his extravagance had occasioned. By the last will of Henry the Eighth he was nominated one of the sixteen to whom the government of the country was committed during the minority of Edward the Sixth. In the year 1547, he resigned his post of High-Admiral, and was, on the same day, created Earl of Warwick, with a grant of the castle and manor of Warwick.

We do not find that after this the Earl of Warwick took any part in the naval concerns of his country. We shall, therefore, give only a very-brief abstract of the subsequent events of his life. He continued to ascend in the scale of preferment, and was successively created Lord Steward of the Household, Earl Marshal of England, and in October 1551, he obtained the title of Duke of Northumberland. The Duke of Somerset had long been Dudley's rival: the young king Edward was anxious to unite them, by proposing a marriage between Dudley's eldest son and the daughter of the Duke of Somerset, which took place. The reconciliation was of very short duration: the ambitious Duke of Northumberland felt that he could rise no higher but by the fall of his rival. This he effected; and to his disgrace and that of the age, Somerset was executed in January, 1552, his enemy having sat as one of the judges on this bloody occasion. He had now leisure to pursue his ambitious projects: he procured a marriage between his son and Lady Jane Grey, a branch of the royal family, and then influenced the king to set aside the succession of his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to bequeath the crown to his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane. This, which he hoped would raise him to the highest point of honour, caused his downfall. On the demise of the king, he caused his daughter-in-law to be proclaimed queen, but the people united for Mary, and fixed the crown upon her head. Northumberland was committed to the Tower, and with the hope of obtaining a pardon, he conformed to the Roman Catholic religion. Mercy, however, was not among the attributes of the queen; the Duke had resisted her power and insulted her authority, and she determined he should pay the penalty of his life. He submitted to his fate with composure, and was beheaded August 22, 1553, leaving behind him several children, of whom Guilford Dudley, and the amiable Lady Jane, suffered for his guilty ambition.



CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH—HER PRECAUTIONS TO RESTORE HER FLEET
 —THE SPANISH ARMADA—HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM—EARL OF
 ESSEX—SIR JOHN HAWKINS—SIR FRANCIS DRAKE—SIR MARTIN
 FROBISHER—EARL OF CUMBERLAND—SIR ROBERT DUDLEY—SIR
 RICHARD GRENVILLE—JAMES LANCASTER.

ELIZABETH, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, found her kingdom beset with dangers and difficulties which her courage and talents alone enabled her to overcome. One of the first measures which her prudence dictated was to attempt to restore the naval superiority of the country, which, as we have stated, had been much impaired during the preceding reign.

Having made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign advice in the late reign, the queen declared that she was an independent and free princess and meant so to act, without any farther applications to Spain than the concerns of her people absolutely required.

On the 21st of November, when she had worn the crown but three days, she sent orders to Vice-Admiral Malyn, to

draw together as many ships as he could for the defence of the narrow seas, and for preventing, likewise, all persons from entering into, or passing out of the kingdom without license, which he performed so strictly, that in a short time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to signify to the warden of the Cinque-ports that the queen meant not to imprison her subjects, but that persons might pass and repass about their lawful concerns. With like diligence, provision was made for the security of Dover, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, so that by the end of the year the kingdom was out of all danger from any sudden insult, and the queen at leisure to consider how she might farther strengthen it, so as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive.

A strict legal inquiry was made into the loss of Calais in the late reign. Lord Wentworth, on whom many aspersions had fallen, was fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers, but the Captain's Chamberlain and Harleston were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them. As for Lord Grey, his gallant defence of the fortress, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any prosecution; instead of which, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces that were to march into Scotland, on a new war with that kingdom. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Winter, who sailed up the Frith of Forth, blocked up Leith by sea, while the army of the Scots Lords, and the English auxiliaries under Lord Grey, besieged it by land, and in a very short space forced the French garrison to capitulate, whereby all the designs of France on that side were entirely broken, and the queen left to look to her own concerns.

Among these the navy was the queen's peculiar care; she directed a most exact survey of it to be made, a very strict inquiry into the causes of its decay, and the surest means by which it might be recovered. She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gunpowder at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vast expense. For the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, she built a strong fortress, called Upnore Castle. The wages of the seamen she raised, enlarged the number and augmented the salaries of her naval officers, drew over foreigners skilled in the arts relating to navigation to instruct her people, and by the pains she

took in these affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began everywhere to exert themselves in like manner, by repairing ports, and building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war as well as commerce, from all which, as Mr. Camden tells us, the queen justly acquired the glorious title of the restorer of naval power, and sovereign of the northern seas, insomuch that foreign nations were struck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing respectfully to court a power which had been so lately the object of their contempt.

The countenance given by Elizabeth to the Protestants among her allies, in their attempts to maintain their religious liberties, turned out of the utmost importance to the commercial interest of her own subjects, for the most skilful artificers of Europe were at that time those of France and the Low Countries, who being persecuted in their own countries, naturally had recourse to that protection which Elizabeth was so willing and so able to afford them, and her numerous ships keeping generally an effective command of the intermediate seas, were always ready to protect them and their families in their passage, and they, in bringing with them in all cases their skill, and in many their capital and implements, laid the foundation of the manufactures of England, which have risen to a height unparalleled in history.

This did not fail to add to the enmity with which the Catholic princes already regarded her, and Philip of Spain took the lead in the attempt to effect her destruction.

These attempts resulted in the sailing and loss of the Spanish Armada, an era so celebrated in our naval annals, as to require from us a brief sketch of the events which preceded and attended it.

The civil dissensions of the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called Hugonots, produced in the year 1562, very destructive consequences to their neighbours. A general spirit of rapine and confusion having spread itself through the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as dwelt on the sea coast, and who were mostly Hugonots, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies, upon which the court party did the like, so that at last piracies were frequent, and the English trade suffered so intolerably, that at length the queen resolved to interpose. The French Protestants had long sued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de

Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands, which at length she accepted, and sent over Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the month of September, 1562, with a considerable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered the town, and kept possession of it till the 29th of July following.

The taking into our hands this place proved of infinite detriment to the French, for the court having declared all English ships good prizes so long as the queen held that port, she found herself obliged to issue a like proclamation, whereupon such numbers of privateers were fitted out from English ports and from Newhaven, that the spoil they made is almost incredible. For example, we are told that one Francis Clarke equipped at his own expense three frigates, and after a cruize of six weeks, brought into Newhaven no fewer than eighteen prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thousand pounds. The main motive to this conduct was to revive a naval enterprising spirit amongst her subjects, the promoting ship-building, and preventing her neighbours from gaining an ascendancy at sea, as they would certainly have done, if in order to redress the nation's wrongs she had had recourse to negotiation. A maritime power injured, instead of expostulating, immediately makes reprisals, and thereby extorts apologies from the aggressors made sensible of their past mistake.

But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen, for her own safety and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain it; those who had fitted out ships of force, from a disposition natural enough to privateers, plundering indiscriminately all vessels that came in their way. In the month of July, also in this year, the queen directed a small squadron of ships to be fitted out, viz., the Lyon, the Hoope, the Hart, Swallow, and a barque named the Hare, of which Sir William Woodhouse, knight, was appointed Vice-Admiral, under a pretence of guarding the narrow seas, which were then said to be greatly infested with pirates, but in reality, as appears from his instructions, to lend what assistance he possibly could to the malecontents in France. Some of these vessels were, in the November following, such as the Hart, Swallow, Hare, &c., judged requisite by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral Clinton, to remain at Portsmouth, not only for the security of the coast and keeping the channel clear during the winter, but for the conveniency of transporting troops,

money, provisions, and ammunition, as also for the conveying to and receiving letters from Newhaven. The Hare, in her passage to the last-mentioned place, was attacked by a French ship of ninety tons and upwards, which she took.

Philip the Second of Spain, from the time of queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, sometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others seeking every occasion to injure and molest her subjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders. What served also to heighten the people's hatred against the Spaniards was, the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated Captain Hawkins and his crew in the West Indies, an insult which the queen could but very ill bear, though as things were circumstanced she could not well resent it, all trade to the Spanish West Indies being in some respect opposed to treaties.

In the midst of all difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, and of pursuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view she sometimes contributed ships, sometimes gave money, at others entered into partnership. She likewise afforded, in a very delicate conjuncture a proof of her generosity, in directing a strong squadron of her ships to escort Anne of Austria in her voyage from Flanders into Spain, notwithstanding the bad terms on which she then stood with king Philip. Her treaties with France, which seemed to exclude all fear of danger, did not hinder her from fortifying Portsmouth thoroughly, in which it quickly appeared that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needless timidity, for the French soon fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending to take some offence at the supplies she had sent the Hugonots, as if it was contrary to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her Majesty had provided effectually against any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to desist, and even to make greater professions of friendship than before, which disposed the queen to send over the Earl of Worcester to the christening of the French king's daughter.

This proved unlucky for the Hugonots, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from Rochelle, they stopped and visited vessels of all nations approaching the French coast; amongst the rest, they seized a barque with part of the Earl of Worcester's baggage, which they took, and killed three

or four people. This being reported to the queen, she issued her orders by the Lord High-Admiral to scour the narrow seas, who appointed William Holstock, Esq., comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and sixty men on board, to perform this service, which he did with such industry and effect, that between the North-Foreland and Falmouth he took twenty privateers of several nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and sent them as they were taken to Sandwich, Dover, Newport, and Portsmouth. He likewise retook and set at liberty fifteen merchantmen, by them made prize, and all this within so short a time as six weeks.

The growth of this kingdom's power and commerce being so conspicuous, left king Philip of Spain no room to doubt that his projects for assuming the supreme dominion of Europe, or at least the absolute direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unless some method could be contrived for ruining England at once. While he meditated this design, and took various steps towards it, he found himself daily more and more irritated by the pains which queen Elizabeth took to frustrate his schemes, and to diminish the power which had been derived to him from his father, the emperor Charles the Fifth. During the administration of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, differences had arisen between the court of England and the king of Spain's subjects there, and after much warmth shown on both sides, these matters were in some measure accommodated in 1573. That accommodation was so far from being the effects of any cordial disposition in either of these powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both sides, neither having as yet brought those things so far to bear as were requisite for accomplishing their respective designs.

The Catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying queen Elizabeth, and utterly subverting the English state. The first of these was to unite against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states abroad, which by the assistance of the Pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he in a good measure effected. His second point was to perplex the queen at home, by countenancing the Popish party, and by maintaining, at a vast expense, such fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewise for some time successful. The last thing king Philip had at heart was the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force as with the assistance of his other

schemes might enable him to make himself entirely master of England at once; to which end he with great diligence sought to increase his maritime power, and upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ablest generals which that or perhaps any age ever produced, such an army in constant readiness there as might be sufficient to achieve this conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep-laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumstances, which might, and very probably did, strongly flatter his hopes, particularly the death of the queen of Scots, that deeply stained the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts, and his own acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vast accession of naval strength.

Queen Elizabeth and her ministers were too penetrating, and had too quick as well as certain intelligence to be at all in the dark as to the purpose of the king of Spain; and their prudence was such, that by every method possible they worked to disappoint him, without disclosing their apprehensions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign states that king Philip was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at subduing all his neighbours, which being a thing strictly true, and at the same time nearly concerning themselves, had undoubtedly a proper weight. Pains were taken to cultivate a closer correspondence with his discontented subjects in the Netherlands, and to furnish them with money, and secretly with other aids, whereby they were enabled to give some check to his power both by sea and land. Our own privateers were allowed to pass into the West Indies, where they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit; for by this means they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortresses in the West Indies, with the nature of the commerce transacted there, the method of sharing it by fair means, or destroying it by force. Thus, notwithstanding their immense wealth and extensive dominions, the English were in some measure a match for the Spaniards in all places and at all points.

It must give a high idea of the wisdom and fortitude of queen Elizabeth and her ministers to be told, that during the whole time Spain was providing so formidable an invasion, they were assiduously employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of England, without suffering them-

selves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boasts, or by the intelligence they had of their great strength and vast preparations. To distress king Philip in bringing home his treasures from the West Indies, many adventurers were licensed to cruize in those seas, and the queen herself lent some ships for this purpose. To delay the invasion as much as possible, or, if it had been practicable, to defeat it, the queen sent a stout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced six galleys which were designed to have guarded the port, to shelter themselves under the cannon of their castles, and then burned a hundred ships and upwards in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and provisions. From thence he sailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he surprised some forts, and entirely destroyed the fishing craft in the neighbourhood.

Arriving at the mouth of the Tayo, and understanding that the Marquis de Santa Cruz lay hard by with a squadron of good ships, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the Marquis, who was one of the best seamen in Spain, adhering closely to his master's orders, chose rather to let Drake burn and destroy everything on the coast than hazard an engagement. Sir Francis having done this steered for the Azores, where he took a large ship homeward bound from the East Indies, which added as much to his profit as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation, and so returned home in triumph. This expedition delayed the Spaniards for some months, but in the spring of the next year his enormous fleet being almost ready, king Philip gave orders that it should rendezvous at Lisbon, in order to pass from thence to England.

His Catholic Majesty presumed so much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, superior certainly to anything that had been fitted out for ages before, that instead of concealing its strength, he caused a very accurate account of it to be published in Latin and most of the languages spoken in Europe, except the English. This piece was dated May 20th, 1588, and according to it, "The most happy Armada," for so it was styled, consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, making in all fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight tons; on board of which were nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight slaves, with two thousand eight hundred and thirty pieces of cannon.

Besides, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for such as should join them. There were also on board this fleet one hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty monks of several orders.

The command of the whole was vested in the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonso de Gusman, under whom served Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biscayneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whose advice the general was entirely led. These great officers repaired to Lisbon in the latter end of the month of May, and in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to sail. But it is now time to return to the dispositions made in England for warding off so dangerous a blow.

The queen, as we have said, had taken care to give proper information to all foreign states of the nature and intent of this project of the king of Spain, pointing out to them not her own but their danger, in case that monarch should prevail; which method being as prudently carried into practice as it was wisely contrived, the king of Denmark, at the request of the English ambassador, laid an embargo on a very strong squadron of ships hired for the use of king Philip in his dominions. The Hanse-towns, determined enemies at that time to England, retarded, however, the ships they were to have sent to Spain. King James the Sixth of Scotland buried all his resentments for his mother's death, and steadily adhered to his own, by following the Queen's interest. The French were too wise to afford the Spaniards any help, and the Dutch fitted out a considerable navy for the service of the Queen, under the command of Count Justin of Nassau.

The English fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, then High-Admiral, who had under him, for his Vice-Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, for his Rear-Admiral, Sir John Hawkins, and abundance of experienced officers who had signalised their courage and conduct: their orders were to lye on the west coast, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with Count Nassau, cruized on the coast of Flanders, the better to prevent the prince of Parma from making any descent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command.

In regard to a land force, the queen had three armies; the first consisted of twenty thousand men, cantoned along

the south coast; another of two and twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the Earl of Leicester; the third, which was made up of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, all chosen men, was for the guard of the queen's person, their commander being the Lord Hunsdon, a brave, active, and resolute nobleman, the queen's near relation.

The Spanish fleet sailed from the river of Lisbon on the 1st of June, N.S., with as great pomp and as sanguine hopes as any fleet ever did. The king's instructions to the Duke of Medina Sidonia were, to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to pursue such further orders as he should find in a sealed letter delivered to the general with his instructions. It was also recommended to him to keep as close as possible to the French shore, in order to prevent the English from having any intelligence of his approach, and in case he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmost of his power, and to endeavour to defend himself. But in doubling the North Cape the fleet was separated by foul weather, which obliged the general to sail to the Groyne, where he reassembled his ships, and had intelligence that the English fleet, believing their expedition laid aside, had put back into Plymouth.

Upon this he held a council of war, to consider whether they should adhere strictly to the king's order or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the English fleet in their harbour. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was resolved to attempt the English fleet, and this chiefly at the instigation of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, Admiral of the Andulasian squadron. The pretence, indeed was very plausible, and but for an unforeseen accident they had certainly carried their point. The first land they fell in with was the Lizard, which they mistook for the Ram's Head, near Plymouth, and being towards night, they stood off to sea till the next morning. In this space of time they were descried by a Scots ship, commanded by Captain Fleming, who bore away immediately for Plymouth, and gave the Lord Admiral notice, which proved the utter ruin of their design, and the cause of the preservation of the English fleet.

The season was so far advanced, and the English had so little intelligence of the Spaniards' departure, that their fleet had not only returned into port, but several of their ships also were already laid up, and their seamen discharged. The

Admiral, however, sailed on the first notice, and though the wind blew hard into Plymouth Sound, got out to sea, but not without great difficulty. The next day, being the 20th of July, they saw the Spanish navy drawn up in a half-moon form, sailing slowly through the channel, its wings being nearly seven miles asunder. The Admiral suffered them to pass by quietly, that having the advantage of the wind he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success, and though Don Martinez de Ricalde did all that it was possible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmost disorder, and many of them received considerable damage. More would have been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance, so that the Admiral was forced to wait for them.

The night following, a Dutch gunner who had been ill-treated by some Spanish officers, set fire to the ship on board which was their treasure; nor was it without great difficulty that the flames were extinguished. The greatest part of the money was put on board a galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which soon after sprung her foremast, and being thus disabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake, who sent her captain to Dartmouth, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men. The next day was spent by the Spanish general in disposing his fleet, issuing orders to his officers, and despatching an advice-boat to hasten the Duke of Parma, by giving him an account of the great loss he had already suffered and the extreme danger he was in. On the 23d they fought again, with variety of success, which, however, demonstrated to the Spaniards that the mighty bulk of their ships was a disadvantage to them, their shot flying over the heads of the English, while every bullet of the latter took effect.

On the 24th, the English were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the Admiral made all necessary dispositions for attacking the Spaniards in the midst of the night, dividing his fleet into four squadrons, the first commanded by himself, the second by Sir Francis Drake, the third by Admiral Hawkins, and the fourth by Captain Martin Frobisher, but a dead calm prevented the execution of this design. On the 25th one of the Spanish ships was taken, and on the 26th the Admiral resolved to make no further attempts upon them, till they should enter the Straits of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter waited for

them with a fresh squadron. He also took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Frobisher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement.

The wind favouring the Spanish fleet, they continued their course up the channel, with the English ships close in their rear. The strength of the Spaniards had not only alarmed but excited the courage of the whole nation, inso-much that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of distinguishing himself by appearing upon this occasion against the common enemy. With this public spirited view the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and many others, fitted out ships at their own expense, and went, most of them in person, to attend the Admiral. Men of lower rank showed their zeal and loyalty by sending ammunition and provisions, and so unanimous were all men against these foreigners, that even the Roman Catholics, whom the Spaniards expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe away the aspersions which had been thrown upon them, by serving as common soldiers.

When, therefore, the Spanish fleet anchored on the 27th of July before Calais, the English admiral had with him nearly a hundred and forty ships, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely; but perceiving on the 28th that the Spaniards had so disposed their larger ships that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into disorder, he resolved to practise an expedient long before in contemplation, in case the enemy should come up the river Thames, which was to convert some of his worst vessels into fire ships. This method he accordingly pursued, filling eight large barques with all sorts of combustible matter, and sending them under the command of the Captains Young and Prowse, about midnight into the thickest part of the Spanish fleet, when they speedily began to blaze, and as the Admiral had foreseen, obliged the navy to separate, and each ship by steering a separate course to seek its own safety.

The next day a large galeas ran ashore on the sands of Calais, where she was plundered by the English. Desirous, however, of attempting somewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvoused near Gravelines, where they waited for some time, in hopes that the prince of Parma would come out; but in this they were disappointed, whether through the want of power or of will in that great general is uncertain. At last, finding themselves hard pressed by the English

fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt to retreat through the Straits of Dover; but the wind coming about, with hard gales at north-west, drove them on the coast of Zealand, but soon after veering to the south-west, they tacked and got out of danger. The Duke de Medina Sidonia took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved that there were now no hopes left of succeeding, and therefore the most prudent thing they could do was to drop their design and to save as many ships as possible.

This resolution was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spanish navy made all the sail they could for their own coast, going north-about, which exposed them to a variety of unforeseen dangers. The English Admiral very prudently sent Lord Henry Seymour with a strong squadron to cruize on the coast of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterwards left them to pursue their course. When the Spanish fleet arrived on the coast of Scotland, and found that care was everywhere taken they should meet with no supply, they threw their horses and mules overboard, and such of them as had a proper store of water bore away directly for the Bay of Biscay, with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships. The rest, about forty sail, under the command of the Vice-Admiral, stood over for the coast of Ireland, intending to water at Cape Clear. On the 2d of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore, so that upwards of thirty ships and many thousand men perished on the Irish coast.

Some, likewise, were forced a second time into the English channel, where they were taken either by the English or by the Rochellers. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles and upon the coast of Argyleshire. Out of these about five hundred persons were saved, who came into Edinburgh in a manner naked, and out of mere charity were clothed by the inhabitants of that city, who also attempted to send them home to Spain; but as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their passage upon the coast of Norfolk, and obliged to put into Yarmouth, where they stayed till advice was given to the queen and council, who considering the miseries they had already felt, and not willing to appear less compassionate than the Scots, suffered them to continue their voyage.

Thus in the short space of a month this mighty fleet, which had been no less than three years preparing, was destroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ships there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked there perished twenty thousand men at least. We may best form an idea of their loss from the precaution taken by king Philip to hide it, which was by publishing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. With a hypocrisy peculiar to his character, he on hearing the news dropped down on his knees, and returned thanks to God that it was no worse.



One of the Ships of the Armada.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia escaped punishment through the interest of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdes, whose persuasions induced the general to take that rash step, he was arrested as soon as he set foot on shore, and conducted to the castle of St. Andero, after which he was never heard of more. The same writer from whom we have this particular, remarks also an error in the conduct of the English, viz., that they did not attack the Spanish fleet after it had arrived before Gravelines, which, however, he assures us was not through any fault in the Admiral, but

was occasioned through the negligence of some under officers who had the direction of the military stores, and had been too sparing of powder and ammunition; otherwise he tells us, it was thought the Duke de Medina Sidonia, at the persuasion of his confessor, would have yielded both himself and his ships, which it seems were in that particular not at all better provided. This would have been a conquest indeed, a conquest equally glorious and important, the loss of which ought to teach posterity not to be too hasty in censuring great officers, or too remiss in punishing little ones. In the present case this mischance seems to have been covered by the many favours bestowed by Providence, and the offenders to have escaped through that general joy which deliverance from so great an evil diffused through the whole nation.

It seems to be injurious to the reputation of those brave men who on this occasion achieved such great things, to give no account of the force of the English fleet, which, however, I find not in any of our general historians, a deficiency that I shall endeavour to supply, by adding a list collected at that time.

A LIST OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN THE YEAR 1588.

Men-of-war belonging to her Majesty,	17
Other ships hired by her Majesty for this service,	12
Tenders and store-ships,	6
Furnished by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well manned, and thoroughly provided with ammunition and provision,	16
Tenders and store-ships,	4
Furnished by the city of Bristol, large and strong ships, and which did excellent service,	3
A tender,	1
From Barnstaple, merchant ships converted into frigates, . . .	3
From Exeter,	2
A stout pinnace,	1
From Plymouth, stout ships, every way equal to the queen's men-of-war,	7
A fly-boat,	1
Under the command of Lord Henry Seymour in the narrow seas, of the queen's ships and vessels in her service,	16
Ships fitted out at the expense of the nobility, gentry, and commons of England,	43
By the merchant adventurers, prime ships, and excellently well furnished,	10
Sir William Winter's pinnace,	1

In all 143

The varied naval exploits which occurred subsequent to the defeat of the Armada, during the reign of Elizabeth, who was now undisputed sovereign of the seas, may best be connected with the great commanders who flourished under her reign. No Queen ever displayed more discernment in promoting merit. It will gratify the curious to give a list of the names and force of such ships as her Majesty left at her death. She died in 1603, in her 70th year, and 45th of her reign.

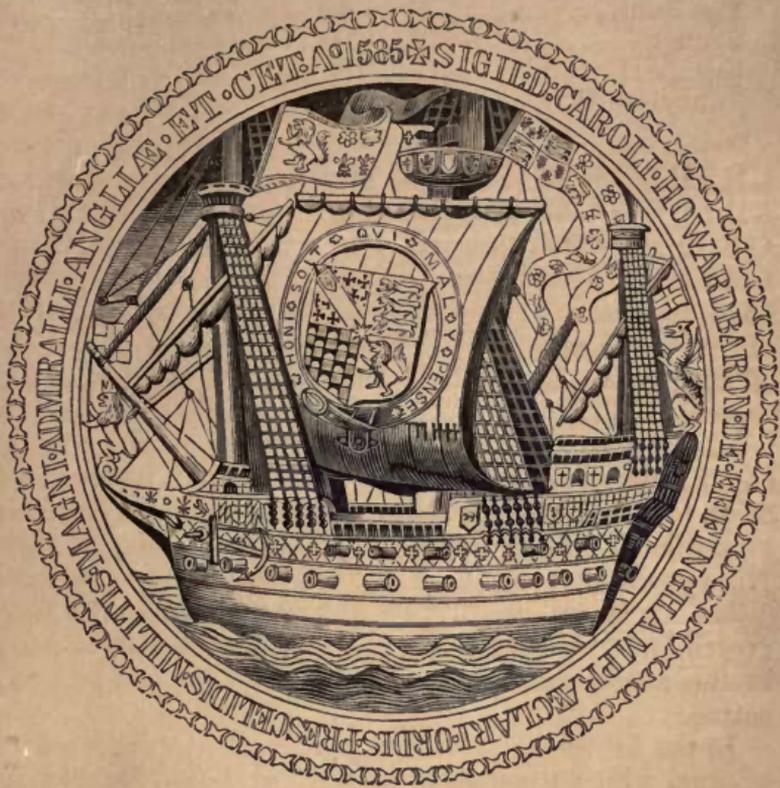
Names of Ships.	Tonnage.	Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.
Elizabeth Jonas,.....	900	340	40	120
Triumph,.....	1000	340	40	120
White Bear,..	900	340	40	120
Victory,.....	800	268	32	100
Mer-Honneur,.....	800	268	32	100
Ark Royal,.....	800	268	32	100
Saint Matthew,.....	1000	340	40	120
Saint Andrew,.....	900	268	32	100
Due Repulse,.....	700	230	30	90
Garland,.....	700	190	30	80
Warspight,.....	600	190	30	80
Mary Rose,.....	600	150	30	70
The Hope,.....	600	150	30	70
Bonaventure,.....	600	150	30	70
The Lyon,.....	500	150	30	70
Norpareil,.....	500	150	30	70
Defiance,.....	500	150	30	70
Rainbow,.....	500	150	30	70
Dreadnought,.....	400	130	20	50
Antelope,.....	350	114	16	30
Swiftsure,.....	400	130	20	50
Swallow,.....	330	114	16	30
Foresight,.....	300	114	16	30
The Tide,.....	250	88	12	20
The Crane,.....	200	70	10	20
Adventure,.....	250	88	12	20
Quittance,.....	200	70	10	20
Answer,.....	200	70	10	20
Advantage,.....	200	70	10	20
Tyger,.....	200	70	10	20
Tramontain,.....	.....	52	8	10
The Scout,.....	120	48	8	10
The Catis,.....	100	42	8	10
The Charles,.....	70	32	6	7
The Moon,.....	60	30	5	5
The Advice,.....	50	30	5	5
The Spy,.....	50	30	5	5

Names of Ships.	Tonnage.	Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.
The Merlin,.....	45	26	5	4
The Sun,.....	40	24	4	2
Synnet,.....	20	..	..	..
George Hoy,.....	100	..	..	..
Pennyrose Hoy,.....	80	..	..	..

CHARLES HOWARD, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, AFTERWARDS EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, AND LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, was the son of a Lord High-Admiral of England. He was born in the year 1536, his father having then the title only of Lord William Howard. Lord William being raised to the title of Baron of Effingham, and Admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions, till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he was about twenty-two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France to compliment king Charles the Ninth, who had just ascended the throne. Nine years afterwards, he was General of horse in the expedition made by the Earl of Warwick against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active.

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men-of-war, which the queen was pleased should escort Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that ceremonial in their passage to Flanders, by Sir John Hawkins. In 1571 he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Surrey, and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January the 12th, 1572, in the great office of Lord Privy Seal, and very highly in the Queen's favour.

The queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom. He became, first, Chamberlain of the Household, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected Knight of the Garter. Some of the writers of those times say that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers;



Howard

for whereas Leicester was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things, the Lord Chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public-spirited man, in the good graces of the queen, from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal, and heroic family. When therefore the Earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of High-Admiral, which she did with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was excessively beloved.

When the Spaniards had spent three years in preparing their Armada, the queen willingly entrusted the care of herself and the nation to this noble lord, of whose conduct and whose fortune she had equal hopes. We have already seen how happily that important contest ended for the honour of this nation; here, therefore, we are to speak only of what was personally performed by the Admiral. As soon as he knew that the Spanish fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruising for some time, till the court having received advice that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendering this probable, Secretary Walsingham wrote to him, directing that four of the largest ships should be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expense. The Admiral wrote back to excuse his not obeying this direction, and in the close of the letter desired, that if his reasons were thought insufficient the ships might remain at his expense.

When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in everything himself, but wrought also with his own hands, and with six ships only got the first night out of Plymouth, and the next morning, having no more than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish navy. He showed his conduct and prudence by despatching his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hobby, to the queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land forces for the security of the coast, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his

assistance. His valour he discovered in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and retiring as soon as he had light to discover his own, without loss.

It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was so great; and those who have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge that this did not happen through any fault of the Admiral, who always discovered the utmost alacrity in his country's service. The queen acknowledged his merit in the most expressive and glorious terms, and though extremely frugal, rewarded him with a pension for life, and at his request granted a pension to Captain Fleming, who first brought the news of the Spanish fleet's being on our coasts; which I mention to show how careful this great man was, a thing uncommon even among the greatest men, that the merits of inferiors should not pass unrewarded, or be superciliously overlooked.

Sir Richard Hawkins, in his observations, has a very remarkable passage in relation to this noble personage, which the reader will no doubt be very well pleased to see in his own words:—

“Worthy of perpetual memory,” says he, “was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in *anno* 1588, by the worthy Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, who in the like case, with pure and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many courageous and noble captains who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard; but when he foresaw that the enemy had an army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and higher moulded, so that they who with such advantage fought from above might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter peradventure proving more fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country, and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant, (who judge all things by the external appearance,) seemed invincible, but truly considered, was much inferior to ours in all things of substance, as the event proved; for we sunk, spoiled, and

took many of them, and they diminished of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name, save only Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidst his company. The greatest damage that, as I remember, they caused to any of our ships, was to the Swallow of her Majesty's, which I had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire, shot into her beak-head, which we saw not because of the sail, till it had burned a hole in the rose as big as a man's head, the arrow falling out, and driving along by the ship's side, made us doubt of it, which, after, we discovered."

In 1596 he commanded in chief at sea, as the Earl of Essex did at land, the forces sent against Spain, and was at a very great expense in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation amongst the seamen and soldiers, were the principal causes of the success the English met with in that attempt, and his conduct throughout the whole was so wise and fortunate, that upon his return home, the queen, on the 22d of October the same year, advanced him to the dignity and title of Earl of Nottingham, being descended from the family of Mowbray, some of whom had been earls of that county, the reasons whereof are thus inserted in his patent:—

"That by the victory obtained *anno* 1588, he had secured the kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain and other impending dangers; and did also, in conjunction with our dear cousin Robert, Earl of Essex, seize by force the isle and the strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain; and did likewise entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the king of Spain, prepared in that port against this kingdom."—An honourable preamble! but less needful in that reign than in any other, since it was well known that queen Elizabeth parted not with titles till they were deserved, and where she knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this case it loudly did; for the Earl of Nottingham on his first going to the house of peers was received with unusual marks of joy, sufficiently declaring how worthy the best judges esteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen added also another, making him Lord Justice Itinerant of all the forest south of Trent, for life.

The next great service in which the Earl of Nottingham was employed was in 1599, when the state was again in very great danger. On the one side the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some conceived they were on

the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other, the Earl of Essex, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels he was sent to reduce, and forming, as it was believed, some designs of employing the troops with the command of which he was entrusted by the queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her Majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space as took away all hopes, indeed all shadow of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and to show the confidence she had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high and very unusual title of LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND, an office scarcely known to former, never revived in succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces.

The unfortunate Earl of Essex having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland, and return to England, the queen thought fit to punish this dangerous contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again in favour. But he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to compel the queen to do what he thought expedient. Upon his failing in this wild and ill-concerted project, he retired with such as were about him to Essex House, in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the Chancellor, the Chief Justice of England, and other privy councillors sent by the queen to inquire into the pretended grievances which had driven him to this rebellious violence. This was on the 8th of February, 1600, when the queen saw herself in the decline of her life, and after she had triumphed over all her foreign foes, in the utmost peril from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who had thus excited a dangerous sedition in her capital, seemingly with the intent to imprison or

depose her. In this perilous situation she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all her forces to the Lord-Admiral, who she often said was born to serve and to save his country.

He performed on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the queen could expect; for he in a few hours reduced the Earl of Essex, after a romantic sally into the city, to such distress, that he was content to yield himself a prisoner; and when he had so done, the Lord High-Admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible. The same year the Admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England and to him upon her death-bed the queen was pleased to declare her royal intention as to the succession, in favour of the KING OF SCOTLAND.

Upon the accession of king James, Howard not only retained his great office, honoured by a large share of that prince's confidence, but was likewise the person of whom he made choice to officiate as Lord High-Steward at the ceremony of the coronation. Soon after this he was named ambassador to the court of Spain, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse of friendship with that crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at London the 18th of August, 1604, wherein also his Lordship had been an acting commissioner. It was very requisite that much state should be kept up in this embassy, and therefore the Earl of Nottingham was appointed with general approbation, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generosity of his temper, and the number of his dependents, who at their own charge were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for Spain with a retinue wherein were six peers and fifty knights, and for the support of this great train he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expenses. During the time that he resided at the court of king Philip the Third he was treated with the utmost deference and respect, maintained with universal applause, and to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest honour to the nation. At his departure, the king of Spain made him presents, valued at twenty thousand pounds.

On his return, he was not so well received at court as he had reason to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or the mutable temper of the king himself, but

owing to some false reports, that the Admiral, while in Spain, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution, than became him. However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the Lady Elizabeth when she was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards escorted her with a squadron of the royal navy to Flushing. This was the last service he did his country in that capacity, for, being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he should resign his office to the new favourite Villiers, at that time Earl, and afterwards Duke of Buckingham.

Some of the memoir writers of those days treat this matter in a way exceedingly injurious to the king's memory, disgraceful to the Duke of Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the Earl of Nottingham. The sum of their accounts amounts to this:—The good old Earl, after so many and so great services, when, in a manner, bedridden, was forced, through the ambition of Buckingham, to resign his office of Admiral, which he did very unwillingly. At the same time it cost the king dear, who was obliged to make that Earl a recompense. But that, after all, he insisted upon his creature, Sir Robert Mansel, being made Vice-Admiral for life, before he would resign; and thus, say they, an experienced and wise officer was removed from a post of the highest importance, to make way for a high-spirited youth, unfit for such a charge.

It appears, however, upon the strictest inquiry, and due consideration of all circumstances, that these stories are very ill founded, and that in reality the Earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to himself, or capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any participation of Buckingham, or so much as his knowledge, and was, on account of his age and infirmities, very easily agreed to. His estate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the Earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these: that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, due from him to the crown, should be remitted; that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds; and that, as Earl of Nottingham, he should take precedence in the house, according to the descent of his ancestors, so created by Richard the Second, and not as a new-made peer.

The remaining years of his life were spent by the Earl of Nottingham in honourable ease and retirement, to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old. He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things or seeing them done, without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger. Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a particular felicity in suiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on those occasions, wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose courage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt.

In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr. Fuller phrases it, at once. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this Lord, his character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and, as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in king James's court, we need not wonder, that among these, the Earl of Nottingham met with some detractors. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censures. He who beat the Spanish armada, equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea in a fortnight's time, and, by his presence alone, dispirited the Earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man. Though we should grant to his enemies, that he was not very learned, and expressed himself a little bluntly, for a person of so high quality, yet he had little or no tincture of those arts which, though they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, ADMIRAL, GENERAL, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF SEA AND LAND FORCES.—Robert Devereux was son to Walter, the first Earl of Essex, by Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, who was related to Queen Elizabeth. He was born on the

tenth of November, 1567, at Nethewood, his father's seat in Herefordshire. When his father breathed his last in Ireland, at which time, this his son was only in the tenth year of his age, he recommended him to the protection of the Earl of Sussex, and to the care of Lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was sent to the university of Cambridge by the Lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity College, under the care of Dr. Whitgift, then master of it. He there applied himself to learning, with more diligence than was usual in persons of his rank, and, in the year 1582, took the degree of Master of Arts. He soon after left Cambridge, and retired to his own house at Lampsie, in South Wales, where he spent some time, and became so enamoured of his rural retreat, that he was, with difficulty, prevailed upon to quit it.

His first appearance at court, at least as a candidate for royal favour, was in the seventeenth year of his age, and he brought thither a fine person, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends. Besides these qualifications, which, together with his high rank, naturally recommended him to the notice of the Queen, it must also be remembered, that his mother was cousin to the Queen, and had now been for some years wife to Elizabeth's great favourite, the Earl of Leicester. However, the young Earl of Essex was at first extremely averse from making any use of Leicester's assistance, but he, at length, so far overcame this reluctance, that, in the year 1585, he accompanied that nobleman to Holland, where he was appointed general of the horse. And in this quality he gave the highest proofs of personal courage in the battle of Zutphen, in 1586, in which action Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded; and for his gallant behaviour upon this occasion, the Earl of Leicester conferred upon him the honour of a knight-banneret in his camp.

On his return to England, in 1587, the Earl of Essex was made master of the horse; and in the year 1588, when her Majesty thought fit to assemble an army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom against the Spaniards, she gave the command of it, under herself, to the Earl of Leicester, and appointed the Earl of Essex general of the horse. He was also, about this time, made a knight of the garter.

In 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake having undertaken an expedition for restoring Don Antonio to the

crown of Portugal, the Earl of Essex, desirous of sharing the glory, imprudently followed the fleet and army to Spain, without the knowledge or consent of the queen. His Lordship carried with him his brother, Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, and others. They joined the English fleet on the thirteenth of May; on the sixteenth they landed; and the same day the Earl of Essex skirmished with the Spaniards. He was present in every action that passed in the neighbourhood of Lisbon; and, by a trumpet, challenged the governor, or any of equal quality with himself, to single combat. At length, when, for want of artillery, it appeared impracticable for them to become masters of the castle, and their army, which had been much lessened by the attack upon Corunna, diminishing daily, it was found necessary to return home, which they did towards the month of June. The queen had been much displeased at Essex's setting out on this expedition without her permission; at his return, however, he soon recovered her Majesty's good graces, but which he again hazarded by a private marriage with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sydney. From this time, for some years the Earl of Essex had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in professional services. He sometimes amused himself with those fanciful entertainments, which were at this time in vogue. "Essex," says Mr. Horace Walpole, "was gallant, romantic, and ostentatious; his shooting-matches, in the eye of the city, gained him great popularity; the ladies and the people never ceased to adore him. His genius for shows, and those pleasures that carry an image of war, was as remarkable as his spirit in the profession itself." One of his masks, which was exhibited at the latter end of the year 1595, is described by a contemporary; an extract from the account of which will present to the reader some idea of the amusements of that age. "My Lord of Essex's device," says Rowland White, "is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met by an old hermit, a secretary of state, a brave soldier, and an esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before the Earl's

entry. In short, each of them endeavoured to win him over to their profession, and to persuade him to leave his vain following of love, and to betake him to heavenly meditation." But the esquire answered them all, and told them plainly, "That this knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies." He pointed out all the defects of their several pursuits, and, therefore, thought his own course of life to be best in serving his mistress. The queen said, "that if she had thought there would have been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night."

In 1596, an expedition was set on foot against the Spaniards. The force employed herein was very considerable, in all not less than a hundred and fifty sail, of which one hundred and twenty-six were men-of-war; but of these, only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest being hired and fitted up for this voyage. On board this fleet were embarked upwards of seven thousand men. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the Earl of Essex, and the Lord-Admiral Howard, both of whom had expended great sums of their own in this armament. The particular design of this expedition was, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were named as a council to the Earl of Essex and the Lord-Admiral. Besides the English fleet, there was also a Dutch squadron, under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled.

This navy lay for some time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready; and, in the meantime, the queen seemed every now and then disposed to countermand this expedition, which gave great uneasiness to the Earl of Essex, who was very eager for the enterprise. However, on the first of June, the whole fleet set sail with a fair wind for the coast of Spain. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate, when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security,

without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

They arrived in sight of Cadiz on the twentieth of June. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were fifty-nine Spanish ships, many of which were laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty galleys. It was resolved the same day, in a council of war, to land all their forces at St. Sebastian's; but when they came to attempt it, it was found impracticable. It was afterwards determined to attack the ships and galleys in the bay, though this attempt was deemed somewhat rash; but Essex strenuously urged the enterprise, and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea for joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when the Lord-Admiral informed him, that the queen, who was anxious for his safety, and who dreaded the effects of his warm and ardent temper, had secretly given orders, that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promise which the Lord-Admiral had exacted of him, to keep in the midst of the fleet. He broke through, and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire, and the enemy were soon obliged by the English to slip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. The St. Andrew and the St. Matthew, two Spanish ships, were recovered by our men, before the Spaniards could fire them. The St. Philip and St. Thomas were fired, and so were many of the rest. One of their argosies was taken, whose ballast was great ordnance, and another was burned with the rest of the ships of war.

The Spanish navy being thus defeated, the Earl of Essex landed his men at the port of Puntal, and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz. He met with five hundred Spaniards near the town; but, instead of making any resistance, they retired with such precipitation, and were so closely pursued, that the English had very nearly entered the city with them. However, Sir Francis Vere broke open the principal gate, and Essex immediately entered it; and, by the impetuous valour of the English, the town was presently taken, without the loss of any man of note, except Sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the market-place.

Next morning the castle, which was all that now remained to the Spaniards within the town, offered to capitulate, which it did, upon the following terms:—"That the citizens should have liberty to depart with their wearing clothes, and all the rest to go as a booty to the soldiers; that five hundred and twenty thousand ducats should be given for their ransom; and forty of their principal citizens sent to England as hostages, till the same was paid."

The Earl of Essex, whose generosity was equal to his valour, treated his prisoners with the greatest humanity. And he caused proclamation to be made, that no violence should be offered to the Spaniards, and, especially, to women, children, or churchmen. The women were suffered to depart with all the clothes and jewels they could carry upon them; and care was taken to see them all embarked, without the least violence being offered to their persons.

Thus ended this memorable conquest, gloriously for the English, and fatally for the Spaniards. The English had not only made themselves masters of the city, where they got a prodigious booty, but also of two ships of vast force; and they carried off upwards of one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and sunk or destroyed twelve hundred more. The Spaniards, besides the vast booty that they lost, and the ruin of their trade to the West Indies for that year, saw the best fortified, and most important city in their dominions, taken; thirteen of their ships of war, and forty-four vessels of all denominations richly laden, destroyed; and their enemies rioting in their spoils, or insulting over that boasted power, which had prepared chains for England and for Europe.

The Earl of Essex, anxious for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to farther achievements; he insisted on the keeping possession of Cadiz, and he undertook, with four hundred men and three month's provisions, to defend the place, till succours should arrive from England. But this was opposed by the other commanders, who were also little disposed to any new enterprises. They seemed satisfied with the honour that they had already acquired; and it is supposed that many of the officers were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Accordingly, having amassed together all the riches they could make, demolished the forts, and burned all the public edifices in the city, the churches excepted, the English fleet again put to sea.

The first place which the fleet came to, after its departure from Cadiz, was Faro, a bishop's see in Portugal, to which

there was no safe entrance for the English ships, the town being situated a league from the sea, and served with a narrow creek. It was, therefore, determined to land the forces in a bay three leagues from the town, and to march thither, which, being forsaken by the inhabitants, was taken, and the men sent into the country brought good store of provisions for refreshing the army. The artillery found there was likewise conveyed to the ships; and the regiments, after six days' stay, returned to them the way by which they came. Here the Earl of Essex had, for his share of the booty, a very valuable library, which had belonged to Jerom Osorius, successively bishop of Sylvas, and of Algarva, in which last see he died in 1580, being as eminent for the elegance of his Latin style in all his writings, as for his excellent history of Emanuel, king of Portugal. A considerable part of this library was afterwards given, by the Earl of Essex, to the public library begun by Mr. Bodley, in 1597, in the University of Oxford.

After their departure from Faro, a council of war was called, in which the Earl of Essex was very urgent for sailing towards the isles of Azores, in order to intercept the Plate fleet; but in this he was overruled, and it was resolved to hold on their course to the Groyne. Essex then proposed to send all the weak and ill-manned ships to England, and offered, with two of the queen's, and ten other ships, to make towards the Azores; but this proposal was also rejected, under pretext of the vast loss by sickness and other accidents, and the scarcity of provisions. This extremely chagrined the Earl of Essex; and he obliged every member of the council of war to sign the opinion he delivered. When the fleet came before the Groyne, they found nothing but an empty harbour, both there and at Ferrol. Essex then proposed to land the troops, and attempt to take the Groyne, while the ships should cruize along the coasts of Gallicia; but in this he was again overruled; and, on the eighth and tenth days of August, the whole English fleet returned to Plymouth.

The Earl, after his return from the Cadiz expedition, was in high esteem both with the queen and with the nation, and he probably would have enjoyed a greater degree of her Majesty's favour, if he had been less in favour with the people, or if he had seemed to value it at a lower rate than he did. But being little capable of dissimulation, the warmth of his temper at once discovered his real sentiments

of affection or dislike, which easily exposed him to the designs of his enemies, who were well skilled in those arts with which he was but little acquainted.

In the spring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh armada from Lisbon, composed not only of his own ships and galleys, but also of all that he could take up, or hire in Italy, or elsewhere. On board of these he embarked a large body of troops, especially of the Irish, intending to invade both England and Ireland; but the winds disappointed him, scattered his fleet, and cast away thirty-six ships. Upon which, the Earl of Essex strongly recommended to the queen the fitting out a squadron, in order to intercept the Plate fleet near the Azores, and also to burn the Spanish ships in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. Her Majesty approving of this proposal, equipped a large fleet, consisting of forty men-of-war, and seventy other ships, to which the Dutch added ten men-of-war. There were embarked on board this fleet five thousand new levied soldiers, and a thousand veteran troops. The Earl of Essex was appointed Admiral, General, and Commander-in-chief, both of the sea and land forces; the Lord Thomas Howard was appointed Vice-Admiral, and Sir Walter Raleigh Rear-Admiral; the Lord Mountjoy was Lieutenant-General of the land forces, and Sir Francis Vere Lord-Marshal. Many persons of distinction attended as volunteers; and we may guess at the interest Essex had in the success of this voyage, by the number of his friends who engaged in it; amongst those of the nobility were, the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich.

But his sanguine hopes were in some measure disappointed, for no sooner had this powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth, than they met with a furious storm, of four days' continuance, which shattered and dispersed them, and they were forced to put back to Plymouth in a bad condition, where, after they were refitted, they remained wind-bound nearly a month, in which time great part of their provisions was consumed. While the fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh repaired to court to receive fresh instructions. The proposals made by Essex, even after this disappointment, were very bold and great, but so extremely difficult and dangerous, that the queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the commanders-in-chief, according as the season

and circumstances might encourage or permit. And as the provisions were now greatly exhausted, Essex, by the queen's command, dismissed all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans commanded by Vere.

On the seventh of August, 1597, the Earl of Essex again set sail with his fleet. He soon found it utterly impossible for him to burn the Spanish ships in their ports; and he, therefore, appeared openly in sight of the enemy's coast with a few ships, in order to draw out their fleet, but this being without effect, he returned home.

The Earl of Essex, soon after his arrival in England, repaired to court, where he had the mortification to find that Sir Robert Cecil, who had been the year before made secretary of state against his Lordship's inclination, had also been made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster during his absence. But what provoked him most, and which he could not brook, was the advancement of the Lord-Admiral Howard to the Earldom of Nottingham. He showed evident signs of great displeasure, retired to his house at Wanstead, and, under pretence of sickness, absented himself from parliament. The cause of his discontent was not altogether unreasonable. By virtue of a regulation, made in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the great chamberlain of England, the earl-marshal, the lord-admiral, and the steward of the household, were to have precedency in parliament of all peers of the same rank, so that if the Earl of Essex had attended the service of the house, the Earl of Nottingham, created but a few weeks before, would have taken place of him, in virtue of this regulation. Essex also particularly resented it, that, in the patent for Nottingham's promotion, it was said, that this dignity was conferred upon him on account of his services in the year 1588, against the Spanish armada, and also since in the taking of Cadiz, in conjunction with the Earl of Essex. But Essex thought himself injured, that any share in the latter action should be ascribed to Nottingham; and he, therefore, for some time, retired from court in disgust. However, in December of the year 1597, the Earl began to appear more publicly than he had done for some time before; but he then proposed to have Nottingham's patent for the Earldom altered, insisting to have right done him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat against the Earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name, who should defend it; or that her Majesty would take the consideration of the affair

into her own hands, and then he would submit to whatever she should please to determine. This contest gave great disturbance to the court, and interruption to all other business. Sir Walter Raleigh was, therefore, employed by the queen to reconcile the two Earls; but Essex seemed resolved not to agree to less than an alteration of Nottingham's patent, which could not be done without the consent of the latter. However, on the 18th of December, the Earl of Essex received satisfaction, being created Earl-Marshal of England by her Majesty's letters-patent, which office gave him the precedence of Nottingham, who, on the 20th of December, resigned his staff of Lord-Steward, and the next day retired to his house at Chelsea, pretending sickness.

About this period a private council was called to determine upon a proper person to be made Governor of Ireland. Essex and the queen were at variance as to the fittest man. The dispute was warm, and the minister, unable to persuade his sovereign, contemptuously turned his back upon her. Provoked at his insolence, she bade him retire and be hanged, accompanying her command with a blow on the face. Essex, thrown off his guard, clasped his sword, swearing the affront was such, as he could not and would not put up with. He withdrew in anger, and for some time seemed to set at defiance the queen's displeasure, but at length he submitted, and was restored to favour. A renewal of troubles in Ireland required a new Governor, and Essex was appointed to this office, which he accepted, though, probably, much against his inclination, for in a letter which he wrote to the queen before his departure, he asks, "From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail, from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive, what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands?" He, however, went, but his success did not correspond with the expectations that had been formed by the queen, and that had indeed been excited by his own letters; he resolved to return to vindicate his conduct. Arriving unexpectedly, and in defiance of the commands under which he ought to have acted, he threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who at first seemed to receive him with more favour than he had anticipated, but he was soon after treated with much

severity, committed to private custody, examined with rigour before the council, and suspended from almost all his employments. He endeavoured to bear the reverse of fortune with patience and fortitude, but his feelings and passions overcame his reason, and he sunk into an alarming illness; during which he had the satisfaction of being favoured with some extraordinary tokens of the queen's remaining regard, and he might still have reinstated himself in her favour, but, being set at liberty, and listening to the dangerous counsels of Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, he seemed anxious to take revenge on his enemies. A conspiracy was formed against the person of the sovereign, which being discovered, Lord Essex and others were apprehended, under a charge of high treason. He and his chief adherent, the Earl of Southampton, were committed to the Tower, and were afterwards tried by a jury of their peers, and were found guilty of the crimes with which they were charged. Sentence was pronounced, and the Earl of Essex heard it with composure, as a man prepared for his fate. The queen was long before she could be brought to sign the fatal warrant for the execution of her once favourite minister; she waited for an application for mercy, and construed his silence into an obstinacy not to be forgiven. He was executed on the 25th of February, 1601. He met his death, not with any apparent anxiety or terror, but with a humility and contrition which his religion inspired. He suffered in his thirty-fourth year. His character was adorned with many splendid virtues: he was brave, open, and affectionate; but it must be admitted that his conduct was often marked with rashness, violence, and precipitancy. He was a friend and the patron of literature. His memory has been always popular, and his unfortunate end has been the subject of four different tragedies. It is generally believed that he applied for pardon, by sending a ring which the queen had given him to be used in time of need, but that his message was intercepted by the treachery of the Countess of Nottingham.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS was a native of Devonshire, and descended of a good family, and born probably in 1520. He was, from his youth, addicted to navigation and the study of the mathematics, as, indeed, were all his family, and began very early to carry his skill into practice, by making several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Cana-

ries, which were in those days extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his contemporaries.

Of these voyages we have no particular account, any more than of those of his father, William Hawkins, who was likewise a great seaman, and the first of our nation who made a voyage to Brazil. His son, probably, reaped the benefit of his observations, for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by queen Elizabeth as an officer at sea, when some, who were afterwards her chief commanders, were but boys, and learned the skill by which they rose, from him.

In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, important, no doubt, in its consequences, and highly lauded by his contemporaries, but reflected upon now with little pleasure, as having been the first occasion on which Englishmen engaged in the accursed slave trade. In several trips to the Canaries, where he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After due consideration, he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription among his friends for opening a new trade, first to Guinea for slaves, and then to Hispaniola, St. John, de Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides, silver, &c.

At the expense of himself and his friends a little fleet was prepared, on board of which there were about one hundred men in all. With this squadron he sailed from the coast of England in the month of October, 1562, and, in his course, first touched at Teneriffe, sailed thence to the coast of Guinea, where, having by force or purchase, acquired three hundred negro slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola, and, making there a large profit, he returned safe into England in the month of September, 1563.

The next year he made another voyage with a much greater force, himself being in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by the *Solomon*, one hundred and twenty tons, and two barks. He sailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coast of Guinea, and thence to the Spanish West Indies, where he forced a trade much to his profit; and, after visiting the port of the Havannah, came home through the Gulf of Florida, arriving at Padstowe, in Cornwall, on the

twentieth of September, 1565, having lost but twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities. His skill and success had now raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarencieux king-at-arms, granted him, by patent, for his crest, "a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord"—a worthy symbol of the infamous traffic which he had opened to his country.

In the beginning of the year 1567, he sailed to the relief of the French protestants in Rochelle, and, returning home in the summer, began to make the necessary preparations for his third voyage to the West Indies, which he undertook some time afterwards.

Mr. Hawkins made this, as he did his former voyage, in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, accompanied by the *Minion* and four other ships. He sailed with these from Plymouth the second of October, 1567. At first they met with such storms, that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his course to the Canaries, thence to the coast of Guinea, and so to the Spanish America to sell his negroes. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion, for, notwithstanding this, they traded together in a friendly manner, till most of the negroes were sold. Thence he sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but, in returning home, being surprised with storms on the coast of Florida, he was forced to steer for the port of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered the port on the sixteenth of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, supposing him to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly frightened when they found their mistake. Mr. Hawkins treated them very civilly, assuring them that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth £200,000, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction, whom he kept as hostages, while an express was sent to Mexico with an account of his demands.

The next day the Spanish fleet appeared in sight, which gave Captain Hawkins great uneasiness, for, if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be lost with all they had on board, which amounted to nearly two millions sterling—an act which, considering there was no war declared against

Spain, he was afraid his native sovereign, queen Elizabeth, would never pardon. On the other hand, he was no less sensible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would agree that the English should have victuals for their money, that hostages should be given on both sides, and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon which were therein, should be yielded to his crew while they staid. At these demands the viceroy at first seemed highly displeased, yet, quickly after, he yielded to them, and, at a personal conference with Mr. Hawkins, solemnly promised to perform them.

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the 26th, with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides using reciprocal civilities, and professing a great deal of friendship. But the Spaniards intended nothing but professions, for they had mustered one thousand men on land, and designed, on Thursday the 24th, at dinner time, to beset the English on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the English perceived the Spaniards shifting their weapons from ship to ship, and pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewise observed a greater number of men passing backwards and forwards than the business on board the ships required, which, with other circumstances, giving grounds of suspicion, Captain Hawkins sent to the viceroy to know the meaning of such unusual motions, whereupon the viceroy gave orders to have everything removed that might give the English umbrage, with a promise, on the faith of a viceroy, to be their defence against any clandestine attempts of the Spaniards. The captain, however, not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected a great number of men to be hidden in a ship of nine hundred tons, which was moored next one of his barks, sent the master of the *Jesus*, who understood Spanish, to know of the viceroy whether it was so or not. The viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and villanous design no longer, detained the master, and causing the trumpet to be sounded, the Spaniards, on this signal, of which they were apprised, began the attack upon the English on all sides. Those who were upon the island, being struck with fear at this sudden

alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships; but the Spaniards, debarking in great numbers at several places at once, slew them all without mercy, excepting a few who escaped on board the Jesus.

The great ship, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the bark *Minion*; but she, having put all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but a bare half hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the *Jesus* aboard, which was at the same time attacked by two other ships. However, with much ado, and the loss of many men, she kept them off till she had cut her cable, and got clear also. As soon as the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were got two ships' length from the Spanish fleet, they began the fight, which was so furious that in one hour the Admiral of the Spaniards and another ship were supposed to be sunk, and their Vice-Admiral burned, so that they had little to fear from the enemy's ships, but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and mangled all the masts and rigging of the *Jesus* in such a manner, that there was no hopes of bringing her off.

This being the case, they determined to place her for a shelter to the *Minion* till night, and then, taking out of her what victuals and other necessaries they could, to leave her behind. But presently after perceiving two large ships, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men on board the *Minion*, in great consternation, without consent of either the captain or master, set sail and made off from the *Jesus* in such haste that Captain Hawkins had scarce time to reach her. As for the men, most of them followed in a small boat, the rest were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, which, says the captain, I doubt was very little.

The *Minion* and the *Judith* were the only two English ships that escaped; and in the night the *Judith*, which was a bark only of fifty tons, separated herself from the *Minion*, on board which was Captain Hawkins and the best part of his men. In this distress, having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the bay of Mexico in order to obtain some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river *Tampico*, in the latitude

of 23 degrees 36 minutes N., where his company dividing, one hundred desired to be put on shore, and the rest, who were about the same number, resolved at all events to endeavour to get home. Accordingly, on the 16th, they weighed and stood through the Gulf of Florida, making the best of their way for Europe. In their passage they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra in Spain, where the Spaniards coming to know their weakness, thought, by treachery, to seize them a second time, but they suspecting this, sailed forthwith to Vigo, not far off.

They there met with some English ships, which supplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of January, 1568, arrived in Mount's Bay in Cornwall, the 25th of January following. As to the hardships endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more strongly or exactly pictured than in the following lines, with which Captain Hawkins concludes his own relation:—"If all the miseries and troublesome affairs," says he, "of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs." * In reward of his famous action at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, then Clarencieux, added to his arms, on an escutcheon of pretence, or an escallop between two palmer's staves Sable, and his patent for this augmentation is still extant.

This expedition probably damped the ardour of our navigator for maritime enterprise, and he chose to continue at home; however his sovereign thought proper to give him still an opportunity of employing his skill and experience in the public service, by appointing him, in 1573, treasurer of the navy. This post was at that time not only of considerable honour and profit, but of great trust likewise, the treasurer or comptroller of the navy having usually the command of the squadron destined to protect the narrow seas, and in a great measure the direction of what might be styled the economy of the navy, with regard to building, repairing, equipping, victualling, and manning the vessels

* These are the last words of Captain Hawkins's relation; but the inquisitive reader may find some further circumstances relating to this unfortunate voyage, in the Travels of Miles Philips and of Job Hartop, two of the men set on shore by Sir John Hawkins in the Bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii.

in the queen's service. In the discharge of this office, Captain Hawkins gave the highest proofs of his capacity and integrity.

When the Spanish fleet went to fetch Anne of Austria, the last wife of Philip the Second, out of Flanders, Sir John Hawkins, with a small squadron of her Majesty's ships, was riding in Catwater, which the Spanish Admiral perceiving, he endeavoured to run between the island and the place without paying the usual salutes. Sir John ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the Spanish Admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the hull, and shot through and through. The Spaniards, upon this, took in their flags and topsails, and run to an anchor. The Spanish Admiral then sent an officer of distinction in a boat, to carry at once his compliments and complaints to Sir John Hawkins. He, standing upon deck, would not either admit the officer or hear his message, but bid him tell his Admiral, that having neglected the respect due to the queen of England, in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet under his command, he must not expect to lye there, but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and be gone, otherwise he should regard him as a declared enemy, his conduct having already rendered him suspected.

The Spanish Admiral upon receiving this message came off in person, and went in his boat to the Jesus of Lubeck, on board which Sir John Hawkins's flag was flying, desiring to speak with him, which at first was refused, but at length granted. The Spaniard then expostulated the matter, insisted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir John Hawkins told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what respect was due to the queen's ships; that he had despatched an express to her Majesty with advice of his behaviour, and that in the meantime he would do well to depart. The Spaniard still pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give satisfaction.

Upon this Sir John Hawkins told him mildly that he could not be a stranger to what was practised by the French and Spaniards in their own seas and ports, adding, "Put the case, Sir, that an English fleet came into any of the king your master's ports, his Majesty's ships being there, and those English ships should carry their flags in their

tops, would you not shoot them down, and beat the ships out of your port?" The Spaniard owned he would, confessed he was in the wrong, submitted to the penalty Sir John imposed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his son, Sir Richard Hawkins, who was eye-witness of all that passed.

The next great action of this worthy seaman was his service under the Lord High-Admiral, in 1588, against the Spanish armada, wherein he acted as Rear-Admiral on board her Majesty's ship the *Victory*, and had as large a share of the danger and honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he most deservedly received the honour of knighthood; and in pursuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary service, insomuch that on his return from the fleet he was particularly commended by the queen.

In 1590, he was sent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Frobisher, each having a squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of Spain, and intercept if possible the Plate fleet. At first his Catholic Majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan, but upon more mature deliberation he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions to the Indies that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there. Sir John Hawkins and his colleagues spent seven months in this station, without performing anything of note, or so much as taking a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of Fayal, which had submitted the year before to the Earl of Cumberland, but the citadel being refortified, and the inhabitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his associates were forced to retreat. However, by compelling the Spanish navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation as a maritime power, and the wintering of their Plate ships in the Indies proved so great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke in Seville and other places; besides, it was so great a prejudice to their vessels to winter in the Indies, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued, the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the nation gained a very signal advantage, by grievously distressing her enemies.

The war with Spain continuing, and it being evident

that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts than had been hitherto made through the whole course of the war; and at the same time they offered to be at a great part of the expense themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. There were many motives which induced our Admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person in this dangerous service, amongst which, this was not the last or the least, that his son Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and some hopes there was that in the course of such an enterprise, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him.

The queen readily gave ear to this proposal, and furnished on her part a stout squadron of men-of-war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their squadron consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and their whole force amounted to about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprises throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready on the English coast by the arts of the Spaniards, who having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, conceived that the only means by which it could be defeated was practising some contrivances that might disappoint the first exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which they gave out that they were ready themselves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, they actually sent four galleys to make a sudden descent on Cornwall. By these steps they carried their point: for the queen and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage at so critical a juncture.

At last, this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning *Nombre de Dios*, marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived at that place from Peru. A few days before their departure, the queen sent them advice

that the Plate fleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only a single galleon, which having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto-Rico; the taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hinderance to their other affairs. When they were at sea, the generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go first to the Canaries, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unsuccessful, and then they sailed for Dominica, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves and setting up their pinnaces. In the meantime the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto-Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the English Admirals to attempt that place. On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and in the evening of the same day the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died on the twenty-first of November, 1595, when they were in sight of the island of Porto-Rico.

Sir John had naturally strong parts, which he improved by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own. He was slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a great part of his life at sea, he had too great a dislike of land-soldiers. When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than of a reserved disposition. And now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greatest, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all just bounds. In spite, however, of his imperfections, he was always esteemed one of the ablest of his profession, of which these are no inconsiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at sea forty-eight years, and treasurer of the navy two and twenty.

He and his eldest brother William were owners at once of thirty sail of good ships; and it was generally owned that Sir John Hawkins was the author of more useful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any

officer before his time. One instance of this, among many, was the institution of that noble fund, the Chest at Chatham, which was the humane and wise contrivance of this gentleman and Sir Francis Drake; and their scheme, that seamen safe and successful should, by a voluntary deduction from their pay, give relief to the wants and reward to those who are maimed in the service of their country, was approved by the queen, and has been adopted by posterity. Sir John Hawkins built also a noble hospital, which he plentifully endowed, at the same place. He was elected member of parliament three times.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE was the first person who made a voyage round the world, and was Vice-Admiral of the English fleet in 1588. According to the account given by Mr. Camden, who professes to have taken it from his own mouth, Sir Francis was son of a person in ordinary circumstances, who lived at a small village in Devonshire, and Sir Francis Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, was his godfather. His father, having embraced the Protestant religion, was obliged to quit his country and retire to Kent, where he first read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained deacon, and in process of time became vicar of the church of Upnore. As for our Francis Drake, he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, whom he served so faithfully, that dying unmarried he bequeathed his ship to Drake, which laid the foundation of his fortunes.

I do not doubt but many or indeed most of the circumstances in this story may be true, if brought into their right order, but as they stand in Camden, they cannot be so; for, first, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the six articles, and he was born some time before, Sir Francis Russell could have been but a child, and therefore not likely to be his godfather. Another story there is as circumstantial, and written as early, which, perhaps, some judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this; but whether that can be done or not, I think it better deserves credit.* According to this relation,

* Upon this subject, Dr. Southey has the following note:—“Camden says, Drake’s father was called in question by the law of the six articles; but Campbell observes, that if Drake was born some time before, Sir Francis Russell could have been but a child, and, therefore, not likely to have been his godfather: moreover, he says, this account makes him ten years older than

I find that he was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expense and under the care of his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. I likewise find, that at the age of eighteen he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay, that at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at the age of twenty-two had the honour to be appointed captain of the *Judith*, in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the Gulf of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a single groat.

Upon this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain, which some say was put into his head by the minister of his ship, his father, by one account; and, to be sure, in sea divinity the case was clear: the king of Spain's subjects had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the king of Spain. This doctrine, how rudely soever preached, was very taking in England, and, therefore, he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence, even as he had, to colour their proceedings. In 1570, he made his first expedition with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, and the next year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned safe with competent advantages, if not rich; and having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design with respect to himself and to his enemies.

he really was. But Drake was two and twenty when he obtained the command of the *Judith*: this carries back his birth to 1544, at which time the six articles were in force, and Francis Russell was seventeen years of age. Fuller says, upon this occasion, that 'the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth were knocked out,' and that Drake was born in Devonshire, and brought up in Kent, 'God dividing the honour betwixt two counties, that the one might have his birth, and the other his education.'—*British Admirals*, by Robert Southey, LL.D., Poet Laureate, vol. iii., p. 99. Dr. Southey says that "the cottage in which Drake was born, on the beautiful banks of the Gavy, was demolished some thirty years ago, till which time it had remained unchanged; a stall for cattle, belonging to the farm house hard by, now stands upon its site.—*Ibid.*

This he put in execution on the 24th of March, 1572, on which day he sailed from Plymouth, himself in a ship called the *Pascha*, of the burden of seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burden, their whole strength consisting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconsiderable force, on the 22d of July, he attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes, though not so conveniently, as those for which they afterwards used *Porto Bello*. He took it by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet upon the whole they were no great gainers; but after a very brisk action were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from *Vera Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*, but in this scheme, too, he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of *Vera Cruz*, carried it, and got some little booty. In their return, they met unexpectedly with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest. In these expeditions he was greatly assisted by the *Simerons*, a nation of Indians who are engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The prince or captain of these people, whose name was *Pedro*, was presented by Captain Drake with a fine cutlass which he at that time wore, and to which he saw the Indian had a mind. *Pedro*, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which Captain Drake threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression, "That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men, with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England, and was so fortunate as to sail in twenty-three days from *Cape Florida* to the isles of *Scilly*, and thence, without any accident, to *Plymouth*, where he arrived the ninth of August, 1573.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the use he made of his riches still a greater; for fitting out three stout frigates at his own expense, he sailed with them to *Ireland*, where, under *Walter Earl of Essex*, the father of that unfortunate Earl who was beheaded, he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions. After the death of his noble patron, he returned into *England*, where

Sir Christopher Hatton, who was then vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, privy counsellor, afterwards lord-chancellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majesty, and procured him her countenance. By this means he acquired the power to undertake that glorious expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed was a voyage into the South Seas, through the Straits of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Englishman had attempted. This project was well received at court, and in a short time Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South Seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God that he might sail an English ship in them, which he found now an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient.

The squadron with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking, consisted of the following ships: the Pelican, commanded by himself, of the burden of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, Vice-Admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon. In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men suspected and many knew he intended it for America. Thus equipped, on the 15th of November, 1577, he sailed from Plymouth, but a heavy storm taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him in a very bad condition into Falmouth, to refit, which having been expeditiously performed, he again put to sea on the 13th of December following. On the 25th of the same month he fell in with the coast of Barbary, and on the 29th with Cape Verd; the 13th of March he passed the equinoctial; the 5th of April he made the coast of Brazil, in 30° N.L., and entered the river de la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the 29th of May he entered the port of St. Julien's, where he did the least commendable action of his life, in beheading, July 2, 1578,

John Doughtie, the officer next in authority to himself, in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice. *

On the 20th of August he entered the Straits of Magellan; on the 25th of September he passed them, having then only his own ship, which in the South Seas he new named the Golden Hind. It may not be amiss to take notice here of a fact very little known, as appearing in no relation of this famous voyage. Sir Francis Drake himself reported to Sir Richard, son to Sir John Hawkins, that meeting with a violent tempest, in which his ship could bear no sail, he found, when the storm sunk, he was driven through or round the Straits into the latitude of 50 degrees. Here, lying close under an island, he went on shore, and, leaning his body over a promontory as far as he could safely, told his people, when he came on board, he had been farther south than any man living. This we find confirmed by one of our old chronicle writers, who farther informs us, that he bestowed on this island the name of Elizabetha, in honour of his royal mistress. On the 25th of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous, in case his ships separated; but Captain Winter having repassed the Straits, had returned to England. Thence Drake continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till his crew were sated with plunder; and then coasting North America to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a passage back into our seas on that side, which is the strongest proof of his courage, for we can scarcely conceive a clearer testimony of an undaunted spirit, than attempting discoveries after so long, so hazardous, and so fatiguing a voyage. Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking possession of it in the name and for the use of queen Elizabeth; and having

* Drake has been exposed to much obloquy on account of this transaction. Dr. Southey (vol. iii., p. 139,) has summed up the circumstances with great impartiality, and the result appears to be, that Doughtie's guilt, that of sedition and conspiracy, was proved to the satisfaction of a jury of his shipmates, although the grounds of his conviction do not now appear to us clear; at all events, that Drake must be acquitted of having used any unfair means to bring about his condemnation.

trimmed his ship, set sail on the 29th of September, 1579, for the Moluccas.

The reason of Captain Drake's choosing this passage round, rather than returning by the Straits of Magellan, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great disadvantage by the Spaniards, and partly the lateness of the season, whence dangerous storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended. On the 13th of October he fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the 4th of November he had sight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate, was extremely well received by the king, who appears, from the relations of this voyage, to have been a wise and polite prince. On the 10th of December he made Celebes, where his ship unfortunately ran on a rock the 9th of January following, whence, beyond all expectation, they got off, and continued their course. On the 16th of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and think of returning directly home.

On the 25th of March, 1580, he put this design into execution, and on the 15th of June he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the 12th of July he passed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the 16th, and there watered. On the 11th of September he made the island of Terceira, and on the 25th of the same month entered the harbour of Plymouth.

In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander-in-chief had ever done before. His success in this enterprise, and the immense mass of wealth he brought home, raised much discourse throughout the kingdom, some highly commending, and some as loudly decrying him. The former alleged that his exploit was not only honourable to himself and to his country, but that it would establish our reputation for maritime skill amongst foreign nations, and raise a useful spirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having suffered deeply from the faithless practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more just than that the nation should receive the benefit of Drake's reprisals. The other party alleged, that in fact he was no better than a pirate; that, of all others, it least became a trading nation to encourage such practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but

likewise of our old leagues with the house of Burgundy; and that the consequences of owning his proceedings would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of that and the spring of the succeeding year.

At length they took a better turn, for, on the 4th of April, 1581, her Majesty, dining at Deptford in Kent, went on board Captain Drake's ship, where she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confusion of his enemies and to the great joy of his friends. She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In process of time, the vessel decaying, it was broken up, but a chair made of the planks was presented to the University of Oxford, and is still preserved.

In 1585, he concerted a scheme of a West Indian expedition with the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. It was to be partly maritime, and partly in the style of invasion. The sea force was to be commanded absolutely by Sir Francis, the land troops by Sir Philip Sidney. The queen having required the latter to desist from his scheme, Drake sailed, notwithstanding, to the West Indies, having under his command Captain Christopher Carlisle, Captain Martin Frobisher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree. Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the design of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy than to enrich himself. It was, to do him justice, a maxim from which he never varied, to regard the service of his country first, next the profit of his proprietors, and his own interest, of which, however, he was far from being careless, he regarded last. Hence, though rich in wealth, he was richer still in reputation.

In 1578, he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a numerous fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the armada, he with great courage entered that port, and burned upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping, and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he

resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Terceira from the East Indies, thither he sailed; and though his men were severely pinched through want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days. Within this space the East India ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit.

It was in consequence of the journals, charts, and papers, taken on board his East India prize, that it was judged practicable for us to enter into that trade; for promoting which, the queen, by letters-patent, in the forty-third year of her reign, erected our first India Company. To this, we may also add, he first brought in tobacco, the use of which was much promoted by the practice of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In 1558, Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral, under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, High-Admiral of England; here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever, for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this vessel fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that through an oversight of his, the Admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed the first night of the engagement to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, he being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hanse-towns, neglected it, which occasioned the Admiral's following the Spanish lights, and remaining almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by the squadron under his command.

The next year he was employed as Admiral at sea, over the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio, king of Portugal, the command of the land forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to sea before these commanders



Capture of the Indiaman, by Sir Francis Drake.

differed, though it is on all hands agreed that there never was an Admiral better disposed with respect to soldiers than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this: the general was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis and the sea-officers were for sailing to Lisbon directly; in which, if their advice had been taken, without question their enterprise would have succeeded, and Don Antonio had been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them, to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir John Norris indeed marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping of his word, he chose rather to break his promise than to hazard the queen's navy, for which he was grievously reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return, for he made it manifest to the queen and council that all the service that was done was performed by him, and that his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off, and without reducing that, there was no taking the town.

His next service was the fatal undertaking in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, in 1594, for the destroying Nombre de Dios, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the last-mentioned commander, which was the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto-Rico. This was performed with all the courage imaginable, on the 13th of November, 1595, and attended with great loss to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the English, who, meeting with a more resolute resistance and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The Admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burned to the ground. After this he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewise burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the 29th of December, Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty

men towards Panama, but returned on the 2d of January, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This disappointment made such an impression on the Admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, of which he died on the 28th. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived about fifty years; but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts, round which he was the first to sail.

Sir Francis Drake was low of stature, but well set; had a broad open chest, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, cheerful, and very engaging countenance. As navigation had been his whole study, so he understood it thoroughly, and was a perfect master in every branch, especially in astronomy, and in the application thereof to the nautical art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed so many great things, should have as much ill spoken of him as there was of any man of the age in which he lived. Those who disliked him, alleged that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, ostentatious, self-sufficient, an immoderate speaker, and though indisputably a good seaman, no great general; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furnish his fleet thoroughly in 1585, his not keeping either St. Domingo or Carthagena after he had taken them, the slender provision he made in his expedition to Portugal, his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his last undertaking.

In excuse for these, it is said that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority; his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession; and his love of speaking was qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the West Indies; his councils were continually crossed by the land officers in his voyage to Portugal; and as to his last attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestible proof of

his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and public spirit, since therein he did everything that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation or private gain.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, or, as in many writers he is called, Forbisher, was a native of Yorkshire, born near Doncaster, of mean parents, who bred him to the sea. We have very little account of his junior years, or of the manner in which they were spent. He distinguished himself, first, by undertaking the discovery of the north-west passage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein though he had no success, yet it gained him great reputation. In the year 1577, he undertook a second expedition, and in 1578, a third, in all which he gave the highest proofs of his courage and conduct in providing for the safety of his men, and yet pushing the discovery he went upon, as far as it was possible.

Frobisher commanded her Majesty's ship the *Triumph* in the famous sea-fight with the Spanish armada, and therein did such excellent service, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the Lord High-Admiral on that signal occasion. In 1590, he commanded a squadron on the coast of Spain, which hindered the coming home of the Plate fleet. In 1592, Sir Martin Frobisher took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which went to the coast of Spain, and though he had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon and bring home another. In 1594, he sailed to the coast of France to assist in retaking Brest, which was regularly attacked on the land side by Sir John Norris with three thousand English forces, at the same time that our Admiral blocked up the port. The garrison defended themselves bravely, till such time as Sir Martin landed his sailors, and desperately storming the place, carried it at once, but with the loss of several captains, Sir Martin himself receiving a shot in his side, and this proved the cause of his death, which happened at Plymouth within a few days after his return. He was one of the most able seamen of his time, of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking, yet in his carriage he was blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity, which hindered his being beloved.

GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, a nobleman distinguished by his naval enterprises, was born at Brougham, in Westmoreland, in 1558, and educated at Peter House in Cambridge. He applied himself diligently to the mathematics, and was distinguished for his martial spirit. This he manifested at several tournaments before queen Elizabeth, who on one occasion took off her glove and gave it him, which mark of royal favour he was proud of exhibiting in his hat on public festivals. In 1586, he fitted out a squadron, with which he sailed for South America, and after taking several vessels from the Portuguese, returned to England. In 1588, he took the command of a ship that contributed towards the destruction of the famous armada. As a reward for his gallant conduct, the queen granted him a commission to make another voyage to the South Sea, but after proceeding as far as the Azores, tempestuous weather obliged him to return. In 1591, he made an unsuccessful expedition to the coast of Spain; but in the following year he engaged in another adventure, and sailing to the Azores, took Santa Cruz, and a rich galleon valued at £150,000. In 1593 he sailed again, but illness obliged him to return to England, after despatching the rest of the squadron to the West Indies, where they plundered several Spanish settlements. In 1595, the Earl fitted out the largest ship that had been ever sent to sea by an English subject, being nine hundred tons burden, but he was prevented from going in her himself by an order from the queen. In 1598, he sailed with a squadron to the West Indies, where he captured the island of Porto-Rico. It does not appear, however, that the Earl added anything to his private fortune by these testimonies of his public spirit, and therefore the queen, to show how just a sense she had of his zeal and resolution, honoured him, in the year 1592, with the garter, which in her reign was never bestowed till it had been deserved by signal services to the public. This noble peer survived the queen, and was in great favour and in very high esteem with her successor. He died in 1605.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY.—Sir Robert Dudley, son to the great Earl of Leicester, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, distinguished himself by his application to maritime affairs, by his great skill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent seamen, as well as by his personal exploits, which

were such as deserve to be remembered. He was born at Sheen in Surrey, in 1573, and having received the first tincture of letters from Mr. Owen Jones, at Offington in Sussex, to whose care and diligence in that respect he had been committed by his father, he was sent to Oxford in 1587, and entered of Christ Church, being recommended to the inspection of Mr. Chaloner, afterwards the learned Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to prince Henry, under whom he profited so well in his studies, as to raise the highest expectations, which he lived abundantly to fulfil. By the demise of his father, September the 4th, 1588, Sir Robert became entitled, on the death of his uncle Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, to the princely castle of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and other large estates. He was considered at this time as one of the most accomplished young gentlemen in the kingdom, having a very agreeable person, tall, finely shaped, an admirable complexion, his hair inclining to red, a very graceful air, and learned beyond his years, particularly in the mathematics, very expert in his exercises, such as tilting, riding, and other manly feats, in which he is reported to have excelled most of his rank. Having from his earliest youth a particular turn to navigation, he took a resolution, when he was scarcely two-and-twenty years of age, of making a voyage into the South Seas, for which great preparations were made, but before he could put it in execution, the queen and her ministers interposing, the project was dropped.

In 1594, he fitted out a squadron of four sail at his own expense, and leaving Southampton on the 6th of November, proceeded for the coast of Spain, where he lost the company of the other three ships. This, however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the West Indies; and in doing this, he took two large ships, though of no great value. After remaining some time about the island of Trinidad, he found himself under a necessity of returning home, in a much worse condition than he went out; and yet, coming up in his passage with a Spanish ship of six hundred tons, his own vessel being of no greater burden than two hundred, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhausted, and then left her, but in so torn and shattered a condition, that she afterwards sunk. This made the ninth ship which he had either taken, sunk, or burned in his voyage.

He accompanied the Earl of Essex and the Lord High-

Admiral Howard, in the beginning of June, 1596, in the famous expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood on the 8th of August following, for the signal services he there performed. Endeavouring some years after to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he met with so many obstacles in his attempt, that, conceiving himself highly injured thereby, he determined to quit England, and embarking for Italy, fixed upon Florence for the place of his retreat, where he met with a most distinguished reception from the then reigning grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Archduchess Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second.

In this his delightful retirement he became so much admired, and gave such shining proofs of his great abilities, particularly in devising several methods for the improvement of shipping, introducing various manufactures, instructing the natives how to enlarge their foreign commerce, and other affairs of like consequence, that the Emperor, at the request of the Archduchess, to whom Sir Robert had some time before been appointed great chamberlain, was pleased, by letters-patent, bearing date at Vienna, March 9, 1620, to create him a Duke and Count of the empire, by the title of Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, and, in 1630, he was, by his Holiness Pope Urban the Eighth, enrolled among the nobility of Rome. It was during his residence in this country that he formed the design of making Leghorn a free port, which was of much importance to the Dukes of Tuscany. In acknowledgment of such merit, the grand Duke assigned him a liberal pension, made him a present of the castle of Carbello, a villa three miles from Florence, which he so adorned and beautified, as to render it one of the fairest and finest palaces in Italy, and in which he paid his last debt to nature in the month of September, 1649, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having acquired a very extensive reputation in the republic of letters by his learned writings.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.—Sir Richard Grenville was the son of Sir Roger Grenville, and is supposed to have been born in the west of England about the year 1540. He was naturally of an active, enterprising, and martial genius, which induced him, as soon as he was his own master, to procure a license from queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign, to go with several other persons

of distinction into the service of the Emperor against the Turks. He not only gave the highest proofs of his courage as a soldier in Hungary, but adventured his person likewise by sea, and had the honour to share the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Mahometans at Lepanto, by the combined Christian fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria. He continued the rest of that war abroad, and having acquired the highest military reputation, returned to England.

His ardour was so far from being exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, or his appetite for glory satisfied by what he had acquired, that within a very little time after his revisiting his native country, he resolved to embark his person and fortune in that important part of the public service, the reduction of Ireland. In this he behaved himself greatly to the satisfaction of Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord-Deputy, and he was constituted by the queen, in the eleventh year of her reign, sheriff of Cork. Upon his return to England, he was elected one of the representatives of Cornwall in the parliament which was summoned to meet at Westminster in 1571. He was also high sheriff of that county in the eighteenth of that reign, and was again chosen to represent it in the parliament assembled in 1584, in which he was a very active member. He soon after commanded in the expedition to Virginia, to which we have already referred, and he afterwards made another voyage to that country.

We meet with nothing else that is remarkable related of Sir Richard Grenville, till we come to his last famous action, and heroic death. In 1591, the queen's ministry being informed that the rich fleet which had remained in the Spanish West Indies all the year before, through the dread of falling into the hands of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, must of necessity return home, it was resolved that a strong squadron should be sent to intercept them at the Western Islands. This fleet consisted of seven sail of the queen's ships, of which the Lord Thomas Howard was Admiral, and Sir Richard Grenville Vice-Admiral. In the meantime, the Spanish monarch receiving notice of the purpose of the English, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, and sent them to escort his West India ships. The Lord Thomas Howard received information that this formidable Spanish armament was approaching him, on the last day of August, in the afternoon, when he was riding at anchor

under the island of Flores; and before he had well received the intelligence, the enemy's fleet was in sight. The English squadron was in no condition to oppose the Spaniards, for, besides its very great inferiority, near half the English were disabled by the scurvy and other diseases. The Lord Thomas Howard, therefore, weighed immediately, and put to sea, as the rest of his squadron did, following his example. The *Revenge*, Sir Richard Grenville's ship, weighed last, Sir Richard staying to receive the men who were on shore, and who would otherwise have been lost, he having no less than ninety sick on board. The Admiral and the rest, with difficulty, recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, his master and some others advised him to cut his mainsail, and cast about, trusting to the sailing of his ship, because the Seville squadron was already on his weather-bow. But Sir Richard peremptorily refused to fly from the enemy, telling them, "That he would much rather die than leave such a mark of dishonour on himself, his country, and the queen's ship." In consequence of this resolution, he was presently surrounded by the enemy, and engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand 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. In the beginning of the action, he himself received a wound; but he continued above deck till eleven at night, when, receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation, he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder, all their small arms were broken or become useless, forty of their best men, which were but one hundred and three at the beginning, 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 Sir Richard to surrender. He died in three days after; and his last words were—
"Here die I, RICHARD GRENVILLE, with a joyful and quiet

mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour, my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp though unequal action, four ships, and about one thousand men.

CAPTAIN JAMES LANCASTER was fitted out by some merchants of London to cruize on the coast of Brazil, then in the hands of the Spaniards. He sailed from Dartmouth on the 30th of November, 1594, with three ships, one of one hundred and forty, another of one hundred and seventy, and the third of sixty tons, on board these were two hundred and seventy-five men and boys. In the space of a few weeks they took thirty-nine Spanish ships, four of which they kept, and plundered the rest, and then, joining with Captain Venner at the isle of May, they steered for the coast of Brazil, where they took the city of Pernambuco, on the 20th of March, 1595, in a manner scarcely to be paralleled in history, for Captain Lancaster ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to pieces on the shore, and sunk his boats, that his men might see they must either die or conquer; the sight of which so frightened the Spaniards and Portuguese, that after a very poor defence they abandoned the lower town. This the English held for thirty days, in which space they were attacked eleven times by the enemy. The spoil was exceedingly rich, and amounted to so great a quantity, that Captain Lancaster hired three sail of large Dutch ships, and four Frenchmen, to carry it home; and having thus increased his fleet to fifteen ships, he brought them safely into the Downs in the month of July, 1595. This was the most lucrative adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears so conspicuously therein, that he deserves to be ever remembered with honour, even supposing he had performed nothing more. But it appears, from several circumstances in the relations, that he was the person who opened the trade to the Indies.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the East India Company by queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600. Their first stock consisted of seventy-two thousand pounds, and the first fleet they fitted out as a company, consisted of

four large ships, which sailed from London, February 13, 1600, under the command of this Mr. James Lancaster, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to Achen very successfully, and established the English trade throughout the Indies as happily and prudently as could be wished. In his return, his ship, which was the Dragon, was in the utmost peril off the Cape of Good Hope, having lost her rudder, and become otherwise much damaged, yet he refused to go on board the Hector, contenting himself with writing a short letter to the company, wherein he told them they might be sure he would do his utmost to save the ship and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of those who were with him, adding this remarkable postscript in the midst of his confusion:—

“The passage to the East Indies lies in 62 degrees, 30 minutes, by the north-west, on the America side.”

He had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. Helena, where he repaired his weather-beaten ship as well as he could, brought her safely into the Downs on the 11th of September, 1603, and lived nearly thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this successful voyage.

These are the principal naval heroes who flourished in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was strongly laid of the prodigious maritime power and extensive commerce, which the English nation have since enjoyed. I shall conclude with wishing, that the same generous spirit may again arise with a force that may excite us to emulate the wisdom, courage, industry, and zeal for the public good, which animated our ancestors, and enabled them to surmount all difficulties, and to spread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST—SIR WILLIAM MONSON—QUARRELS
WITH THE DUTCH—SIR WALTER RALEIGH—REIGN OF CHARLES
THE FIRST—SIR ROBERT MANSEL.

WHEN James the Sixth of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England, he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The melancholy circumstances of his childhood and education had impressed upon his mind characters of feebleness, which never were effaced, even by the career of prosperity which his accession to the crown of England opened up to him. Never had any monarch a nobler opportunity of distinction at the commencement of a reign. Never was such an opportunity so thrown away. Received as the head of the Protestant interest by one party, his claim was held valid by the Catholic party as the legitimate heir, and had he with a manly dignity upheld the Protestant faith, while at the same time he sternly rebuked the intolerance shown towards his Catholic subjects, he might have taken his place as the head of men of free thoughts and free actions, and have earned for himself a name of immortal renown.—James was not equal to this. He shrunk from asserting the only claim he had to the throne, namely, the right of a free people to think for themselves, and took refuge under the unintelligible doctrine of—

The right divine of kings to govern wrong.

It is surprising that, under all circumstances, he contrived to pass through a long reign so peaceably; but the consequences of his policy fell fatally upon his more criminal successor.

It is with reference to maritime affairs alone, however, that we require to treat of the reign of James. It may appear singular that Scotland, having the same insular situation, and having the example of England, should have been insignificant as a maritime power. Yet so it was, and James does not appear to have paid much attention person-

ally to the affairs of his navy. His reign, indeed, was not a warlike one, and our account is necessarily brief.

The house of Austria was glad to avail itself of James's peaceful disposition, to put an end to the war which had proved so injurious to its interests and glory. The terms of the treaty of peace have been severely animadverted upon, by politicians of these and subsequent times, as disadvantageous to England, but there was probably an undue degree of national animosity at the bottom of these complaints.

But if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad. The Hollanders, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped great advantages from the favour of Elizabeth, were exasperated at a step so much to their disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure than most other nations at sea, they lost that respect which was due to the English flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monson, with instructions to maintain the honour of the English flag, and the superiority of the British seas. This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same admiral, who was a man of spirit and experience. He tells us in his memoirs that he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet she ever sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language and fair promises, but they minded them very little, taking our ships on very frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang as pirates people who showed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities shown to the Hollanders in the late reign, when they sailed under the command of English admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her Majesty's own subjects, which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent state.

It will not be amiss to give the reader an account, in Sir W. Monson's own words, of the spirit with which he insisted on satisfaction from the Dutch on this head, whereby the right of the English flag, which has been so much stood upon since, was established with regard to this republic; the rather, because there are many who will scarce believe that matters of this nature were carried so far, under so pacific a prince.

"In my return from Calais," says Sir William, "the first of July, 1605, with the emperor's ambassador, as I approached near Dover road, I perceived an increase of six ships to those I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral; their coming in show was to beleaguer the Spaniards who were then at Dover.

"As I drew near them the admiral struck his flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other coast at such a time, caused me to make another construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out, for I conceived his arrival at that time was for no other end than to show the ambassador, who he knew would spread it abroad throughout all Europe, as also the Spaniards, that they might have the less esteem of his Majesty's prerogative in the narrow seas, that by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the sea as well as his Majesty. I hastened the ambassador ashore, and despatched a gentleman to the admiral, to entreat his company the next day to dinner, which he willingly promised.

"The gentleman told him I required him to take in his flag, as a duty due to his Majesty's ships: he answered, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a very sufficient acknowledgment, and it was more than former admirals of the narrow seas had required at his hands.

"The gentleman replied, that he expected such an answer from him, and therefore he was prepared with what to say to that point. He told him the times were altered, for when no more but striking the flag was required, England and Holland were both of them in hostility with Spain, which caused her Majesty to tolerate divers things in them, as, for instance, the admiral's wearing his flag in the expedition to Cadiz and the islands, where the Lord-Admiral of England and the Lord of Essex went as generals, and that courtesy they could not challenge by right, but by permission; and the wars being now ceased, his Majesty did require by me, his minister, such rights and duties as have formerly belonged to his progenitors.

“The admiral refused to obey my commands, saying he expected more favour from me than from other admirals, in respect of our long and loving acquaintance; but he was answered that all obligations of private friendship must be laid aside, when the honour of one’s king and country is at stake. The gentleman advised him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand, if not, he had commission to tell him, I meant to weigh anchor and come near him, and that the force of our ships should determine the question, for rather than I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so many nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself in the sea.

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

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

These disputes continued for many years, and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monson, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty at sea were thoroughly maintained, yet the republic of Holland still kept up a spirit of resentment, which broke out in such acts of violence, as would not have been passed by in the days of queen Elizabeth; yet our admiral does not seem to charge the king or his ministry in general with want of inclination to do themselves justice, but lays it expressly at the door of Secretary Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who thought it, he says, good policy to overlook such kind of offences, but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not absolutely or constantly prevail, even in the councils of king James, for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclamation was published in the year 1608, distinctly asserting the king’s sovereignty in that point, and

prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the British coast. This, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at London for granting licenses to such foreigners as would fish on the English coast, and at Edinburgh, for granting licenses of the like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea; and to these regulations, though with great reluctance, they submitted for the present, the reason of which seems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to arrange with the court of Great Britain. In these important concerns, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two treaties were concluded on the twenty-sixth of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General, the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to king James. One would have imagined that the advantages obtained by these treaties should have brought the republic to a better temper in respect to other matters, but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the assize-herring in Scotland, and the license-money in England; and to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring busses. These facts, as they are incontestible, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who are a people certainly to be commended for all such instances of their public spirit, as appear to be consistent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations. But at this time of day, ministers were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of losing any of the nation's rights for want of insisting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republish his proclamation.

There were also some struggles in this reign with the French, about the same rights of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by Sir William Monson, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to desist from their practices of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the Scottish and Irish seas, which were much infested with pirates. We need not wonder at this, if we consider that, till king James's accession to the throne of England, there was little, indeed scarcely any naval strength in his own

country, and that in Ireland, the Spaniards, by frequently practising this piratical trade during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace. The noise, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage, for when, on the first of June, Sir William Monson made the coast of Caithness, the most northern part of Scotland, he found that instead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of whom immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of Ireland, where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers. This service Sir William performed in three months.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and had a commission from the king to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of America, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce and the propagation of religion; in the undertaking which expedition, his expenses were borne by himself, his friends, and such merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His design has been variously represented, and we shall examine it hereafter more at large. At present, we speak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was justifiable beyond all question, notwithstanding the outcries that were made against it by the Spaniards. It is, indeed, pretty evident that the complaints of their minister, Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, so well known afterwards by the title of Count Gondomar, were not so much grounded on any notions he himself had of the injustice of this design, as on a piece of Spanish policy, by raising a clamour on false pretences, to discover the true scope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too successful, for, upon his representations, that excellent person was obliged to give a distinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the design he was to execute; and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, first of disappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the lasting dishonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for settling in Guiana, was not only well contrived but well founded, and if it had been followed, might have been most beneficial to Britain.

The disputes with the States of Holland, in reference to the right of fishing, broke out again in the year 1618, from the old causes, which were plainly a very high presumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impossible that they had a great opinion likewise of their minister's capacity, and that sooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negotiation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretensions, or repeat their own ill-founded excuses so often, till in the close they gained credit. At this time, those who hated the English ministry, treated these differences with that republic as rather criminal than honourable; but the same men living long enough to get the supreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, caused the letters of state, written at that juncture, to be drawn out of the dust and rubbish, and made them, without the smallest scruple, the foundation of that quarrel which they prosecuted with force of arms.

These letters made it perfectly clear that king James asserted his rights through the long course of this negotiation as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and brought the States themselves to acknowledge that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be inquired how it came to pass that, after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion, the best answer that can be given to this question is, that in the midst of this dispute, the Prince of Orange asked Sir Dudley Carleton a very shrewd question, namely, Whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created Viscount Dorchester, was certainly a man of honour, but whether some men in power might not find a method, by agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than at this distance of time can be determined. Sir William Monson tells us, that, in reference to the disputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great Earl of Salisbury.

We come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, which was undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, seems not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that Count Gondomar, having gained an ascendancy over his Majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural incli-

nation, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing; that the Earl of Nottingham had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of Lord High-Admiral, and that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the head of his successor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As Buckingham easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost probability that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution, notwithstanding that Sir William Monson, who had been consulted upon it, gave his judgment, supported by strong and clear arguments, that it was rash and ill-founded, and that, instead of raising the reputation of the British arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, because the whole world would take notice of the disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real causes, and of the little reason there was to measure the naval strength of Britain thereby.

In the month of October, 1620, this fleet sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of six men-of-war, and twelve large ships hired from the merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then Vice-Admiral of England, had the command in chief, Sir Richard Hawkins was Vice, and Sir Thomas Button Rear-Admiral; Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love, and Samuel Argall, Esquires, were appointed to be members of the council of war, and Edward Clarke, Esquire, was secretary. On the twenty-seventh of November, they came to an anchor in Algier road, and saluted the town, but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the twenty-eighth, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkish viceroy know the cause of his coming, who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the Grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore, and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this, a negotiation ensued, in which it is hard to say whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent, unless an English consul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himself of this

difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good clothes, and to pass for a consul; this cheat not being discovered by the Turks, they sent forty English slaves on board to the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon which, he sailed again for the Spanish coast, attended by six French men-of-war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the English fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage, too, that attended the whole expedition.

It had been well if this enterprise had ended thus; but after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole. Accordingly, in the month of May the fleet left the coast of Majorca, and upon the twenty-first of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of sixty tons, were fitted up for this purpose. They were filled with combustible matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at Alicant, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to fasten their fire-works to the enemy's ships. Seven armed boats followed to sustain those of the fire-ships, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S.S.W., the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a Christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed, which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay, they put to sea, and, in the month of June, returned to England. This ill-concerted enterprise had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of mis-

chief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the Lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the Earl of Denbigh; but both did so small service, that very few of our histories take any notice of them. Sir William Monson has made some severe but just observations upon these undertakings; and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna, of which I shall give a short and fair account; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the Dutch, which subsisted so long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the Dutch should enjoy two-thirds of the trade at Amboyna, and the English one. In pursuance of this, a factory was erected in that island as well as other places; yet, in the short space of two years, the Dutch grew weary of their company, and, under pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and, under a specious show of clemency, discharged the rest, seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which, at that time, the English had in the Spice-Islands, and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a contrivance, seems plain, from the following circumstances:—The English had only a house wherein their factory resided, whereas the Dutch were possessed of a very strong fort; the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrison soldiers in the castle, and eight ships riding in the port. The prisoners all denied it most solemnly at their deaths, and would have taken the sacrament on the truth of what they said, but that it was refused them by the Dutch. That I may not be, however, suspected of injustice towards them, I will transcribe their own account of this matter. “This island,” says a writer, who addressed his work to the States of Holland, “was a long time the subject of dispute between the Dutch and English. The East India Company, who had made them-

selves masters of it, entered into a treaty with the English for driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards; and, by one of the articles of this treaty, it was agreed that they should furnish ten men of war for this purpose. They neglecting this armament, the Indians of Ternate took advantage of the weakness which this omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a suspension of arms with the Spaniards, and having made an alliance with the king of Tidore, who was an enemy to the Dutch, attacked several islands dependent on Amboyna, and having made themselves masters of them, resolved to attack the citadel; and the English are said to have been concerned with them in this design, which was discovered by a Japanese. The governor heard from all sides, that the English had taken his citadel. Astonished at these reports, though false, he put himself on his guard, and seized the Japanese, whom he suspected. This man confessed, that the English were engaged in a conspiracy against the governor; that, taking advantage of his absence, the citadel was to be seized, and that the Japanese in the island had engaged to execute this project. The governor, without hesitation, arrested all who were accused of having any hand in this design. The English confessed, that their factor had sworn them upon the gospel never to reveal the secret; which, however, they did, and signed their confessions, some freely, and the rest constrained thereto by the violence of the torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called the massacre of Amboyna. The English have always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and only made use of as a pretext to sacrifice their nation to the vengeance of a governor; and, therefore, they continued to demand satisfaction for this loss from 1623 to 1672, when, through the indifferent state of their affairs, they were glad to depart from it." This Dutch account, and indeed all the accounts I have ever seen of their drawing up, sufficiently prove, that there was more of policy than of any thing else in the whole proceeding, and that what the Dutch in this black business chiefly aimed at was, the excluding us from the spice-trade, in which they effectually succeeded.

It is, indeed, strange, that, considering the strength of the nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and the quick sense which the English always have of any national affront, no proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous measures entered into, in order to exact it. But the

wonder will, in a great measure, cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of the people at that period. The king had been engaged for many years in a tedious, dishonourable, and distasteful negotiation for the marriage of his son prince Charles with the princess of Spain: to the chimerical advantages he proposed from this, he sacrificed the interest of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people, and yet could never bring the thing to bear: but was at last forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think, at the close of his life and reign, of entering upon war, to which he had been always averse. Such was the situation of things when this accident happened at Amboyna; and, therefore, though it made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with the republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war with Spain and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the necessity there was of keeping terms with the Dutch at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than by remonstrance, while our competitors kept exclusively so very considerable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to settle and clear up this matter, because it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, viz., that domestic dissensions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it is impossible for us to maintain our commerce in a flourishing condition, if we do not at least enjoy peace at home whatever our circumstances may be abroad.

The breaking off of the Spanish match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the English; but, in the midst of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign. His pacific temper occasions our having but little to say in this part of our work; but, before we proceed to mention the eminent seamen who flourished in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies that were settled, while this prince sat upon the throne.

It has been already shown, that, under the public-spirited administration of queen Elizabeth, this nation first came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extensive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which, down to that period, had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the

war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen and of effective ships belonging to this kingdom; but after king James's accession, and the taking place of the peace, things took a new and strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and strong ships, but, instead of building them, were content to freight those of their neighbours, because a little money was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade increased, till the year 1615, when there were not ten ships of two hundred tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this the Trinity-house petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the injurious consequences it would have, with respect to our naval power, through the decay of seamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution some old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil, suggesting also the example of the state of Venice, who, on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute, and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants, convinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An accident produced this effect. Two ships, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing in London. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders; they saw now, that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they set out, and that, if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms.

When once people have entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with turn to their advantage. Thus, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them

with artillery and other necessaries, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades that were unthought of before; and, though for some time they suffered not a little by the Algerines and other pirates of Barbary, yet in the end they got more than they lost by these accidents; for it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing and manning small ones; which had such an effect in the space of seven years, that, whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas, now there were many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports, and upwards of a hundred vessels, each of above two hundred tons burden, belonging to Newcastle alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and, before the death of king James, our trade was so far increased, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monson, we were little, if at all inferior in our mercantile marine, to the Dutch.

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

yet remain, sufficiently prove, that there were numbers in those days, who thoroughly understood all the arts necessary to promote manufactures, navigation, and useful commerce.

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. When James came to the throne in 1602, the royal navy consisted of forty-two ships carrying eight hundred and four guns, which ships, when equipped for sea, carried eight thousand three hundred and seventy-six men. But at the death of that monarch it consisted of sixty-two sail, and at that period the money annually expended for the use of the navy was £50,000. In most of our naval histories we have a list of nine ships added to the royal navy of England by this prince, which list, as taken from Sir William Monson is given in the note.*

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

“ This year, 1610, the king built a most goodly ship for war, the keel whereof was one hundred and fourteen feet long, and the cross-beam was forty-four feet in length; she will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burden of fourteen hundred tons. This royal ship is double-built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious ship the king gave unto his son Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September, the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went unto Woolwich to see it launched; but, because of the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be launched; whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named

* Ships.	Men at sea.	Ships.	Men at sea.
Reformation,.....	250	Triumph,.....	300
Happy Entrance,.....	160	Swiftsure,.....	250
Garland,.....	160	Bonaventure,.....	160
St. George,.....	250	St. Andrew,.....	250
Mary Rose,.....	120		

it after his own dignity, and called it 'The Prince.' The great workmaster in building this ship was Mr Phineas Pet, gentleman, some time master of arts of Emanuel College in Cambridge."

In the same author we have an account of the king's going on board the great East India ship of 1200 tons, which was built here, and seems to have been the first of that size launched in this kingdom. The king called it "The Trade's Increase," and a pinnace of 250 tons, which was built at the same time, he called "The Pepper-Corn." This shows that he was a favourer of navigation; and, though I cannot pretend to say exactly what additions he made to the English fleet, yet, from some authentic calculations, it may be affirmed, that Queen Elizabeth's ships of war, at the time of her death, might contain somewhat more than 16,000 tons, and that, in the days of King James, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 tons. The king also granted a commission of inquiry for reforming the abuses in the navy, the proceedings upon which are still preserved in the Cotton library. He was liberal likewise to seamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but, as in other things, so in this, he was too much governed by his favourites. Buckingham managed the admiralty very indifferently, and, before his time, Gondomar had persuaded King James against reason, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, against his own sense of things, to take off the head of the greatest man who flourished in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to speak, namely, Raleigh.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.—As the fame of this gentleman's actions was sufficient to establish and give lustre to any family, so his descent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy, even in the high posts which he obtained by his merit. There were several families of the name of Raleigh in the west, and three particularly, which were seated in several parts of the country, and bore different arms. That, from which this gentleman sprung, is traced to the reign of King John, as the Raleighs in general are beyond the conquest. His father was Walter Raleigh, of Fardel in the county of Devon. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The last was Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devonshire, Esq.; by this lady Mr Raleigh had two sons, Carew, who

was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of whom we are treating, as also a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears that this gentleman was brother by the mother's side to those famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert.

He was born in the year 1552, at a farm called Hayes, seated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the sea, and after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was sent to Oxford while a very young man; since, according to the best authority, he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age. When he came to, and how long he had then staid in Oriel College is not very clear; neither is it well made out that he was afterwards of the Middle-Temple. This we may consider as sure, that, about 1569, he, in company with many young gentlemen of good families and martial dispositions, went over into France, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed. He served there a considerable time, and acquired both skill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious observations on those wars which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. Although the French writers, as well as our own, leave us in the dark as to his particular services in France, or the time of his continuance there, yet it appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed. By what means he escaped the horrible massacre of Paris and the provinces, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, we are left in uncertainty. He probably found refuge in the ambassador's house in company with Lord Wharton, Philip Sidney and others. He returned to England about the year 1575.

Having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he went to the Netherlands, where he served some time against the Spaniards. France and the Netherlands were in those days the schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to resort who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the license of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; Raleigh,

on the contrary, made the true use of his service in a foreign country, increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his skill as a soldier by experience, and so completely polished his manner of address, that at his return he was considered one of the best bred and most accomplished gentlemen in England, at a period when this was no singular character.

On Raleigh's coming back to his native soil, in 1578, he found his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert engaged in a design of making discoveries in North America, for which he had obtained a patent; and for the furtherance of which he had procured the assistance of many friends. Raleigh was much taken with the design, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been concerned drew back; Raleigh, however, not only continued firm to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother in person. This, after all, proved an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frightened a man of less resolution than Raleigh from venturing to sea again; for they not only missed the great discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards in their return; and though they made a very gallant defence, had no reason to boast of success, losing one of the best ships in their small fleet. From this unlucky adventure, Raleigh arrived safe in England, in the year 1579, and had, soon after, thoughts of serving his queen and country in Ireland, where Pope Gregory VIII. and the Spaniards had sent men and money to assist such as would take arms against their sovereign and the English.

It is not very clear at what time our hero crossed the seas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commission under the president of Munster. The next year, Captain Raleigh served under the Earl of Ormonde, then governor of Ulster, a person conspicuous by his illustrious birth, but still more so by his virtues and steady adherence to his duty. The Spanish succours, under the command of an officer of their own, assisted by a choice body of their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified a castle which they called *Del Ore*, and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat whenever they found themselves distressed, and prove also a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected, and for which it was well situated, as standing upon the bay of Smerwick, or St. Mary Wick, in the county of

Kerry. The then deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a person of great courage and indefatigable industry, but of a severe temper and prejudiced against the Irish, and who resolved at all hazards to dispossess them of this fort; which he accordingly besieged with his small army for some time. In this dangerous enterprise Captain Raleigh had his share, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth. Many other services he performed in Ireland, and these recommended him to the notice of the government, who, in 1581, honoured him with a joint commission to be governor of Munster. In this character he continued to do the state many services, which were rewarded by the grant of an estate in the county which he had subdued.

Yet all his care, and all his services, did not hinder his having enemies, and amongst them the lord-deputy Grey; so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter end of the same year to England, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large share in her favour; and as he was forward to distinguish himself in all public services of reputation, so on the return of the duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of those who accompanied him out of England, by the express command of queen Elizabeth; and on his coming to England in 1582, he brought over the prince of Orange's letters to the queen. Some months after this he resided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection of contending statesmen, who were proud of showing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother Gilbert's second attempt, and though he went not in person, yet he built a new ship, called the *bark Raleigh*, and furnished it completely for the voyage; the unsuccessful end of which it seemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to Plymouth, through a contagious distemper which seized on the ship's crew. Yet did not either this accident, nor the unfortunate loss of his brother Sir Humphrey, drive from Raleigh's thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He therefore digested into writing an account of the

advantages which he supposed might attend the prosecution of such a design ; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her Majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the 25th of March, 1584. By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching out, and planting distant countries, which has been ever since of infinite service to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Raleigh carried his patent into execution ; for having made choice of two commanders, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though entirely at his own expense, that on the 27th of April following, they set sail from the west of England for the coast of North America, where they safely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took possession of that fine country which has been since so famous by the name of Virginia, bestowed on it by queen Elizabeth, and not given, as is generally surmised, by Sir Walter Raleigh.

About this time, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Devon, in company with Sir William Courtenay, and making a considerable figure in parliament, he, upon some occasion, entering the royal presence, in his capacity as a member of the House of Commons, received the honour of knighthood ; we find him styled Sir Walter Raleigh for the first time on the 24th of February, 1585. In the same year he fitted out a second fleet for Virginia, in which he had very good success, his ships in their return taking a Spanish prize, worth fifty thousand pounds. He was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking for the discovery of the north-west passage ; for which reason a promontory in Davis's Straits was called Mount Raleigh. In respect to these public-spirited, and very expensive projects, the queen made him some profitable grants ; particularly two, the first of wine licenses, and the other of a Lordship in Ireland, consisting of twelve thousand acres, which he planted at his own expense, and many years after sold to the earl of Cork. Encouraged by these favours, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruise on the Spaniards near the Azores, which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them. On his return in July, 1586, he brought with him the Nicotiana, or Tobacco, of the smoking of which he was passionately fond. It has been said, that he

informed the queen that he could tell the exact weight of the smoke which would be produced by any given quantity of tobacco. Her Majesty had no idea of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected the truth of his assertion, and laid him a wager he could not fulfil his words. Raleigh weighed the tobacco, smoked it and then weighed the ashes. The queen admitted that the difference of weights had gone off in smoke, and added, "many labourers in the fire turn gold into smoke; you have turned smoke into gold." His good fortune abroad, was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen now made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall.

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

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

source of that wealth, which he employed so much to his honour in all public services.

About this time he made an assignment of all his right, title, and interest, in the colony of Virginia, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, in hopes that they might be able to carry on a settlement there more successfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand pounds in his several attempts for that purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a prospect of gain, or through an unwillingness to run any further hazard; for, instead of taking a consideration, he gave them, at the time of making the assignment, a hundred pounds towards their first expenses, neither did he make any reserve, except the fifths of all gold and silver mines. All his view was, to engage such a number of joint adventurers, as by their concurring interests and industry, might strengthen his infant colony, and enable it to reach the end which he had designed. With the same view he continued to assist the company with his advice and protection whenever they desired it; and the difficulties they struggled with for twenty years after, sufficiently showed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor, that Virginia did not sooner flourish, and that his wisdom and prudence were no less to be admired in this disposal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deserved applause, in first fixing upon so advantageous a spot, which has since proved itself worthy of all the care and expense employed in the support of it.

When a proposition was made by Don Antonio, king of Portugal, to queen Elizabeth, to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered appeared so reasonable, that her Majesty was content to bear a considerable share in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-spirited subjects to furnish the rest. Her Majesty's quota consisted of six men-of-war, and threescore thousand pounds; to which, the adventurers added a hundred and twenty sail of ships, and between fourteen and fifteen thousand men, soldiers and sailors. In the fitting out of this fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a share himself in the expedition. The next year he made a voyage to Ireland, and towards the latter end of it, formed a grand design of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, taking the Plate-Fleet, and sacking Panama.

This enterprise, like that of Portugal, was partly at the

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

This carrack was in burden no less than sixteen hundred tons, whereof nine hundred were merchandise; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven story, one main orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck, of two floors a-piece. She was in length, from the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet; its circuit at the partners, near 11 feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelain, or china-ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris, with many other commodities of inferior value. It freighted ten of our ships for London, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. When this vessel was first taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four times that sum; and so, in all probability, she was: but in spite of all the care Sir John Burrough could take, the seamen embezzled a vast quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better situation when she was brought home. Sir William Monson tells us the reason, and I choose to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure," says he, "in this voyage, was only two ships, one of

which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the car-rack; which title, joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently." Thus it appears, that the queen, and not Sir Walter, was most benefitted by this capture; and there is reason to believe the like happened upon other occasions, though Sir Walter was generally left to bear the blame.

While Sir Walter remained at home, his great genius displayed itself in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free state. He shone in the senate as a patriot, and the remains we have of his speeches, leave us in doubt which we ought most to admire, the beauty of his eloquence, or the strength of his understanding. He was, besides, the patron and protector of learned men, the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court. It was here that Sir Walter Raleigh found himself at a loss. In spite of all his wisdom and prudence, he became enamoured with a beautiful young lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour; and the consequences of this amour proved such as could not be concealed. The queen, though she had passed by errors of a like nature in Leicester and Essex, yet punished this mistake of Raleigh very severely; but whether led thereto by the insinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities, the less his offences deserved pardon, I pretend not to determine. However, the queen's frowns wrought, in this respect, a proper reformation, and he made all the reparation in his power, by marrying the object of his affection.

Sir Walter meditated in his retirement a greater design than hitherto he had undertaken while in the queen's favour, and that was the discovery of the rich and spacious empire of Guiana. From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever information might be had relating to the place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as much master of the subject as books could make him, he drew up instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his resolution; and, therefore, having provided a squadron of

ships at his own expense, and those of his noble friends the Lord High-Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this adventure.

On the sixth of February, 1595, he sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at the isle of Trinidad on the twenty-second of March. He there easily made himself master of St. Joseph's, a small city, and took the Spanish governor, Antonio Boreo, prisoner, who gave him a full and exact description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in those parts, unknown before to the English. On this information he left the ship at Trinidad, and, with a hundred men, in several little barks, proceeded up the river Oronoque, 400 miles, in search of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty kings of the country, and several others of them, resigned their sovereignties into his hand for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to retire, being in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as crushed by the power of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contribution he assigned them to pay to save the town, he fired it, as also St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home with glory and riches.

Whatever might be pretended by the deep and cunning statesmen of that age, as that many things fabulous or uncertain were related in Sir Walter's account, and that it was hazarding too much to send a large fleet, well manned, into so sickly a climate; whatever of this kind was pretended, yet envy was certainly the true cause why his proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his pressing solicitations, absolutely rejected. Sir Walter, however, to show his own entire confidence in this scheme, and, perhaps, with a view to make things so plain, that even his detractors should have nothing to object, fitted out two ships at his own expense, the *Delight* and the *Discoverer*, and sent them under Captain Kemeys, who had served in the former enterprise to Guiana, as well to make farther inquiries, as in some measure to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promised, in the name of the queen his mistress, such assistance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than subdue them. This voyage Kemeys successfully performed, and, at his return, published such an account of his expedition as might have converted, to Sir

Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance, or over-weening prejudice, had not destined to remain infidels.

The next important expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged, was that famous one to Cadiz, wherein the Earl of Essex and the Lord High-Admiral Howard were joint commanders, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with other persons of great military skill and prudence, appointed of their council. The fleet sailed in the beginning of June 1596, and on the 20th of the same month they arrived before Cadiz. The Lord Admiral's opinion was, to attack and take the town first, that the English fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the same time. The council of war, which he called upon this occasion, concurred with him in opinion, and so a resolution was taken instantly to attack the town.

It so happened, that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this council, and the Earl of Essex was actually putting his men into boats before Raleigh was acquainted with the design. As soon as he knew it, he went to the Earl, and protested against it, offering such weighty reasons for their falling first on the galleons, and the ships in the harbour, that the Earl was convinced of the necessity of doing it, and desired Sir Walter to dissuade the Lord Admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it, and prevailed with him to consent that the fleet should first enter the port, and fall on the Spanish galleons and galleys. When he returned to the Earl of Essex with the news, crying out aloud in his long-boat *Entramos*, the Earl flung his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir Walter gave the Lord Admiral a plan of the manner in which he thought it best to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the queen's ships of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, Raleigh in the Warspight had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and consisted of the *Mary Rose* commanded by Sir George Carew, the *Lyon* by Sir Robert Southwell, the *Rainbow* by Sir Francis Vere, the *Swiftsure* by Captain Cross, the *Dreadnought* by Sir Conyers Clifford, and the *Nonpareil* by Mr Dudley. These were followed by the fly-boats and London hired ships, the Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ship, the *Mere Honeur*, to go on board the *Nonpareil*.

On the twenty-second of June, Sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the Spanish fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the attack. Seventeen galleys were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort-Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and some culverins scoured the channel. When the Spanish Admiral, the St. Philip, perceived the English approaching under sail, she also set sail, and with her the St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great galleasses of Lisbon, three frigates, convoy to their Platefleet from the Havannah, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of New Spain, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of these the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas, four capital ships, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in the strait of the harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the starboard-side they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleasses of Lisbon. The argosies, and the seventeen galleys, they posted to play on the English as they entered the harbour; and behind these the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great strength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the strait from point to point, guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, in the van of the English, was saluted by Fort-Philip, by the cannon on the curtain, and by the galleys. Raleigh scorned their fire, and answered with a flourish of trumpets, without discharging a gun. The ships that followed him beat so thick on the galleys, that they presently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the straits. Sir Walter gave them several broadsides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy of his fire. Lord Thomas Howard came to an anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion did the same on the one side, and the Dreadnought and the Mary Rose on the other; the Rainbow lay on the Puntal side; and thus they cannonaded for three hours. About ten o'clock the Earl of Essex, vexed to hear the noise of the guns, while he himself was out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ships on the larboard-side of the Warspight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as possible. After they

had played long on the capital ships, Sir Walter went in his skiff to the Admiral, desiring that the fly-boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ship, it being the same to him whether he sunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate. The Earl of Essex and the Lord Thomas Howard had assured him they would second him.

After a long and desperate fight, Sir Walter despairing of the fly-boats, and depending on Lord Essex and Lord Thomas Howard's promises to assist him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral; which the latter no sooner perceived, than she, and the other capital ships following her example, ran ashore. The Admiral and the St. Thomas they burned; the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were saved by the English boats before they took fire. A remarkable circumstance in this affair seems to be the disproportion between the English and Spanish force. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with such an impetuosity, as did less honour to the officers than to the soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, to have some share of this; but when he saw that all things were in confusion, he returned on board the fleet.

The next morning Sir Walter sent to the Lord-Admiral for orders to follow the Spanish West India fleet outward-bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not escape him; but in the hurry and confusion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was lost, and no answer returned to his demand. In the afternoon the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to save those ships; and while the bargain hung, the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burned; and thus were the galleons, galleys, frigates, argosies, and the fleets of New Spain, royal and trading, consumed, except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, which were in possession of the English. The town was very rich in merchandise and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ransom; some had ten, some sixteen, some twenty thousand ducats for their prisoners; others had houses and goods given them, and sold them for vast sums of money. Sir Walter

got, to use his own words, "a lame leg and deformed; for the rest, I either spoke too late, or 'twas otherwise resolved. I have not been wanting in good words, yet had possession of nought but poverty and pain."

In their return home they took Faro in the kingdom of Algarve; and Essex proposed some other enterprises, in which he was opposed, and the point carried against him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and sea-officers. Yet on his return, Essex published some remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage, wherein the Earl questions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herself, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in consequence of which, she paid a due respect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling of Guiana. In order to promote discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in the month of March, 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher country, they returned again to the port of Plymouth. This expedition seems to be an indubitable proof that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this discovery, otherwise there can be no cause assigned, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind; and also that his hopes were as well-founded as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature.

The next public service wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh is his expedition to the Azores. In this undertaking, of which we have as full and clear memorials as of any in the glorious reign of queen Elizabeth, it plainly appears, that Essex had the command, and Raleigh the abilities; which was the true reason why the former acquired so little honour, and the latter so much; though with a less jealous commander he had certainly obtained more. Their disputes began early. A misfortune fell out in Raleigh's ship in the bay of Biscay, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores.

This signal service the creatures of Essex, by a sort of logic in which they were well practised, construed into a high offence; for they pretended, that these vessels had quitted the General, to wait on the Rear-Admiral; but Sir Walter having convinced the Earl, that these ships came to the rock of Lisbon as the rendezvous appointed by himself, and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordship, Essex had sense enough to be pacified for that time: but soon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed, in a council of war, that the General and Sir Walter Raleigh should land jointly on the island of Fayall, where Raleigh waited four days for his lordship, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, by such as were less concerned for Essex's honour than the nation's glory, that Sir Walter should attempt by himself, what it had been settled they should jointly perform. This resolution he executed, and showed therein as much personal courage as any private soldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wise and experienced commander; so that we need not wonder he met with success, and did all that he designed.

Having a party of 260 men, which was not half the number of the enemy, he made forward, and while some ordnance, that he had judiciously placed before him in pinnaces, as close along the shore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he rushed through, or under them as fast as his oars could ply to the landing-place, which was guarded first with a ledge of rocks, forty paces long into the sea, and afterwards trenched and flanked with earth and stone, having only a narrow lane between two walls left for their entrance. As they approached nearer to the shore, the enemy's shot flew down so thick among them that not only several of the common men, but some of the most valiant leaders, were much dismayed, so that Raleigh, who most gloriously approved himself no less their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not spare to reproach them openly and sharply. At length, when he saw them still linger, through consternation, as much to their danger, as their disgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid follow him. On this, a number of high-spirited heroes pressed forward in the contest: and Raleigh, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, made his way in the midst of the fire of

the enemy, up to the narrow entrance, where he so resolutely pursued his assault, that the Spaniards, after a short resistance, gave ground; and when they saw his forces press faster and thicker upon them, betook themselves to the hills and the woods, and Sir Walter carried his point completely.

Essex, on his arrival, forgot the public service, and thought of nothing but his own private disgrace, which vexed him so much, that he broke some of the officers who had behaved gallantly under Raleigh; and some talk there was of trying him, and taking off his head; but at last, by the mediation of Lord Thomas Howard, who was Vice-Admiral, and Sir Walter's condescending to excuse his having done so much, before his lordship did anything, matters were made up once again. The cashiered officers were restored, Raleigh returned to his care of the public service, and Essex proceeded in his mistakes. In consequence of these, they missed the West India fleet, though Raleigh had the good luck to take some prizes, the produce of which paid his men, so that he lost neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though Essex is said to have found means to throw the miscarriage of all his pompous promises on inevitable accidents, and some of his creatures imputed them to Sir Walter; yet these accusations would not pass with the queen, who showed Raleigh more favour than ever; even though he took less pains to vindicate himself, and testified more respect for the great Earl than perhaps any other man would have done.

The next year we find him again in parliament, where he distinguished himself, by uniting the patriot and the servant of the crown. By his interest with the queen, he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced; by his weight in the house, he promoted supplies; he also obtained some indulgencies for the tanners in Cornwall, and showed himself, upon all occasions, a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleased to fit out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe, Sir Walter was appointed Vice-Admiral: which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a single month, was a high mark of the queen's confidence, since at that time she was no less apprehensive of tumults at home, than of an invasion from abroad.

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

appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, Sir Walter was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to all. This shows that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between deserving and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exportation of ordnance, which, at that time, was of mighty advantage to such as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation; because it was the source of the enemy's power at sea, the Spanish navy making use of none but English cannon. In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether so clear; but he showed that he made a moderate use of the grants which he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to surrender his freely.

Upon the demise of queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter was not without hopes of coming into favour with her successor, whose countenance he had sought by various presents, and other testimonies of respect, which he sent into Scotland, and from the reception they met with, he had no reason at all to suspect that he stood upon ill terms with king James. He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by Essex, to infuse into the king's mind prejudices against him, which, however, he thought to wear out by assiduous service. On the king's coming into England, he had, notwithstanding common reports, frequent access to him, and thereby an opportunity of discovering both his desire and his capacity of serving his Majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a loss for the reason. Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend and associate, so long as they were both in danger from Essex, foreseeing that, if ever Raleigh came into king James's confidence, his administration would not last long, drew such a character of him to that prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming pro-

jects to embarrass him with his neighbours. Sir Walter in return for this good office did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he showed that the affection of the Cecils for his Majesty was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of the family that his mother lost her head, and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they saw it would take place in spite of them. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected, nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known king James thoroughly. That timorous prince saw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and so became dependent upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom for many years he trusted, but did not love. This, with his aversion to all martial enterprises, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to Sir Walter's proposals. However it was, Raleigh had the mortification to see himself slighted and ill-used at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintances before, which, however, proved his ruin.

Among these his companions, was Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom Raleigh had a great ascendancy, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various sorts of people, and talked to each in such a style as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the reign of queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the Duke of Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman in the king of Spain's service, and who was now in England as ambassador from the archduke, but, in truth, with a view to negotiate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and in his name proposed giving Sir Walter a large sum of money, if, instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace. In the mean time some popish priests, and other disaffected and designing persons, had framed a plot against the king and royal family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying, his Majesty and his children, and with some of these people Cobham also had an intercourse, by the means of his brother Mr Brooke. This treason being discovered, and traced to the persons we have mentioned, there grew a suspicion of Cobham, and in

consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, there arose some doubts also as to him. Upon this they were all apprehended, and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with several things in his confession. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these treasons together, though they, or at least Cecil, knew them to be distinct things; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud. The priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; so was George Brooke, who had been their associate: and on the 17th of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of high treason, by the influence of the court and the violent and coarse eloquence of the Attorney-General Coke, without any colour of evidence.

It is observed by Mr Hume, that Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, who managed the cause for the crown, threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of that age. "Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employed against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with surprising temper, eloquence, and courage."

That there was really no truth in what was alleged against Sir Walter, has been repeatedly proved to a demonstration.

Though the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the rest who were involved in this treason, yet the king made a great deal; for he never signed any warrant for his execution, but on the contrary projected that strange tragi-comedy of bringing the two Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of what Cobham had alleged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aside all thoughts of taking away his life; and, if Raleigh laboured sometime under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adversaries, than to any ill intention in the king.

Sir Walter Raleigh, from his place of confinement in the Tower, wrote the following letter, declaratory of his innocence:—

SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO THE EARLS OF NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLK, AND DEVONSHIRE, AND TO LORD CECIL.

“I do not know whether your lordships have seen my answers to all the matters which my Lord Henry Howard, my Lord Wotton, and Sir Edward Coke, have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this present month; which makes me bold to write unto your lordships at this time. The two principal accusations being these: the first, that money was offered me with a pretence to maintain the amity, but the intent was to have assisted his Majesty's surprise; the other, that I was privy to my Lord Cobham's Spanish journey.

“For the first, I beseech your lordships to weigh it seriously before there be any farther proceeding. For to leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to that *summum jus*, before both your understandings and consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be assured that there is no glory, nor any reward, that can recompense the shedding of innocent blood. And, whereas it seemeth to appear, that this money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon some other considerations than it was unto me; for myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness! For if that word amity had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the surprise. But, of any such horrible and fearful purpose, if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your lordships' favours and the king's mercy. I know that your lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But, as you have not erred like ill surgeons, to lay on plasters too narrow for so great wounds; so, I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

“For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto. But I know your lordships have a reputation of conscience as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, my Lord Cecil, know right well, that it was my letter about Keymis; and your lordships all know, whether it be maintained, or whether out of truth, and out of a christian consideration it

be revoked. I know, that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel prince. But I know that the king is too merciful, to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved, or can persuade his religious heart of the equity. I know that the king thinks, with all good princes, *satius est peccare in alteram partem*. God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent 40,000 crowns of mine own against that king and nation; that I never reserved so much of all my fortunes as to purchase £40 per annum land; that I have been a violent persecutor, and fatherer of all enterprises, against that nation. I have served against them in person; and how, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of Suffolk, can witness. I discovered, myself, the richest part of all his Indies. I have planted in his territories. I offered his Majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry 2000 men to invade him without the king's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word. And, in this time, when we have a generous prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion, I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation.

“Think, therefore, I humbly beseech you, on my great affliction, with compassion, who have lost my estate and the king's favour upon one man's word; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me. You all know that the law of England hath need of a merciful prince; and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his Majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things, of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like, forget all particular mistakes: *multos clementia honestavit, ultio nullum*. Your lordships know that I am guiltless of the surprise intended. Your lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill; and of the Spanish journey, I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and humble desires from my sovereign lord; *qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus*. Thus humbly beseeching your lordships to have a merciful regard of me, I rest your lordships' humble and miserable suppliant,

WALTER RALEIGH.

In the month of December, Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company, and by degrees obtained still greater favours; for the king was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by Sir Walter's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children. In a reasonable space his estate followed his goods: and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much mistaken; for a new court favourite arising, who had a mind to enrich himself by grants, discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's estate to his son, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite, who, in 1609, had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited. This courtier was Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

He spent a great part of his confinement in writing that immortal monument of his genius and learning, "The History of the World," wherein he has shown that he consulted the wise rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent attempts, any one but his own must have sunk. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chemistry, and various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. The patron of his studies was Prince Henry, the glory of the house of Stuart, the darling of the British nation while he lived, and the object of its sincere and universal lamentation on his untimely death. After his death, Sir Walter depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and steady protectress while the Earl of Somerset's power lasted, whose hate was chiefly detrimental to Raleigh; for the king trusted him now, as he had Salisbury before, with implicit confidence, even after he had lost his affection: but he, by an intemperate use of his authority, having rendered himself obnoxious to the law, Sir Walter saw him his companion in the Tower, and his estates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown. His enemies thus out of the court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the favour he had

long been seeking, which was, after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the Tower, not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision, but to spend the latter part of his days, as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour, and in the service of his country; or, as he himself has expressed it in a letter to Secretary Winwood, by whose interest chiefly this favour was obtained, "To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world."

The scheme he had now at heart was his old one of settling Guiana. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of queen Elizabeth, when, considering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and, indeed, so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded that this was the richest country on the globe, and the worthiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his confinement he held a constant intercourse with Guiana, sending at his own charge every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them of coming to their assistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower, and from whom he received clear and distinct intelligence of the situation and richness of the mines. Upon these informations he offered the scheme for prosecuting his discovery to the court, three years before he undertook it in person; nor was there then any doubt either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with Spain, otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he did even at that time; which shows that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered and taken possession of that country for the crown of England, and that consequently his subjects were entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the Spaniards. It may also deserve our notice, that at the time Sir Walter first moved the court upon this subject, the Spanish match was not thought of; but the wants of king James were then very pressing, and he may reasonably be presumed to

have at this time placed as great hopes in this discovery as he did in that match, though, when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of conceit with Sir Walter's; so that, if he had pleased, he might, for seven hundred pounds, have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage; but he, remaining firm to his purpose, and the king feeling his necessities daily increasing, was yet willing that he should proceed in his enterprise, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the prospect he then had of concluding the Spanish match. Such was the situation of Sir Walter, and, such the disposition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his design, and was empowered by a royal commission, but at the expense of himself and his friends, to settle Guiana.

It has been a great dispute amongst writers of some eminence, what sort of a commission that was with which Sir Walter was trusted. According to some, it should have been under the great seal of England, and directed, To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, knight; according to others, and, indeed, according to the account given by king James himself, it was under the privy-seal, and without those expressions of trust or grace. To end this dispute, I have consulted the most authentic collection we have of public instruments, and there I find a large commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, which agrees with that in the declaration, and is dated the twenty-sixth of August, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign over England, and over Scotland the fiftieth. I think that it is not impossible it might pass both seals. However, the commission was certainly a legal commission, and though the formal expressions of grace and trust are omitted, yet the powers granted him are very extensive in themselves, and as strongly drawn as words can express; so that Sir Walter had all the reason imaginable to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clause he is constituted general and commander-in-chief in this enterprise. By another he is appointed governor of the new country he is to settle; and this with ample authority. By a third, he has a power rarely intrusted with our admirals now, that of exercising martial law, in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive, that, when this commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man; or that the lords of the privy

council, or the lord privy seal, could think it reasonable for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and, therefore, I think, that Bacon's opinion, when Sir Walter consulted him, whether it would not be advisable for him to give a round sum of money for a pardon in common form, answered like an honest man and a sound lawyer, "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you Admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." On this expedition, there sailed fourteen ships, headed by a fine new ship, built by Raleigh himself, called the *Destiny*, of the burden of four hundred and forty tons, and carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon. On board it were Sir Walter Raleigh, General, and his son Walter, Captain, besides two hundred men, whereof eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations.

With part of this fleet Sir Walter sailed from the Thames on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617; but it was the month of July before he left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which, he was forced to put into Cork through stress of weather, and remained there till the nineteenth of August. On the sixth of September, he made the Canaries. Thence he proceeded to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this purpose, he ordered, on the fourth of December, five small ships to sail into the river Oronoque; aboard these five vessels were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by Captain Parker, the second by Captain North, the third by young Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chudley; Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight persons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and, therefore wrote him the following letter:—

“ Keymis, whereas you were resolved, after your arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and six musqueteers, and to that end, desired to have Sir John Ferne’s shallop; I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the river side may discover you, who, giving knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I, therefore, advise you to suffer the captains and companies of the English to pass up westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there is any town near it; that being so secured you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, or whether or not it will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive them as far as he can: but if you find the mine is not so rich as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to satisfy his Majesty that my design was not imaginary, but true, though not answerable to his Majesty’s expectation; for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other side, if you shall find any great number of soldiers are newly sent into the Oronoque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that the passages are already enforced, so as without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not, for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of the nation.”

In obedience to this order, Keymis landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They presently found the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the English both with their great and small arms, and the Spaniards being the aggressors, the English landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Raleigh, the General’s son, was killed in the action; he himself stayed at Trinidado, with the other ships, resolving rather to burn them than yield, had the Spanish attacked him. Keymis made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow: and where they could have made a descent,

vollies of musket-shot came from the woods on their boats and Keymis did not proceed to the mine, saying in his excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and impassable woods: and that, supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons, he concluded it was best not to open it at all. The Spaniards themselves had several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes. At Keymis's return, Raleigh told him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery: which reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence, soon after, the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded, he said, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About two hours after, he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and, upon search, it was discovered he had first shot himself, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball. Sir Walter, when he heard his son was slain, said, that he mattered not the losing of a hundred men, so as his reputation had been saved. He was afraid of incurring the king's displeasure, and with grief and sickness brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himself, which his indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis searching the river, all which time his master stayed at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life; yet the misfortunes and disappointments he met with did not alter his resolution of returning home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England, happen what would; so, rather like a prisoner than General, he arrived with his leaky ships, first at Kinsale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth.

Immediately after his coming to Ireland, a proclamation issued, setting forth the king's disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct, and requiring that such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the eleventh of June, and though it pretends to refer to Sir Walter's commission, yet it mentions things which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and

hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the road to London, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, Vice-Admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up as a prisoner. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully, for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir Walter had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the French king; but in reality, all that Sir Walter intended was to have gone back again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage, by a happier undertaking. On his second apprehension, he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already settled he should never be released but by death. It was the earnestness of the Spanish court, by their instrument Count Gondomar, produced this violence in the English councils; and yet, if we strictly consider the matter, we shall find that the keenness with which the Spanish court drove his prosecution, is one of the strongest proofs that can be alleged in favour of Sir Walter's scheme; for if Guiana was a place of no consequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If Sir Walter had been no more than a projector, who sought to restore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of those times suggested, why was not he let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its appearance, because it would have discountenanced all succeeding projects; but by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raise the credit of his project, though they might frighten people at that time from carrying it into execution. In short, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were positive as he was, because they knew by experience that Guiana was rich in gold, and that, if it were once thoroughly settled by the English, there would be an end of their empire in the West Indies. But to return to Sir Walter.

It was difficult, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the court, was far from being so in the sight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treason, yet at

that time it was not easy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to inquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late expedition. Upon this, it was resolved to call him to judgment upon his former sentence. He was taken out of his bed in the fit of an ague, and brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission, which was immediately over-ruled; next he would have justified his conduct in Guiana, but that the court would not hear; and so execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand. That this judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often said, and, I believe, seldom doubted.

As the method of bringing him to his death, was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next day, the 29th of October, Sir Walter was carried by the Sheriffs of Middlesex to suffer in the Old Palace-yard. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by Dr. Robert Tounson, then Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who assisted him in his last moments. He tells us, that he had such a contempt of death, as surprised this divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed God; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet, for himself, he had rather die so, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of Christian courage, he convinced the doctor himself; "and I think," says he, "all the spectators at his death." He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected against him. Sir Walter eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey. On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all imputations, and, like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince who thus sacrificed him to the Spaniards. Dean Tounson observes, that every

body gave credit to what Sir Walter said at his death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was caught in Whitehall clipping the gold which was bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it; and, having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in the island of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after Sir Walter Raleigh.

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



REIGN OF CHARLES I.

Upon the death of James, his only son Charles succeeded him with the general approbation of his subjects. He was in the flower of his age, had shown himself a person of abilities, and, after the breaking off the Spanish match, had rendered himself for a time very popular. His father left him much incumbered; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was just begun, and his prime minister, the Duke of Buckingham, was generally hated.

The truth is, that while Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation was so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a grievance; and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet, by an infatuation not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The king's marriage with the princess Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the lifetime of king James, and after his decease the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to England. It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disagreeable to the people; and, as this related to the navy, it falls under our cognizance.

The Marquis D'Effiat, ambassador from France to king James, had represented to his Majesty, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his master was equally inclined with his Britannic Majesty to curtail it, but, wanting a sufficient maritime force, was desirous of borrowing from his Majesty a few ships to enable him to execute the design he had formed against Genoa. The king agreed that the great Neptune, a man-of-war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and six merchant ships, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, should be lent to the French; but, soon after this agreement, the Rochellers made application, stating that they had just grounds to apprehend that this English squadron would be employed for destroying the Protestant interest in France, instead of diminishing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The Duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little relished by Captain Pennington, who was to go out Admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships, he gave them

private instructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but, upon their coming into a French port, they were told by the Duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve and should serve against Rochelle; upon which the sailors on board the fleet signed a paper containing their resolution not to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first.

Pennington, upon this, sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs, whence he sent a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that service. The Duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed the secretary of state to write a letter to Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the Duke surreptitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon Rochelle, procured his letter to the same effect. Upon this, the merchant ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor and put to sea; and so honest were all the seamen on board the other ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England; but, as for the ships, they remained with the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle.

In the mean time, the design still went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a fleet was provided for that purpose; but as Buckingham, in quality of Lord High-Admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeas'd at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the Duke and those who by his influence were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it.

This war with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham's procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid motive. However, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been prosecuted firmly, because, though he acted from private pique, yet without question, the nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards.

Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, was the person of whom the Duke made choice for the command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an under-

taking. The Earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his Vice and Rear-Admirals; and that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created Viscount Wimbledon, and had the rank of Lord-Marshal.

The force employed consisted of eighty ships, English and Dutch, and ten regiments. The Spanish Plate Fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and if they had gone to Tercera they must infallibly have been masters of them, and by the destruction of fifty or sixty galleons, would have disabled the maritime power of Spain.

The General sailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but, when the fleet had proceeded some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they came together to their appointed rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent. On the 19th of October, a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. The Earl of Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships, and eight or ten galleys; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port Real. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the Fort of Puntal was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to re-embark their forces, and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the Flota.

The men by this time grew sickly, and by a strange management, that is, distributing the sick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected to such a degree as scarcely left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired no honour themselves.

During the remainder of this unfortunate reign, the naval history of England does little credit to its government. To the presumptuous and ignorant administration of Buckingham, succeeded the civil wars, when intestine strife put an end to all efficient attempts to support the national claims to supremacy at sea. Individuals of great skill and bravery among our sailors were not wanting, who, under a differ-

ent management, might have made the flag of England still float triumphant over the waves.

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

SIR ROBERT MANSEL claims the first place amongst these, though the memoirs we have of him are far from being so full as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient family in Glamorganshire. He addicted himself early to the sea, and under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet, and in the Cadiz expedition, received the honour of knighthood from the Earl of Essex, who thenceforward received him into his special favour; and in the island voyage he was captain of the Admiral's own ship. Upon his return, he adhered to his old patron the Earl of Nottingham, and remained in queen Elizabeth's favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at sea, especially in the defence of the coast; and in this service was remarkably successful, particularly in 1602, when Sir Robert attacked six of the Spanish galleys going to Flanders, sunk three, and dispersed the rest. This gallant action the Dutch, and after them the French historians having very much misrepresented, Sir Robert in his own justification drew up a complete relation of this service, which he addressed to his great friend and patron the Lord High-Admiral, an extract from which curious and authentic paper, we here present the reader, mostly in his own words:—

“ On the 23d of September, being in the *Hope*, and having in my company the *Advantage* only, of the queen's ships, which Captain Jones commanded, and two Dutch men-of-war, I rid more than half-channel over towards the coast of France upon a north-west and south-east line, myself being nearest that coast, Captain Jones next to me, and the Dutch men-of-war a sea-board, and to the westward of him. The small force at that time present, and with me, remaining thus disposed for the intercepting of the galleys, having dismissed the Dutch men-of-war, that served under me, upon their own intreaty, to revictual and trim, and having employed the rest of the queen's ships upon special services, I descried from my top-mast heads six low sails, which some took for galleys, others affirmed them to be small barks that

had struck their top-sails, and bound from Dieppe towards the Downs. To which opinion, though I inclined most, yet I directed the master to weigh and stand with them, that I might learn some news of the galleys which, by your Lordship's advertisement sent me, I knew had either passed me that night, or were near at hand, unless the sea had swallowed them up in the storms which had raged three days before. Having set myself under sail, the weather grew thick, which obliged me to lash some two points from the wind towards the English coast, lest the continuance of that dark weather might give them power to run out ahead of me. About eleven o'clock the weather cleared, when I discovered them plainly to be the Spanish galleys so long expected, at which time, with the rest, I plied to receive them by crossing their fore-foot as they stood along the channel, which they endeavoured till they perceived that, by the continuance of that course, they could not escape the power of my ordnance.

“All this time these two fly-boats were between them and me; and, as the slaves report that swam ashore at Dover, they determined with three galleys, to have boarded each of those ships, and could have executed that resolution, but for the fear of her Majesty's great galleon, (as they termed the Hope), whose force, that they shunned in that kind, considering the disadvantage that twice six of the best galleys that ever I saw hath by fighting against one ship of her force, I do as much commend, as otherwise I do detest their shameful working, in that, full of cowardliness and weakness, they rowed back to the westward, and spent the day by running away, in hopes that the darkness of the night would give them liberty sufficient to shun the only ship they feared, or that was indeed in the sea at that time to give them the cause of fear, I mean between them and Dunkirk or Newport. This error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceive by the sequel.

“For they no sooner began that course of rowing back again, but I instantly made signs for Captain Jones, in the Advantage of the queen's, to come to me, whom I presently directed to repair to Calais road, and thence to send the alarm into the States army assembled before Sluys, and to advise such men-of-war as kept on the coast of Flanders, upon any other occasion, to stand off to the sea, to meet with the galleys in the night, which should be chased by me, with my lights in my top-mast heads, and a continual discharging

of my ordnance. Captain Jones having shaped his course according to my directions, I gave orders for hoisting and trimming of my sails by the wind to keep sight of the galleys: the two fly-boats, being still aweather of me, did the like.

“ Which chace we held till sun-setting, observing this course following all the day. They, being aweather of me, kept their continual boards, that the galleys were always between them; and myself being to leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the afternoon, in a manner even in the very eye of their course, between them and the place of their design, ever discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer of her Majesty's, that rode by my directions at the Downs upon important service, as your lordship knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, having left the sea, upon unknown grounds to me, (yet sent from Portsmouth by the most provident direction of her sacred Majesty, to await the coming of the galleys, upon advertisements that her Highness received of their being put to sea,) to set sail, who else had received no understanding of the galleys, neither came they within shot of them till after night, howsoever the reputation of the service is wholly challenged by them.

“ Having given your lordship an account how this day was thus spent by me from eight o'clock until the evening, and with these only helps, I beseech your lordship to be pleased to understand, that with the setting of the sun I could both discern the ships last mentioned under sail at the Downs, and the galleys to have set their sails, directing their course close aboard our shore, each of them being out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to have been left by the galleys to a stern chace. When I perceived them to hold that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answer, and the rest that were in the Downs, I held a clean contrary course from them towards the coast of France, to confirm the secure passage they thought to find on our coast, which continued until the report of their battery gave me assurance of the galleys being engaged with them.

“ How the battery began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the service is due, I leave to be considered by your lordship by the perusal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the queen, which Captain Broadgate commanded, as she rode more southerly at the Downs than the Flemings, so came

the first to the galleys, and bestowed twenty-eight pieces of ordnance on them, before the Flemings came in, who at length seconded him with very many shot.

“During this battery of ours upon the galleys, which I so term, because they never exchanged one shot, at the very first report of the Answer’s ordnance, I directed the master of my ship to bear up with the south end of the Goodwin, with which directions I delivered my reasons publicly as I stood on the poop of my ship, viz., that if I stood directly into them (the galleys) before I could recover the place, would either be driven ashore or sunk, and so there would prove no need of my force, or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the ships, of whom (once getting ahead) they could receive no impediment; for there was no one ship but the Advantage in the sea that could hinder them to recover any port in Flanders, or the east countries (Sluys only excepted), unless I stayed them at that sand-head.

“Having recovered as near that place as I desired, I stayed at least a quarter of an hour before I could either see the galley, hear or see any of those ships, their lights, or report of their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold opinion, that they had outsailed the Answer and the rest of the Flemings, and shunned sight of me, by going a sea-board of my ship, which I so verily believed, as I once directly determined to sail for Sluys, with hope only, that the preparation which I know the States had there, would be able to prevent their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubtful, or rather hopeless, to hinder their recovery of Dunkirk or Newport, in case they had been a sea-board of me, some of my company descried a single galley plying from the shore to get ahead of my ship. When she approached within caliver-shot, I discharged about thirty pieces of ordnance of my lower and upper tier at her alone; myself with many other in my ship saw when her main-yard was shot asunder, heard the report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most pitiful outcries, which, when I perceived to continue, and, instead of making way from me, to near me what she could, I forebore shooting, and commanded one that spoke the Portuguese language to tell them, that I was contented to receive them to mercy, which I would accordingly have performed, had not the other five galleys offered to stand ahead of me at that very instant, and thereby would have left me, as they had both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the Answer, with the rest of the

Flemings, had I omitted any small time of executing the advantage I had of their being on my broadside, which, as appears, was so effectually employed, (howsoever the night wherein this service was performed might hinder the particular mention of their hurts,) as none can deny but that God pleased thereby only to work their confusion: for since that time, none hath said or can speak of any one shot made towards them; yet four of them are sunk and wrecked, the fifth past doing the enemy service, and the sixth they are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where (if I be not much deceived) she will prove more chargeable than profitable, if the default rest not in ourselves.

“ The disagreement between the Dutch captains themselves, touching the stemming and sinking of the galleys (whereof one challenged before your lordship, and in many other public places, to have stemmed and sunk two himself), and the printed pamphlet, containing the stemming and sinking of three galleys, gives the reputation thereof to three several captains, amongst whom no mention is made of the first; and whereas there are but two in all sunk, I leave to be reconciled among themselves, and to your lordship, whether that the same of right appertaineth not to her Majesty’s ship the Hope, in respect of the allegations before-mentioned, every particular whereof being to be proved by the oaths of my whole company, and maintained with the hazard of my life, with that which followeth:—

“ 1. As the shooting of the single galley’s main-yard; my bestowing above thirty pieces of ordnance upon that one galley within less than caliver-shot.

“ 2. That they in the galley made many lamentable outcries for my receiving them into mercy.

“ 3. That I would accordingly have received them, but for giving them over, to encounter with the other five galleys, which else had left me to a stern chase.

“ To these reasons I add the assertion of the Vice-Admiral himself, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places) that one of the galleys which he stemmed had her main-yard shot asunder before his coming aboard her; by whomsoever she was then stemmed, your lordship may judge who ruined her, considering she made no resistance by his own report, but by crying to him for mercy.

“ Touching the other galley stemmed and sunk, I have already proved how she (as all the rest) had got ahead the Answer of the queen’s not named, and the rest of the States

men-of-war with her, who challenge the whole credit of this service. They, as all other seamen, cannot deny but that the galleys will outsail all ships in such a loome gale of wind and smooth sea as we had that night.

“The galleys, being then quicker of sail than they, how could they by any means possible fetch them up but by some impediment? Impediment they received none but by my ordnance, which amounted to fifty great shot at those five which came last from the shore, when all the ships were above a mile astern.

“Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting dispositions, may perchance say, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would have perished by storm, though they had not been battered: whereto though I have sufficiently answered, first, in showing that they might have recovered any of the places thereabouts before eight o'clock that night, but for me, and then the second time before the morning, had they not been encountered by me alone, at the Southsand head; yet, for further proof that they miscarried by our battery only, I say, that if one of the galleys which received least damage by our ordnance did outlive Friday's storm, continuing till Saturday noon, being driven among the islands of Zealand, to recover Calais, then surely those two (unless they had been exceedingly torn) would have made shift to have recovered the ports of Newport, Grave-ling, or Dunkirk; especially since from the place where I battered them they might have been at the remotest of those places, about four hours before any storm began. But such seemed their haste to save their lives, as their thought ran of a shore, and not of a harbour.

“Now that I have delivered unto your lordship the whole and true discourse of this business, I shall forbear to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night, and next day's spending my time, (though the same in their chace had like to have cost her Majesty her ship, and the lives of as many as were in her,) and conclude with admiration of their not holding her Majesty's ship, nor I, (her unworthiest servant), and then, and yet, by her Highness's grace, and your lordship's favour, Admiral of the forces in that place, am not once mentioned, especially since the six galleys might safely have arrived, before seven o'clock that night, at any of the ports of Flanders to the westward of Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come from an anchor in the Downs, but for the signs (signals) they

received from me. Then, that the force of her Majesty's ship wherein I was, enforced them to keep close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships in the Downs had power given them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Answer of the queen's.

“ And, lastly, since the galleys escaped their battery, and had gotten ahead those ships above a mile at least, and never received any impediment after but only by me, who lingered them (as you have heard) until the coming up of those ships that challenge to stem them; which being granted, I cannot see how any other credit can rightly be given them (for that stem I mean) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead body which his master had slain.”

There were three motives which induced me to insert this relation, long as it is, in this work. First, because the paper is very curious in itself, and well drawn. Next, because it does honour to the memory of its author, Sir Robert Mansel. Lastly, as it shows the correctness of those times, when every thing was examined into, and sifted to the very bottom, which made officers so tender of their characters, that they were ever ready, upon any such occasion as this before us, to render a strict account of their conduct, in so full and circumstantial a manner, as absolutely silenced calumny, and left no farther room for dispute.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the Earl of Nottingham's resignation, Sir Robert Mansel applied himself to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he advised to accept that office; and when he excused himself on account of his youth and want of experience, told him why he thought him fittest for the place. He observed, that in time of peace the best service that could be done, was to look well to the constant repair of the navy, and to rebuild occasionally such ships as wanted it; and that by applying himself assiduously to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was necessary, before any war should call him into action. Thus the Duke was brought into the office of High-Admiral by the persuasion of Sir Robert Mansel, upon very just motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old master; for the Earl of Nottingham had a pension of one thousand pounds a-year. This transaction happened in 1616, and, Sir Robert Mansel was, by the Duke of Buckingham's interest, made Vice-Admiral for life.

The Duke, by his advice, did another thing, which was

very commendable. He procured a commission to be granted to several able and experienced persons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is strong reason to believe, considering the great confusion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was so well preserved, that Buckingham, upon his impeachment, acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article.

In 1620, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the fleet fitted out against the pirates of Algiers. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there seems to be no reason to conceive he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public spirited motive, the desire of raising the English reputation at sea, and freeing our trade from the insults of these rovers. His knowledge in his profession must have been very extensive, as well as his character as a gallant officer high, since we find him recommended by Sir John Pennington to the King, in 1642, as the properest person to seize the fleet for that prince's service: his authority, as Vice-Admiral of England, as well as his known and great reputation with the seamen, being, as was suggested, like to meet with little resistance from the power of the Earl of Warwick, who had found means the year before to bring it under the dominion of the Parliament; but his Majesty was apprehensive lest Sir Robert's advanced age, and the infirmities that attended thereon, might render the attempt hazardous, though he had a great opinion of his courage and integrity.



SIR WILLIAM MONSON was the third son of Sir John Monson, of South Carlton, in Lincolnshire, and born in 1569. He was a student in Baliol College, Oxford, for about two years; but being of an active and martial disposition, he soon grew weary of a contemplative life, and applied himself to the sea-service. It was in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's war with Spain, that he entered on this profession; and, indeed, he appears to have been led to it by the wildness of youth; for he was then only sixteen years of age, and entered himself without the knowledge of his parents. His wages were ten shillings a month, and his condition that of a private man. He engaged in his first voyage on board a small bark, commissioned to seize upon the Spanish. This vessel, in company with another, sailed from the Isle of Wight, and on the coast of Spain, they met and boarded a Spanish vessel of three hundred tons burthen, well manned and armed, returning from Newfoundland; which yielded after an obstinate engagement.

In 1589, he was Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Cumberland, in his expedition to the Azores, and at the taking of Fayal, where he did very great service; but, in the return, he endured such severe hardships, as threw him into a violent illness, which kept him at home the whole year 1590. "The extremity we endured," says he in his *Naval Tracts*, "was more terrible than befell any ship in the eighteen years' war: for, laying aside the continual expectation of death by shipwreck, and the daily mortality of our men, I will speak of our famine, that exceeded all I have known in the course of my life. For sixteen days together we never tasted a drop of drink, either beer, wine, or water; and though we had plenty of beef and pork of a year's salting, yet did we forbear eating it, for making us the drier. Many drank salt-water; and those that did, died suddenly; and the last words they usually spake was drink, drink, drink! and I dare boldly say, that of five hundred men that were in that ship seven years before, at this day there is not a man alive but myself and one more."

In 1591, he served a second time under the Earl of Cumberland, who was commissioned to act against the Spaniards. They took several Spanish ships; and Captain Monson being sent to convoy one of them to England, was surrounded and taken by six Spanish galleys, after a long and bloody fight. They detained him as an hostage, for the performance of certain covenants, and carried him to Portugal, where he

was kept prisoner two years. Not discouraged, however, at this ill luck, he entered a third time into the Earl's service in 1593; and he behaved himself in this, and in all other expeditions, like an able and undaunted seaman.

In 1594, he was created Master of Arts at Oxford; and the following year he married; but, previously to his marriage, he engaged again to attend the Earl of Cumberland to sea, as his Vice-Admiral, in the *Rainbow*. When they had sailed a few leagues towards Spain, the Earl, without saying anything, suddenly quitted the voyage, and appointed another captain for his own ship; which so much disgusted Monson, that he betook himself to his own adventure; and after having made a fruitless voyage to the coast of Spain, and suffered much by storms, he returned to Plymouth. In 1596, he served in the expedition to Cadiz, being captain of the *Repulse*; and, for his services on this occasion, received the honour of knighthood. He was very near being killed on this occasion, but escaped in a remarkable manner. He was preserved by a bullet hitting upon his sword, as he had been also at the island of St. Mary's in 1589. His own account of this is as follows:—"In that conflict (at Cadiz) I was shot with a musket-bullet through my scarf and breeches, and the handle and pommel of my sword shot from my side, without any further hurt. And at an encounter in the island of St. Mary's, my sword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the bullet passed through the belly of my doublet, which, if it had not been for my sword, had done the like through my belly." Sir William adds, "By the way, this I note, that as the sword is the death of many a man, so it hath been twice the preserver of my life."

In 1597, he commanded the *Rainbow* in the expedition to the Azores, under the Earl of Essex; and if the Earl had followed Sir William's advice, he would have made himself master of the Spanish Plate Fleet. In 1602, he went out as Vice-Admiral in the *Garland*, to the coast of Spain, with Sir Richard Lewson, Admiral; and they were so successful as to take a carack, worth a million of pieces of eight. Sir William Monson was employed in several other expeditions, and was highly honoured and esteemed during queen Elizabeth's reign. But military men were not king James's favourites; and, after the death of Elizabeth, he received but little favour at court. However, in 1604, he was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas; in this station he continued

till the year 1616 ; during which time he supported the honour of the English flag against the insolence of the Dutch, of which he frequently complains in his " Naval Tracts ;" and protected our trade against the encroachments of France.

Notwithstanding the long and faithful services of Sir William Monson, he had the misfortune to fall into disgrace ; and, through the resentment of some powerful courtiers, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1616 ; but, after having been examined by the Lord Chief Justice Coke and Secretary Winwood, he was discharged. He wrote a vindication of his conduct, entitled, " Concerning the insolencies of the Dutch, and a Justification of Sir William Monson." His zeal against the insolencies of the Dutch, and in promoting an inquiry into the state of the navy, contrary to the sense and inclination of the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral, seems to have been the occasion of his troubles. He had also the misfortune to bring upon himself a general and popular odium, by retaking the Lady Arabella Stuart, after her escape out of England in June, 1611, though it was acting exactly according to his orders and duty. This lady was confined to the Tower for her marriage with William Seymour, as it was pretended ; though the true cause of her confinement was, her being too nearly allied to the crown of England. However, Sir William Monson soon recovered his credit at court ; for in 1617, he was called before the privy council, to give his opinion how the pirates of Algiers might be suppressed, and the town attacked. He was against the expedition ; notwithstanding which, it was rashly undertaken. He was also against two other injudicious undertakings, which were as injudiciously managed in the years 1625 and 1628 ; namely, the expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhe. He was not employed in these actions, because he found fault with the minister's measures ; but in 1635, it being found necessary to equip a large fleet, in order to break a confederacy that was forming between the French and the Dutch, he was appointed Vice-Admiral in that armament, and performed his duty with great honour and bravery.

This was the last public service in which Sir William Monson was engaged. He spent the remainder of his days in peace and privacy, at his seat at Kinnersley, in Surrey, where he digested and finished his " Naval Tracts." He died there in 1643, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was a very able, active, and intelligent sea-commander, possessing great bravery, and uncommon skill in maritime affairs.

The Naval Tracts are divided into six books, all on different subjects, and all equally curious and instructive. The first book is, for the most part, a collection of every year's actions, in the war against Spain, on our own, upon the Spanish coast, and in the West Indies. A brief narrative; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprise; yet the design is to show the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be still of use, he sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods of redressing them. His second book continues the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain. He inveighs against the Dutch, shows the ill management of a design against Algiers, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by king Charles I., disclosing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the Lord High-Admiral to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel, and the parts of it; with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in the three kingdoms, with many other important matters. The fourth book is of a very different nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and conquests in Africa, Asia, and America; with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of the first settling both of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth, and last, treats of fishing, and is intended to show the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England.



CHAPTER V.

NAVAL HISTORY DURING THE COMMONWEALTH—THE PROTECTORATE
—WARS WITH THE DUTCH—WAR WITH SPAIN—ADMIRAL BLAKE
—THE RESTORATION—CHARLES II.—STRUGGLE WITH THE DUTCH
FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS—JAMES II.—DUKE OF ALBE-
MARLE—EARL OF SANDWICH—PRINCE RUPERT—LAWSON—
KEMPTHORNE—SPRAGGE—AND OTHERS.

At the very commencement of their struggles with the king, the parliament saw the importance of securing the fleet in their interests, and succeeded in doing so. In the spring of the year 1641, they directed the Earl of Northumberland to fit out a fleet for the nation's security by sea, and placed supplies at his disposal for that purpose. On Northumberland's falling into bad health, the command was transferred to the Earl of Warwick; and Sir John Pennington and others, who were suspected of a favourable disposition towards the king, were removed.

Captain Cartwright having refused the post of Vice-Admiral, without the king's permission, that office was given to Batten, who was one of the most disaffected towards Charles. The parliament, as they had shown care in securing the fleet, so they showed wisdom in managing it; the ships being kept in good repair, and the sailors regularly paid.

The king, however, did not sit down tamely under this loss, but made various attempts, by persuasion and by force, to regain his power at sea—and this led to frequent battles, with varied success; but we gladly pass over these contests of Englishmen against Englishmen. The parliament ultimately quite destroyed the royal power at sea, although the strife was perseveringly prolonged by Prince Rupert, who, with such ships as adhered to the king's interest, did much damage to the English commerce. The English Admirals were, first, Warwick, and upon his removal, Deane, Popham, and chiefly Blake, who was now rising into the highest reputation. After the dispersion of Prince Rupert's fleet, Admiral Blake, on his return to England, was received with great favour by the parliament, had the thanks of the house voted him, and in conjunction with Deane and Popham, was made Admiral-commanding-in-chief for 1651. The islands of Scilly, and various places in the West Indies and America, which still held out for the king, were reduced by the parliamentary commanders, who soon, however, found a nobler employment for their bravery and enterprise in a war with the Dutch.

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

It was in the spring of the year 1652, that things came to extremities; but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day, who were the aggressors. The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by Commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch man-of-war, for the captain's refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of May 1652. Commodore Young acted with great caution, and gave the Dutch all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute they could desire. He sent his boat on board the Dutchman, to persuade him to strike: but the captain answered, that the States had threatened to take off his head if he struck: and the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be obliged to strike.

Admiral Van Tromp was at sea with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, to protect, as was given out, the Dutch trade. This fleet coming into the Downs, met with a small squadron under the command of Major Bourne, to whom Van Tromp sent word, that he was forced in by stress of weather; Bourne answered, that the truth of this would best appear by the shortness of his stay, and immediately sent notice to his Admiral. The next day Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag; upon which the Dutch Admiral returned a broadside. For nearly four hours Blake was engaged almost alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away.

In this battle the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken and one disabled; whereas the English lost none: and yet the inequality in force was very great. The Dutch fleet consisted at first of forty-two ships, and Blake's only of fifteen; and even at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The Admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their masters, wherein they contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any one fact mentioned in Blake's letter; whereas there are several mistakes in Tromp's; such as, that Bourne's squadron consisted of twelve large ships, which could not be true. Besides, he owns that his flag was out all the time. The States themselves were sensible

of being in the wrong, and at the same time so mortified that their fleet, notwithstanding its superiority, had been beaten, that they apologised, and sent over another ambassador, the Heer Adrian Paauw, to proceed on a treaty. But the demands of the parliament were, in their opinion, too high, and so all thoughts of peace were dismissed on both sides, and war was proclaimed.

The English, in the meantime, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the late hostilities from the States-General, took many Dutch ships. On June, 1652, Blake brought in eleven merchant ships, with their convoy, coming from Nantes. Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch men-of-war, on the coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike; of which one was taken and the other stranded; and, on the 13th of the same month, Blake took twenty-six merchant ships, with their convoys. Vice-Admiral Ayscue, who, in his return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant ships, and four men-of-war, attacked the St. Ubes fleet of about forty sail, of which nearly thirty were taken, burnt or stranded.

After this, while the States, with the utmost diligence, were getting ready a fleet of seventy men-of-war, under the command of Admiral Van Tromp, Blake, with about sixty vessels, received orders to sail to the north to disturb the Dutch fishery. Sir George Ayscue, who had taken five Dutch merchant ships, was left with the remainder of the English fleet, consisting of no more than seven men-of-war in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the north, Tromp with his fleet came into the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of either surprising Ayscue or insulting the coast. Failing of this, he sailed northward to intercept Blake; but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that scheme also.

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

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

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

The next morning the four English being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the fight was renewed. Van Galen began a close engagement with the English commodore; but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under

water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced to leave him. Another of the enemy's largest ships, renewing the attack, lost her main-mast: whereupon the English frigate, the *Phoenix*, seizing the opportunity, boarded the disabled *Hollander*, but being too weak, was taken after a sharp fight, wherein most of her men were killed or wounded. In the mean time, Commodore Bodley, being again boarded by two of the enemy's ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that they were both beaten off with the loss of their captains. Bodley, left by the enemy, having lost about a hundred men, followed the merchantmen to Porto-Longone. The enemy lost three of their captains in the fight.

Blake, now in the channel, did much damage to the enemy; and hostilities having been committed on the coast of Newfoundland by the French, our Admiral attacked a squadron of their ships going to the relief of Dunkirk, took or destroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The Dutch, seeing their trade injured, and apprehensive of worse consequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of De Witte, and sent it to join De Ruyter, who was appointed escort to a number of merchantmen. After the junction of these fleets, and the sending the ships they were to convoy into Holland, the Admirals showed a design of attacking the English navy, and Blake gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But, when it came to the point, the Dutch fleet covered themselves behind a sand bank, which, however, did not hinder Blake from attacking them.

He divided his fleet into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, the second by Vice-Admiral Penn, and the third by Rear-Admiral Bourne. It was about three when the engagement began, and the English quickly discovered their rashness in attacking an enemy under such disadvantages; for the *Sovereign*, a new ship, struck immediately on the sands, and so did several others; but, getting off again, the English fleet stood aloof till De Witte came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly seconded by the rest of the fleet. A Dutch man-of-war, attempting to board the *Sovereign*, was sunk by her side, and this by the first discharge she made. Soon after, a Dutch first-rate was taken by Captain Mildmay, and two other men-of-war were sunk, a third being blown up, De Witte retired, pursued by the English fleet as long as it was light. The next day Blake

continued the chase, till within twelve leagues of the Dutch shore, and then returned in triumph to the Downs, having lost about three hundred men and having as many wounded. Parliament took care to provide hospitals near Dover and Deal, and sent also their thanks to the Admiral and his officers.

The States, not discouraged, repaired and augmented their fleet, and Van Tromp again put to sea, on this occasion, with better success, having given Blake a severe defeat in the Downs, on the 29th of November. The parliament, notwithstanding this disaster, continued their favour to our Admiral and named him again their general at sea, in conjunction with Deane and Monk. By extraordinary exertions, the fleet was refitted to the number of sixty men-of-war, with which Blake succeeded in encountering Van Tromp while little expected, and forced on an engagement much celebrated in English naval history.

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

In the *Fairfax* there were a hundred men killed, and the ship much torn; the *Vanguard* lost her captain and many men. The *Prosperous*, a ship of forty-four guns, was boarded by De Ruyter, and taken; but, De Ruyter's ship being at that instant boarded by an English man-of-war, Captain Vesey in the *Merlin* frigate entered the *Prosperous*, and retook her. The *Assistance*, Vice-Admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the *Advice* quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, lost most of his officers, and had his ship disabled; De Ruyter lost his main and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One

Dutch man-of-war was blown up; and six more were either sunk or taken.

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

On Sunday morning the Dutch were near Boulogne, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. Tromp had slipped away in the dark with his merchantmen to Calais-sands, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; as for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet he dreaded their shallow coasts; however, the Captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver, took each a Dutch man-of-war; Penn picked up many of their merchantmen. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men-of-war, their own accounts say but nine, thirty merchantmen, fifteen hundred men killed, and as many wounded. The English lost only the Sampson, which Captain Button, finding disabled, sunk of his own accord; in men, their loss was little inferior to the Dutch.

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

on his conduct, which was certainly no more than he deserved.

The war thus vigorously begun by the parliament, was no less vigorously pursued by Cromwell, when he had usurped the whole powers of the State. Besides numberless rencounters between detached squadrons or single ships of the English and Dutch fleets, repeated pitched battles took place, attended with great slaughter and loss on both sides. Deane, who fell in one of these battles, Monk, Montague, Penn, and Blake, were the most distinguished among the English; while the Dutch were gallantly led by De Witte, Van Velsen, De Ruyter, and Van Tromp. Of these, Van Tromp stood pre-eminent, and was one of the ablest enemies the English superiority at sea ever encountered. The States buried him with all pomp and paid every respect to his memory. We have given his portrait a place among those of our own naval heroes. He was killed by a musket ball in a tremendous conflict which took place on the 31st of July, 1653, and which lasted two days, and ended in the total defeat of the Dutch. They lost twenty-six ships and about four thousand men killed.



The States were at length glad to come to terms with the Protector Cromwell, and a peace was concluded in April, 1654. Hostilities between the two States had not continued quite two years, and yet in that time the English took no fewer than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or near six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that space the English were victorious in no fewer than five general battles, some of which were of several days' duration; whereas the Hollanders cannot justly boast of having gained one; for the action between De Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight, and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs is owned to have been gained over a part only of the English fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourscore years' war with Spain.

The Protector still continued at war with France, but that power being weak at sea, no naval transaction occurred requiring particular notice.

The only other transactions of this period to be mentioned, mark strongly the bold policy of Cromwell, as well as the maritime power of England during his vigorous administration.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Dutch war, the Protector ordered all the ships of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built, store-houses, magazines, &c., to be filled with ammunition and provision; whence it was evident enough that he intended not to be idle, though nobody knew against whom this mighty force was to be exerted. In the summer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by Admiral Blake and the other by Vice-Admiral Penn. Neither of these had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; so far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform. Their orders were to be opened at sea, and they had no farther lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. Blake, as soon as all things were ready, put to sea and sailed into the Straits, where his orders were to procure satisfaction from such princes and States as had either insulted the government or injured the commerce of England. But before his

departure it had been industriously given out that he was to intercept the Duke of Guise, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French.

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

Most of the princes of Italy were alarmed at the sailing of this fleet. The Pope was no sooner informed of its arrival in the Mediterranean, than he gave orders for the removal of the great treasure at Loretto, with a view of defeating any design the Protector might have formed to plunder that rich monastery, which some industriously spread abroad was his principal aim.

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

The Admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to Tunis, where he sent the like message on shore, but received a very short answer: "Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino; you may do your worst; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, upon both which he played so warmly that they were soon in a defenceless con-

dition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the Admiral resolved to burn; and, with this view, ordered every captain to man his long boat with choice men, and directed these to enter the harbour and fire the ships of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the corsairs, and burned all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had long been formidable in Europe. From Tunis he sailed to Tripoli, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for him, and profitable for his country.

The other expedition, under Penn, having on board a large land force, commanded by General Venables, was destined for the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. After an ill-conducted and unsuccessful attempt upon Hispaniola, they succeeded in taking the important island of Jamaica, which has ever since been attached to the English crown. The immediate consequence was, as indeed Cromwell intended, a war with Spain, in which Blake, Montague, and others, distinguished themselves as formerly, and severely crippled the Spanish commerce, to the filling of the Protector's coffers, which, indeed, would seem to have been the principal reason for his engaging in the war. While these events were in progress, the death of Oliver Cromwell gave a new turn to the affairs of the nation,

ADMIRAL BLAKE.—Among the many brave men and able seamen who flourished during the republic and the protectorate, no one held so conspicuous a place as Admiral Blake; and a short account of him deserves a separate place in our pages.

Robert Blake was born in Somersetshire, in August, 1598. His father was a respectable merchant, and bestowed upon him an excellent education. At Oxford, he was first a member of St. Alban's Hall, and next of Wadham College. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, after a residence there of seven years.

His reputation for probity, and his known aversion to persecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgess for Bridgewater, in the parliament which sat in April, 1640. That assembly was dissolved too early for Mr Blake to make any discovery therein of his talents as a senator; and in the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their service. He was made a captain of dragoons, in which station he showed himself an able and active officer, and was constantly employed when particular boldness and dexterity were requisite.

In 1643, we find him at Bristol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he gave a proof of his military daring; for, when prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it, Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war; and at their request, he was at last prevailed on, though not without much difficulty, to give up the fort.

After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, of whose regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were Somersetshire men, he had such good intelligence, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprised Taunton for the parliament, and was constituted governor of that place.

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

In April, 1646, colonel Blake marched with a detachment from his garrison, and reduced Dunster castle, a seat belonging to the ancient family of Lutterel, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country.

This was the last military achievement he performed during this war.

It is not easy to guess what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always served as a horse-officer, to take the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians and memoir writers are silent as to their motive; and therefore I hazard a conjecture. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of States-general, and therefore might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February, 1649, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and upon the 21st an act passed, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His first service was driving prince Rupert's fleet from the Irish coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave high satisfaction, both in respect to his capacity and his fidelity. His conduct indeed was equally prudent and successful; for it not only put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did so much damage to trade, but also struck such a terror into the Spaniards and Portuguese, as to prevent all those disputes which otherwise would have naturally happened on the appearance of so new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man-of-war of forty guns; in respect to which action there happened some circumstances that deserve to be mentioned. The admiral summoned the captain on board, and asked him if he was willing to lay down his sword? He answered he was not; upon which Blake generously bid him return to his ship and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then submitting, went again on board Blake's ship, first kissed, and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees. This ship, with four more, the admiral sent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his squadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament, and was constituted one of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports.

In March following, Blake, Popham, and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to

be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing, in which year he reduced the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was, on the 25th of November, elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in March, 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. We have already given an account of the first battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some circumstances which relate to Blake personally, and which were therefore reserved for this place.

When he observed Van Tromp bear nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail; upon which the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Tromp answered with a broadside; the English admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood and a national quarrel; when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the English admiral having come with a design to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin drinking with some officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship and shattered the stern, which put him into a violent passion, so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do whenever he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind. Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, till his own ships, and the squadron under Major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both sides, till night put an end to it, when the Dutch retired with the loss of two ships, without taking or destroying any of the English fleet. Admiral Blake lost fifteen men in this engagement, most of whom were on board his own ship, which was engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed, and which, according to Whitelock, received a thousand shot. Blake acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of his cause, the Dutch having first attacked him upon the English coast.

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

On the second of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fishing vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men-of-war. Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who, having first threatened those busses with destruction, if they were found there again without leave, he permitted them to complete their ladings, on their paying the tenth herring, which was what king Charles demanded.

Our admiral, to keep the seamen easy, notwithstanding all the changes that happened in the government, used to tell them it was his and their business to act faithfully in their respective stations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home; and would often say amongst his officers, that state affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us. These principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him so generally the reputation of a patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of Bridgewater the choice of one representative only, they fixed on their countryman Blake. He was also very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature. Cromwell knew that he was by principle for a commonwealth, and therefore chose to employ him abroad

as much as possible, knowing that this contributed to the safety of his government, and that Blake's concern for the glory of England would influence him to do all, and even more than any other man could be expected to do from views of interest and ambition.

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

He sailed from Cadiz to Malaga, and, while he lay in that road, gave a striking testimony of zeal for his country's honour. Some of his seamen, going ashore, met the host and not only paid no respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The priest who accompanied it highly resented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the sailors, and beat some of them very severely. When the sailors returned on board, they complained of this ill usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered, that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this, Blake sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question, who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake, with much calmness and composure, told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place

where he touched; but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and all the world know, that none but an Englishman should chastise an Englishman."

In a short time after the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriffe, we find Blake cruising again off the harbour of Cadiz, where, perceiving his ships had become foul, and that his own health and spirits hourly wore away, he resolved to sail for England. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at sea, and wanting all that time the conveniences requisite for the cure of his disease. In his passage home it increased upon him, and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native soil, which, however, he did not live to see, dying as his ship the *St. George* entered Plymouth Sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, and, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich House, whence it was carried in great pomp to Westminster Abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be paid by men to the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay. During the blind reaction which followed the restoration, his coffin was removed from the Abbey, and deposited in the churchyard.

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

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, says, "He was a man deserving praise even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly Islands near home; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory abroad. For he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports, suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blamable in this, that he complied with the parricides." Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus: "He was a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment." We have a fine picture of him by Kennet, in his complete history of England, and a very fair one by Echard. To this I will add a short encomium in verse:—

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

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

CHARLES II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, amid the general rejoicings of the nation, in the year

1660. Several distinguished seamen, whose names and exploits we have already had occasion to mention, were among the early and active promoters of this event. Of these, Monk, who at this time influenced the army, and Montague who commanded the fleet, were the most conspicuous. The former was created duke of Albemarle, and the latter earl of Sandwich, while honours were freely distributed among other naval officers. Charles affected a knowledge of nautical affairs, and professed to have the interests of the sea service much at heart, while his brother, the duke of York, who was made Lord high-admiral, attained a high name by several victories obtained by him over the Dutch fleets. In the earlier part of this reign, before Charles had submitted to the ascendancy of France, it must be admitted that the navy was well managed, and as a natural consequence of this, we were generally triumphant on the ocean. Subsequently, however, the king, sunk in luxury and sloth, neglected this as well as the other interests of his country, and the gallantry of his admirals, many of whom had served under the republic and Cromwell, alone preserved the flag of England from contempt and disgrace.

Shortly after the restoration, the Dutch presuming upon the unsettled state of England, recommenced those encroachments for which they had been called to account so severely by the protector. This led to a war between the two nations in 1664, at the commencement of which Sir Robert Holmes, with a small squadron, took the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands in North America, which he named New York, in honour of the duke. The councils of Holland were at this period guided by the celebrated De Witte, who despatched admiral De Ruyter to harass the English trade, a commission which he executed with considerable success. The war, which, although real, had not been avowed, was now openly declared.

The respective fleets were therefore sent to sea in full force, there having been ample time on both sides for preparation. That of England commanded by the duke of York as lord high-admiral, prince Rupert as admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich as admiral of the blue, consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men-of-war and frigates, and twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, manned by twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers. The Dutch had a hundred and three men-of-war, eleven fire-ships and seven yachts, under the command of Opdam, a

prudent and gallant officer, the younger Van Tromp, who inherited the bravery as well as the name of his father the celebrated Van Tromp, Evertz, and other admirals: the fleet being divided into seven squadrons.

On the 3d of June, 1665, the two navies engaged about three in the morning off Lowestoff. Things went at first very equally on both sides, several squadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, fell into the centre of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended in a total defeat. The duke of York in the Royal Charles, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, a ship of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinancy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship. About one, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up, with a prodigious noise; occasioned by some accident in distributing the powder. In this vessel, together with the admiral, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of those lost, were volunteers, of the best families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight.

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

Numerous sanguinary conflicts followed with unequal success; the history of one of which might nearly serve for the history of all. Nothing could exceed the desperate valour displayed by both parties, and alike by commanders and privates. The English under Albemarle and prince Rupert were beat in a well-contested fight on the 4th of June, 1666; and they in their turn gained a victory over De Ruyter and Van Tromp six weeks after.

Taking advantage of the English being off their guard, owing to a negotiation for peace which was carried on

under the mediation of the king of France, De Witte sent a fleet to menace the English coast. They destroyed the shipping at Sheerness, and even threatened London; but the English fleet preparing with great alacrity to attack them, they retreated, having effected little other result than insulting some of our sea-ports, and exciting a general alarm. This insult did not pass unavenged; but in the meantime a treaty of peace was signed in August, 1667.

The rivalry between England and Holland for the sovereignty of the sea was suspended, not terminated. The smouldering embers of strife again burst into a blaze, and war was for the second time, during this reign, declared in 1672.

In this war England was in alliance with France, but does not seem to have derived any material aid from the French navy. In a furious battle fought on the 8th of May, in which the duke of York and earl Sandwich commanded the English, two Dutch admirals, Van Ghent and Evertz, were killed, and the victory, long doubtful, inclined to the side of the English. But this gain was dearly bought by the loss of Sandwich, who perished amid the flames of his ship, which had been set on fire by the enemy, and which he refused to leave, fighting her to the last.

After this event, prince Rupert had the principal command of the English fleet, but being ill supported at home, he was unable to achieve any decisive victory, although many battles were fought with more bravery than good conduct on both sides. Personal rivalry between the opposite admirals not unfrequently was permitted to interfere with the general design of the battle. Of this the following is a remarkable instance, and shows the desperate valour not uncommon in those days. In an engagement between the two fleets, which ended doubtfully, prince Rupert and De Ruyter being the respective commanders-in-chief, a sea-duel, as it may be termed, took place between Sir Edward Spragge and Van Tromp.

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the *Golden Lion*, and Sir Edward Spragge in the *Royal Prince*, fought ship to ship. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, suffered much by the enemy's cannon, and, having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make so good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours

warm fight, the Royal Prince was so disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the *St. George*, and Tromp quitted the *Golden Lion* to hoist his flag on board the *Comet*, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have, in respect to this, and it is to be wished we had of every battle, a distinct relation of what was performed by each squadron, and, from the relation of the blue squadron, compared with prince Rupert's account, the following facts are collected.

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

During the present reign, two expeditions were sent against the Barbary States, which were so far successful as to put a stop, for a time, to the depredations of these piratical barbarians.

Charles died in 1784.

JAMES II.

James II., brother and successor to Charles II., was distinguished, while duke of York, both for his careful administration of naval affairs, and for his conduct in commanding the fleet in battle. His achievements in this respect have been mentioned in the course of the chapter.

After his accession to the throne, he unfortunately directed his attention to other and less praiseworthy objects, which led to his expulsion from the country, and to the revolution of 1688.

Of the eminent naval commanders of this period, several lived under the republic, and continued to serve under the last princes of the house of Stuart.

MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.—George Monk, so highly distinguished as a statesman, a soldier, and a seaman, in times when men of eminence were not rare, was the son of Sir Thomas Monk, a gentleman of ancient family in Devonshire. He was born on the 6th of December, 1608, and was educated for the military profession. A curious anecdote is told of the immediate cause of his entering the navy.

In the first year of the reign of king Charles I., his majesty, who had then in view a war with Spain, came down to Plymouth, in order to inspect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts, derived rather from his ancestors' extravagance than his own, made him somewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he sent his son George to the under-sheriff of Devonshire with a considerable present, desiring that, on so extraordinary an occasion, he might be safe from any insult while he attended the king. The sheriff took the present, and granted his request, but, soon after receiving a larger from one of his creditors, took him in execution in the face of the county. George Monk, whose youth led him to think this a strange action, went to Exeter, and, after expostulating with the pettifogger, who was altogether insensible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure sent him on board the fleet, which, under the command of Lord Wimbleton, shortly after sailed for Cadiz, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and thus he began, as he ended, his service to his country at sea.

We soon after find him serving with great reputation as a young officer in the army, under Sir Richard Grenville, Lord Oxford, and others. He held a high command in Ireland under Charles, about the commencement of the civil wars, until being taken prisoner along with several other royalist officers by the parliamentary general Fairfax, he was sent to the tower, where he remained in confinement for several years. The royal cause being apparently rendered hopeless by the captivity and death of the king, Monk was induced to accept of a commission from Lord D'Isle, his kinsman, who had been appointed by the parliament to the government of Ireland, and thus obtained his liberty. In Ireland he distinguished himself so much, that parliament

was disposed to forget his former attachment to the king, and on one occasion he received their thanks, with the more substantial reward of five hundred pounds and the government of Carrickfergus. From this time he became a leader among the generals of the commonwealth, and attracted the particular attention of Cromwell, whose influence was now in the ascendant.

He accompanied Cromwell to Scotland, where he displayed his usual bravery, attended by his usual success.

Monk, who had attained his forty-fifth year, was now about to be removed to a new scene of exertion. Although his earliest essay in arms had been at sea, his laurels had been hitherto gained by land. He was again employed by sea, and intrusted with a high command, in which his good fortune did not forsake him. He fought along with Deane, when that officer was killed by his side, on the 2d of June, 1653. The most remarkable actions in which he was engaged, have been already narrated. He was soon after sent as commander-in-chief to Scotland, which he continued to govern successfully, and, although perhaps with unnecessary severity, upon the whole not without satisfaction to a large portion of the people, until the restoration.

Monk's early prepossessions in favour of the royal cause seem never entirely to have left him, and although he served the republic and Cromwell with strict fidelity, it would appear that he had anticipated that the natural course of events would bring about the return of the Stuarts. There were some who endeavoured to insinuate suspicions on this point, into the mind of the protector. In a long letter which, shortly before his death, he wrote to the general himself, he hints this to him in a postscript, characteristic of his humour and cunning.

P.S.—“There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.”

The death of Cromwell leaving him at liberty to follow the bent of his own wishes, he resisted strong temptations to raise himself to power, and resolved to place Charles II. on the throne. To detail the steps by which he accomplished this, would lead us from our subject. The restoration being successfully completed, Monk was created duke of Albemarle, and enjoyed, during the rest of his life,

the highest favour of the king, and great popularity with the people. As proofs of this, it may be mentioned, that when the plague raged in London, and the king and court had taken refuge in Oxford, Albemarle was left in charge of the city, a duty more difficult and dangerous than that of the command of a fleet or army, and which he discharged with the utmost zeal, courage, and humanity. Again, when the great fire happened in London, Albemarle was abroad with the fleet, and it was a saying current among the citizens, that the calamity would have been speedily checked had Albemarle been at home.

In 1666, Albemarle was, in his old age, unexpectedly called upon, again to serve his king and country by sea, and was made admiral-in-chief, in conjunction with prince Rupert. His last exploit was the desperate fight of the 1st of June, and following days, already described. Much havock ensued on both sides, but without any decisive result. The address of Monk to his officers on the morning of the second day, when matters wore a gloomy aspect for the English, is worth preserving. "If we had dreaded the number of our enemies," he said, "we should have fled yesterday; but, though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel, that, though our fleet be divided, our spirits are entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear."

Albemarle died on the 3d of January, 1670, in the sixty-second year of his age. The historian pronounces the following eulogium on his character. It is highly coloured, no doubt, but not undeserved.

After speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities, natural and acquired. As to his person, he was a strong well-built man, of a good presence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages which he derived from nature were much strengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riser; his private devotions, and whatever domestic concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to,

and dispatched by seven o'clock, when he gave audience, without distinction, to all who desired it, and constantly made an end, if it were in his power, of every poor man's business on the spot. He was an enemy to all oppression in the army, and used frequently to say, that his officers should have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the soldiers. He was a strict observer of discipline, of which he gave a signal instance at the end of the first Dutch war in Cromwell's time. The seamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money : he told them that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold, and that, as soon as they were sold, they should have their money, with which they seemed to be satisfied ; but, in the afternoon, there came four or five thousand of them armed towards Whitehall, which Monk hearing, met them at Charing-cross in company with Cromwell and some other officers, where, without much expostulation, he drew his sword and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it ; which had such an effect upon them, that, forgetting their former fury, they tamely retired, and were afterwards very honourably paid.

He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a-day, and that homely and heartily. He despised and hated drinking ; and, having settled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and constant husband through the course of his life. As a father, he showed more of passion than in any part of his character, for, on the loss of his second son, George, in Scotland, he gave way to his grief to such a degree as surprised all who were acquainted with the firmness of his temper in other respects. His valour was very singular, for he was fierce without losing his temper, and had an extraordinary measure of patience, joined with boundless courage : and these qualities he possessed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the second Dutch war a chain-shot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance or his place. The duke of Buckingham gives us a much stronger proof of his resolution, on his own knowledge ; for he says the duke of Albemarle declared at the beginning of the action, that he was sure of one thing, viz., that he would not be taken ; and that he saw him charge a little pocket pistol with powder, his grace believing he would have fired into the powder-room, in case the Dutch had boarded him. See his memoirs prefixed to his works. In the Chatham business, apprehending

the Dutch would land, he exposed himself in the midst of their cannon-shot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the design of the enemy, as it did: and when a person of distinction expostulated with him on this head, and would have persuaded him to retire, he answered very coolly, "Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago."

His capital virtues were, prudence and modesty: the former enabled him to perform the great things which he did, and the latter restrained him from ever valuing himself on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both without incurring the jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the restoration, if his country could have spared him; and when he saw it could not, he served it as cheerfully as before. He served it—in how many capacities? He commanded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's safety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commission for managing the treasury, or rather settling it. His activity was necessary for suppressing all insurrections; his presence was thought requisite in the highest courts of justice. If he was intrusted by the king with the army, he was likewise intrusted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city when visited with the plague; the command of the navy when we made war with France and Holland at the same time. He was sent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire; he was sent to meet the threatening invasion of the Dutch; and, as he made way for the treasurer Southampton, so, on his death, he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well, then, might secretary Nicholas, that able and faithful servant of the crown, say, and he said it when the duke had done a few only of these great things, "That, independently of his merit in the restoration, the duke of Albemarle, by his indefatigable zeal, and successful services afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him."

When his son went to wait upon the king with the ensigns of the order of the garter, his majesty was pleased to restore them to him; the king likewise directed the duke's body to be removed to Somerset House, where it lay for many weeks in state; and, on the last day of April, was removed, with great funeral pomp, to Westminster Abbey, and there interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel. Yet, as if his

fame had stood in need of no such support, a monument was neglected; only those who have the care of the place preserve his figure in wax, and think it sufficient to raise the admiration of every loyal spectator, to say, "This is general **MONK!**"

MONTAGUE, EARL OF SANDWICH.—"Fame belongs, of right, to all those who have deserved well of society; but the supreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died, either to serve or to preserve it." So says our historian, applying the sentiment to the subject of this brief notice.

Edward Montague, was the son of Sir Sydney Montague, and a grandson of Lord Montague of Broughton. He was born in 1625, received a good education, and, at a very early age, entered upon public life, regarding the occasion of which, the following anecdote is told:—His father, Sir Sydney being supposed to lean rather to the royal cause than to that of the parliament, of which he was a member, was required to take an oath that he would live and die with the earl of Essex, then the parliamentary commander. This he declined to do, assigning a reason which it was more easy to punish than to answer. He told the speaker "he would not swear to live with that nobleman, because he was an old man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason, and therefore could not tell what end that great man might come to." For this, Sir Sydney was expelled the house, and a commission was issued to young Montague, then only eighteen, to raise a regiment among his tenantry and neighbours. This, the youthful colonel accomplished, and was ready for the field in six weeks. He was much distinguished during his military career, but does not appear ever to have been quite hearty in the republican cause, although Cromwell acquired such influence with him as to induce him to accept a seat at the board of treasury, and to take an active part in public affairs.

Not long afterwards, Montague's services were transferred to a new scene, which brings him more immediately within the scope of this work. It would accord ill with the opinions and feelings of a modern tar to see a colonel of dragoons and lord of the treasury, raised at once to be

admiral of a fleet: this was the case with Montague, and such instances were not rare in those times. He was joined in command with Blake; and we have already frequently had occasion to mention their achievements in conjunction. Indeed, he took an active share in a great proportion of the naval exploits of this period. On the death of Oliver, and the nominal accession to power of Richard Cromwell, Montague was sent with a powerful fleet to the Baltic, in order to overawe the northern powers. Here he seems to have employed himself chiefly in schemes for the restoration of Charles II., and brought home his fleet without orders, hoping that affairs at home were ripe for the desired change. In this he was disappointed, and was happy in escaping any more severe punishment than being deprived of his command.

When Monk had openly declared himself, he procured from the king the nomination of Montague to the command of the fleet; and, repairing on board, his authority was immediately submitted to by admiral Lawson, then chief in command, and by the other officers. To show his zeal, without waiting for orders, he sailed with the fleet for Holland, whence he had the honour of conveying the king to England. When for this act of loyalty, more officious than obedient, he was likely to be called in question, it is said that Charles screened him by giving him an antedated order. He was immediately created baron Montague, viscount Hinchinbrooke and earl of Sandwich, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York as lord high-admiral. He continued to take an active part both as an administrator of naval affairs, and as an admiral; and was remarkable for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring, upon all occasions, against showing favour to the relations of peers or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer or better. This rendered him the favourite of the fleet, who, after the death of Albemarle, looked upon him as their father and protector.

We have already mentioned the last heroic action of his life, when he devoted himself to death, rather than set an example of deserting his ship. His body was found floating on the sea, near Harwich, a fortnight after his death, and was interred at Westminster, with every funeral honour. He died in his forty-fifth year.

Speaking of the battle in which our hero lost his life,

Parker, bishop of Oxford says, "The English lost many volunteers and ten captains of ships: amongst these were the earl of Sandwich, and Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, who almost alone fought with the third squadron of the Dutch: yet, at length, when Digby was shot through the heart, and the ship that he commanded was bored through with innumerable shot, the seamen with difficulty brought her into the harbour; but Sandwich having miserably shattered seven of their ships, and beat off three fire-ships, at length being overpowered with numbers, fell a sacrifice for his country; a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth, capable of any business, full of wisdom, a great commander at sea and land, and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." Gerard Brandt, an eminent Dutch writer, who is never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of the valour with which the earl defended himself, and which he styles unfortunate courage, is pleased to say—"Such was the fate of this noble peer, who was vice-admiral of England; a man equally brave, knowing, and of a most engaging behaviour; one who had rendered his sovereign the greatest services, not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambassador in foreign courts."

EPITAPH ON SANDWICH.

Adorn'd with titles, but from virtue great,
 Neptune at sea, and Nestor in the state;
 Alike in council and in fight renown'd;
 Oft with success, with merit always crown'd;
 No heart more honest, and no head more wise,
 A soldier, seaman, statesman, here he lies!
 Tho' brave, yet gentle; though sincere, not rude;
 Justice in camps, in courts he truth pursued.
 Living, he raised a deathless, spotless name;
 And, dying, soared above the reach of fame.

Reader, if English, stop the falling tear!
 Grief should not wait on him who felt no fear;
 He wants not pity—could his ashes speak,
 These gen'rous sounds would from the marble break;
 "Go, serve thy country, while God spares thee breath;
 Live as I liv'd, and so deserve my death."

PRINCE RUPERT, whose name occurs so often in the history of these times, was the son of the elector Palatine, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I., and was thus nephew to Charles I. He entered early and zealously into the service of his uncle during his unfortunate civil war, and was greatly distinguished for bravery and good conduct. Charles created him earl of Holderness and duke of Cumberland. His share in the naval actions of the reigns of the two Charles's, has been noticed as we went along. Rupert was a lover of science, and among other things, invented the art of mezzotinto engraving and prince's metal. He was born in 1619, and died in 1682.

SIR JOHN LAWSON deserves a separate notice among our naval heroes, were it only because by his own merits alone, he raised himself from being a common sailor, to a high rank and command. His exploits have been frequently alluded to. He fell in the memorable battle of Lowestoff, on the 3d of June, 1665. The summary of his character, by Lord Clarendon, will well serve our purpose: "There was," says he, "another almost irreparable loss this day in Sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket bullet upon the knee, from which he fell; and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship, which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal, and they made haste to send him on shore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where, for some days, there was hope of his recovery; but shortly his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

"He was, indeed, of all the men of that time and of that extraction and education, incomparably the most modest, wisest, and worthy man to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire, near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle; and a young man of that profession he was when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy: and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly

taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till, from a common sailor, he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

“ He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a signal officer, and very much valued by him. He was of that class of religion which were called independents, most of whom were anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and, therefore, employed in affairs of great trust. He was commander-in-chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out; and when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which broke the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

“ Nor after the restoration, did any man perform his duty better. He caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service; brought very good order into his own ship; frequented the church prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any person to the duke to be preferred but such, and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man.

“ It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that before he went to sea he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and spoke to them in a dialect he had never before used; for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them that he was going upon an expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives; and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that God would protect him, as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he thought it became him, against the worst to make his condition known to them, and the rather because he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich. He said, in truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he was worth eight or nine thousand pounds; but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune

much above him, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of tenderness to his son, had consented, it had obliged him to give her such a portion as might, in some degree, make her worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter; he desired them, therefore, that if he should miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a-year for her life; if he lived, he desired nothing; he hoped he should make some provision for them by his own industry; nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two hundred pounds yearly than the king's word and promise, and that they would see it effectual. The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spoke himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it, with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed that the promise was as well performed to his wife. Sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power."

It is worth observing, that all the writers of those times, though they differ widely in respect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawson as a brave, honest, loyal commander, and as a very able and understanding seaman; and, as such, he deserves to be honourably remembered.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was descended from an ancient royalist family in Devonshire, in which county he was born in the year 1620. He was bound apprentice to a merchantman, and became the master of a trading vessel, in which character he was much esteemed. In the beginning of our wars with Spain, he distinguished himself by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spanish man-of-war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and though the odds were very great, yet captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent, and then, remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and therefore ordered his men to load their guns with pieces of silver, which did such execution on the Spaniard's rigging, that if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he

had in all probability got clear. At last, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga. The knight, to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility, carried him home to his house, gave him the free use of it, spoke of him with much respect, commended his valour to every body, and declared that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and, after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarce call a confinement, he sent him to England. Some years after, the same knight of Malta was taken in the Straits, by commodore Ven, and brought prisoner into England, where he was committed to the tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities that he had received and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expense, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our English commander great honour.

At the restoration, Kempthorne was appointed to a ship in the royal navy. Having served with great distinction, and attained the rank of rear-admiral, and the honour of knighthood, he died in 1679.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE ranked high for naval skill among his contemporaries. Of SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE'S gallantry, and the desperate conflict with the younger Van Tromp, we have already spoken. The names of many others whose deeds are enrolled in the annals of naval renown, might well adorn our pages; but space would fail us in the attempt. Allan, Holmes, Stayner, Tiddiman, James earl of Marlborough, Berkely, Myngs, Narborough, and others, contributed their shares to the glory which, during this period, accompanied the English arms. It was indeed an important era in our struggle for the sovereignty of the seas. The Dutch were the most formidable rivals we had for a long time encountered, and contested the palm of victory both with courage and with their characteristic obstinacy. Their flourishing commerce, supplied a very numerous mercantile marine, which was easily made available for warlike purposes. At the same time, our intestine dissensions and the impolitic government of Charles II., gave them many advantages; and it was owing to the skill of her admirals, and the indomitable courage of her sailors alone, that England emerged victorious from the struggle.



CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY—REIGN OF ANNE—1689 TO 1714—
HERBERT EARL OF TORRINGTON—RUSSEL EARL OF ORFORD—SIR
JOHN BERRY—JOHN NEVILLE—ADMIRAL BENBOW—SIR CLOUD-
ESLEY SHOVEL—SIR GEORGE ROOKE—SIR DAVID MITCHELL—
SIR JOHN LEAKE—ADMIRALS DELAVAL, CHURCHHILL, ANDREW
LEAKE—THOMAS DILKES—STAFFORD FAIRBORNE.

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay on the 4th of November, 1688, and was declared king of England on the 13th of February following. The military genius and persevering enterprise of this great prince are well known, and these, with his championship of civil and religious liberty, have justly raised his name to the highest place in the temple of fame among modern monarchs.

From his earliest youth he had struggled for the independence of his country against Louis XIV., one of the most powerful sovereigns of these or any other times, and with armies and resources infinitely inferior he had defeated the ablest captains, humbled the pride, and checked the progress of that ambitious king. He brought with him to the English throne the most deep-rooted feelings of hostility towards Louis, whom he with strong reason believed to aim at universal monarchy; and who, having taken up the cause of

the deposed James, was undisguisedly William's personal enemy, as well as that of the liberties of England.

War with France then was a ruling principle in the new king's policy, and in this, in the present temper of the nation, he was heartily seconded by his subjects.

King William's tastes and predilections, however, were entirely military, and he does not appear ever to have applied those talents and that valour which shone so conspicuously in the field to the conduct of naval warfare. In this respect, the inclinations of his great antagonist, coincided with his own, and their most important contests, were decided on the battle field and not on the ocean. Still it will appear from a brief review of the principal naval transactions of this reign that the honour of the British flag was not left unsupported, and from notices of a few of those heroes, by whom that flag was upheld, it will be seen that the Blakes and the Montagues were not without worthy successors.

During the unhappy and inglorious period immediately preceding the accession of William, France had pursued an insidious policy. Aware of her inability to cope by sea with either Holland or England separately, and much less when united, she fomented by every means in her power the dissensions which had arisen between them, and while making a show of entering into alliance, at one time with the one, and at another time with the other, she was in reality taking every means to increase her own naval power, secretly rejoicing to observe those two nations which she hated, mutually destroying each others' fleets, and wasting each others' resources, and thus, it was anticipated, paving the way for her assuming the sovereignty of the seas.

The advent of the Stadtholder of Holland to the throne of England, put a sudden check to these schemes, and produced an alliance between the English and the Dutch, which, although marred at first in some degree by heart-burnings arising out of recent events, was soon cemented during the ensuing wars, by a sense of common injury and danger into a cordial friendship.

Louis's first attempt was to fit out a considerable fleet to escort king James and his invading army to Ireland. Having performed this service, the French fleet was attacked in Bantry-bay by that of England, under the command of admiral Herbert. In this engagement, the English, who were rather inferior in numbers, were worsted, but without any considerable loss. On the return of the fleet to Ports-

mouth, William, to show the world that he did not attribute his misfortune to want of conduct, created Herbert earl of Torrington, knighted captains Ashby and Shovel, and distributed rewards among the seamen. This is a line of policy which might be more frequently adopted with advantage.

The English were again beat in the next encounter of any consequence. It had now become a matter of great importance to convey William's troops safely to Ireland, that monarch having resolved to take the field in person against James.

This design was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majesty embarked his forces on board two hundred and eighty-eight transports on the 11th, and, escorted by a squadron of six men-of-war under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed for Carrickfergus, where he safely arrived on the 14th of the same month.

There was nothing better understood in England than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year, a strong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their small advantage in Bantry-bay, had given out that they would the next summer insult the joint fleets of the English and Dutch. What was still more, the nation's safety depended on this measure no less, since the king and the greatest part of his forces were abroad: scarcely seven thousand regular troops left in England; and such as were in the interest of king James, almost every where in motion, and waiting, in all appearance, for nothing but the sight of a French fleet on the coast, to take up arms, and declare against the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very slow, for which various and some almost incredible causes are assigned. It was given out that the greatest part of the fleet was disaffected; and to wipe off this suggestion, it was thought necessary that an address should be sent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea, and the English, knowing that nothing of consequence could be done till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, till they heard of the Dutch being at sea.

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the squadron before-mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of

sixty sail at Brest, which was to put to sea by the end of May; this they actually did, and though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet, on the 12th of June, they put to sea in three squadrons, each squadron being divided into three divisions. Of these the white and blue squadrons, commanded by Count D'Estrees on board the *Le Grande*, a ship of eighty-six guns, formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty-six men-of-war. The main body was composed of the white squadron, commanded by the admiral Count Tourville in the *Royal Sun*, a ship of one hundred guns. This squadron consisted likewise of twenty-six sail. The blue squadron made the rear guard, commanded by M. D'Amfreville in the *Magnificent*, a ship of eighty guns, and in this squadron there were but twenty-five sail. In all there were seventy-eight men-of-war, twenty-two fire-ships, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thousand seven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they steered for the English coast, and on the 20th found themselves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took some English fishing-boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fish, he set them at liberty again; and these were the men that first brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coast; while ours was lying idle and scarcely in a condition to put to sea.

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which must have surprised him very much, since he was so far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no scouts to the westward. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east on midsummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships, which could have notice, should follow him. This shows how much he was confused, and how little notion he had of a speedy engagement; and indeed it was impossible he should have framed any proper scheme of action, when he had no certain account of the strength of the French. In the evening he was joined by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The French landed, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them sent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king James, and served now as third captain on board the admiral, promising pardon to all such captains as would now adhere to that prince. The next day our

admiral received another reinforcement of seven Dutch men-of-war under the command of admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the rest of the admirals; viz. Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, Edward Russel, admiral of the blue, Sir John Ashby, vice-admiral of the same squadron, and George Rooke, rear-admiral of the red, were of the like opinion. Besides, he waited for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth squadron, and some other ships.

His whole strength consisted of about thirty-four men-of-war of several sizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder, therefore, that seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour and the nation's safety, upon such unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the admiral threw out the signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind with their heads to the northward.

The signal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head sails to their masts, in order to lye by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly, but the red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in person, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten, and this occasioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French making use of this advantage weathered, and of course surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The admiral, seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropped their anchors, the only method

they had left to preserve themselves, he drove with his own ship, and several others between them and the enemy, and in that situation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but discerning how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was resolved in a council of war, to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance, and by continuing to chase in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake. But notwithstanding all this, they pressed on their pursuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men-of-war of seventy guns, called the *Anne*, which had lost all her masts, on shore near Winchelsea, they sent in two ships to burn her, which the captain prevented by setting fire to her himself. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemsey in Sussex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which, at low water, lay dry; but her commander defended her so stoutly every high water, that they were at length forced to desist, and the captain carried her safe into Holland.

Our loss in this affair, if we except reputation, was not great: not above two ships, two sea-captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were more unfortunate, because they were more thoroughly engaged. Besides three ships sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of Sussex, losing in all six ships of the line. They lost likewise rear-admirals Dick and Brakel, and Captain Nordel, with a number of inferior officers and seamen.

This defeat spread alarm and confusion in England. It was not the threatened descent of the French that was apprehended, so much as an insurrection by the partizans of

James. The utmost zeal was shown in favour of the government by the city of London and many other places; and queen Mary, during the king's absence in Ireland, took every precaution, but the French fleet, after a show of menacing various places on the coast, withdrew to their own harbours without any farther attack. Lord Torrington, although he seems to have done all he could in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, incurred the national odium, and was superseded in his command and not again employed. He was eventually tried by a court-martial but unanimously acquitted.

Admiral Shovel having received orders to hover on the coast of Ireland, to intercept the communication between king James and France, while at the same time he kept open the communication between king William and England, performed some services of consequence in aiding to reduce such seaports as still held out, or in relieving those that were besieged by the Jacobite forces.

Admiral Russel succeeded Lord Torrington as admiral and commander-in-chief, and preparations were made with the hope of retrieving our disasters in the ensuing season.

Although formidable fleets were equipped on both sides, nothing very decisive occurred; both parties seeming rather unwilling to come to a general engagement, and confining themselves chiefly to protecting their own or annoying the enemy's commerce. This cautious proceeding, however, was by no means popular in England, and caused much discontent.

In the following year, however, matters changed, and that materially to the advantage of the English, who again re-indicated their claims to naval superiority in the battle of La Hogue. The united English and Dutch fleet, commanded by admiral Russel, had orders to cruise between Cape La Hogue and the Isle of Wight. On the 19th of May, 1692, at 3 A.M., the scouts to the westward made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediate orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner, if the French had stood to the northward. A little after four, the sun dispersing the fog, the enemy were seen standing southward. The admiral, upon this, caused the signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ship so far leeward, as that each ship in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to and lay by,

with his foretop sail to the mast, that so others might have the better opportunity of placing themselves according to the manner formerly directed on such an occasion.

The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch squadron in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French fleet bore down upon them with great resolution. About half an hour after eleven, Count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Russel, being within three quarters musket-shot. He plied his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and topsail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind shifted, so that five of the enemy's blue squadron posted themselves, three ahead, and two astern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, captains Churchill and Aylmer, had all these ships to deal with. There was so thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be seen; and as soon as it cleared up, the French admiral was discovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the signal for chasing.

While this passed between the admirals, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was got to the windward of Count Tourville's squadron and engaged them; but the fog growing thicker than before, they were forced to anchor. About this time, captain Hastings, of the Sandwich, was killed. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the English chaced the best they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the English blue squadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having lost four ships, bore away for Conquet-road. In this short action rear-admiral Carter was killed.

The 20th of May proved so dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch discovered the enemy; and then the whole fleet began to chace, the French crowding away westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored; about ten they weighed again, and at twelve admiral Russel's topmast came by the board.

On the 22d, about seven in the morning, the English fleet continued the chace with all the success they could desire; at eleven the French admiral's ship ran a shore, and cut her masts away; upon this two seconds plied up to her, and other ships began to hover about them; upon which the

admiral sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a strength sufficient to destroy those ships, and to send the rest that were under his command to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ships were seen going into La Hogue. On the 23d, the admiral sent in Sir George Rooke, with several men-of-war, fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to destroy these ships in the bay. On their entering, it was perceived that there were thirteen sail; but they were got up so high, that none but the small frigates could do any service. Sir George, however, was resolved to execute his orders; and, therefore, having manned his boats, he went in person to encourage the attempt, burned six of them that night, and the other seven the next morning, together with a great number of transport ships, and other vessels laden with ammunition. This was a remarkable piece of service; indeed the greatest that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on shore, within sight of the Irish camp, and with the loss only of ten men.

Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among such rocks and shoals as rendered it unsafe to follow them.

It is admitted, on all hands, that the confederates were greatly superior to the French in point of numbers; although it is said that a good many of their ships were prevented by accidental circumstances from taking any part in the action. De Tourville's conduct is much praised, and he is believed to have engaged by express orders, in opposition to his own opinion.

It will not fail to interest many of our readers to give at some length admiral Russel's dispatch on the occasion, as a specimen of such documents in those times:—

ADMIRAL RUSSEL'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Portsmouth, June 2, 1692.

“MY LORD,—Since your lordship seems to think that an account in general of the fleet's good success, is not so satisfactory as one setting forth the particulars, I here send it with as much brevity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambitious to see my name in print on any occasion; but since it is your lordship's command, I am the more inclined to give you the best information I am able of

the action, having seen several printed relations not very sincere.

“ Wednesday in the evening, being the 18th of May, standing over for Cape La Hogue, I ordered captain Gilliam in the Chester, and the Charles galley, to lie at such a distance to the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any signals made from me.

“ Thursday the 19th, standing with a small gale S. S. W. the wind at W. and W. by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur bearing then S. W. and by S. from me, distant about seven leagues. Between three and four in the morning, we heard several guns to the westward, and in a short time I saw the two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their heads lying to the northward, which gave me reason to think that the enemy lay with their heads that way. Upon which I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a line of battle; after which I made the signal for the rear of the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy stood to the northward, we might the sooner come to engage. But soon after four o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line on the same tack that I was upon. I then ordered the signal for the rear to tack, to be taken in, and at the same time bore away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each ship in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought to again, lying by with my fore-top-sail to the mast, to give the ships in the fleet the better opportunity of placing themselves as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear.

“ By nine o'clock the enemy's vanguard had stretched almost as far to the southward as ours, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue, that were in the rear, closing the line, and their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of our fleet, but never coming within gun-shot of them. About ten they bore down upon us, I still lying with my fore-top-sail to the mast. I then observed Monsieur Tourville, the French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave orders that mine should not be hoisted till the fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near me as he thought convenient; and, at the same time, I sent orders to admiral Allemonde,

that, as soon as any of his squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack and get to the westward of them, as also to the blue to make sail and close the line, they being at some distance astern; but, as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven, Monsieur Tourville in the Royal Sun, being within three quarters' musket-shot, brought to, lying by me at that distance about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly, though I must observe to you, that our men fired their guns faster. After which time I did not find his guns were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and topsail yards being shot, and nobody endeavouring to make them serviceable, and his boats towing off him to windward, gave me reason to think he was much galled. About two the wind shifted to the N.W., and by W., and some little time after that, five fresh ships of the enemy's blue squadron came and posted themselves three ahead of Monsieur Tourville, and two astern of him, and fired with great fury, which continued till after three.

"About four in the evening there came so thick a fog, that we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our leaving off firing for a long time; and then it cleared up, and we could see Monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats to the northward from us. Upon which I did the same, and ordered all my division to do the like; and, about half an hour after five, we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then made the signal for the fleet to chace, sending notice to all the ships about me that the enemy were running. About this time I heard several broadsides to the westward; and though I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be our blue, that by the shift of wind had weathered the enemy; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing some time; and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own division, as also the rear-admiral of the red with some of his. This was the time that captain Hastings in the Sandwich was killed; he driving through those ships by reason of his anchors not being clear. I could not see this part, because of the great smoke and fog, but have received this information from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since.

"I sent to all the ships that I could think were near me,

to chace to the westward all night, telling them I designed to follow the enemy to Brest, and sometimes we could see a French ship, two or three, standing away with all the sail they could make to the westward. About eight I heard firing to the westward, which lasted about half an hour, it being some of our blue fallen in with some of the ships of the enemy in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

“Friday the 20th, it was so thick in the morning that I could see none of the enemy’s ships, and but very few of our own. About eight it began to clear up: the Dutch, who were to the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy; and as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail, distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at E.N.E., and they bearing from us W.S.W., our fleet chacing with all the sail they could make, having taken in the signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve the wind came to the S.W. The French plied to the westward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and by W. About ten in the evening we weighed with the tide of ebb, the wind at S.W. and plied to the westward. About twelve my fore-topmast came by the board, having received several shot.

“Saturday the 21st, we continued still plying after the enemy till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I anchored in forty-six fathom water, Cape La Hogue bearing S. and by W., and the island of Alderney S.S.W. By my topmast’s going away, the Dutch squadron and the admiral of the blue, with several of his squadron, had got a great way to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of the enemy’s ships being far advanced towards the race, I perceived them driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut and follow the enemy, which they all did, except the afore-mentioned weathermost ships, which rid fast to observe the motion of the rest of the enemy’s ships that continued in the race of Alderney. About eleven I saw three great ships fair under the shore, tack and stand to the westward; but after making two or three short

boards, the largest of them ran ashore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I judge, of their doing this, was that they could not weather our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out ahead of us to the eastward.

“ I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was in the rear of our fleet, to keep such a number of ships and fire-ships with him as might be sufficient to destroy those of the enemy, and to order the others to follow me, I being then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy: an account of the performing that service I do not trouble your lordship with, he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon, eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur, after which I observed they hauled in for La Hogue: the rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and some other ships were ahead of me. About ten at night I anchored in the bay of La Hogue, and lay till four the next morning, being—

“ Sunday the 22d; and then I weighed and stood in near the land of La Hogue; but when we found the flood came, we anchored in a good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon we weighed again, and plied close in with La Hogue, where we saw thirteen sail of the enemy's men-of-war hauled close in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that the night before he saw the other five, which made up the eighteen I first chaced, stand to the eastward.

“ Monday the 23d, I sent in vice-admiral Rooke, with several men-of-war and fire-ships, as also the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but the enemy had gotten them so near the shore, that not any of our men-of-war, except the small frigates, could do any service; but that night vice-admiral Rooke, with the boats, burned six of them.

“ Tuesday the 24th, about eight in the morning, he went in again with the boats, and burned the other seven, together with several transport-ships, and some vessels with ammunition, the names of which ships I am not yet able to give your lordship any other account of, than what I formerly sent you. [Here follows a list of the names of the ships and their force.] Though these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burned.

“ Wednesday the 25th, I sailed from La Hogue, ordering the admiral of the blue, with a squadron of English and

Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast, as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me that upon his appearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men-of-war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one hundred and four guns; and though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably at first might startle them, yet by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them: and this I may affirm for a truth, not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy, that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs, the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch or the blue the opportunity of engaging, which I am sure they look upon as a great misfortune; and had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

"This is the most exact account that I am able to give you, which I hope will prove to your lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am, &c.,
"E. RUSSEL."

Instances of individual bravery, connected with naval affairs, are deserving of a place in our history. The following occurred about this time:—

A French privateer took a small ship called the *Friend's Adventure*, belonging to the port of Exeter; and a few days after, the captain of the privateer, took out of the *Adventure*, the master and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, Robert Lyde of Topsham, a man of twenty-three years of age, and John Wright, a boy of sixteen, with seven Frenchmen, who had orders to navigate the ship to St. Maloe's. But when they were off Cape La Hogue, a strong south-east wind drove them from the French coast; upon which the man and boy, took the opportunity when two of the Frenchmen were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the fore-castle, and three sleeping in their cabins, to attack them. The mate with an iron crow killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow; the boy at the same instant knocked down the man on

the fore-castle, and then they secured and bound the man at the helm. One of the Frenchmen, running up from between decks to the assistance of his companions, was wounded by the mate; but the two others coming to his relief, seized, and had like to have secured him, if the boy had not come up briskly to his assistance, and after a sharp struggle, they killed one, and obliged the other to ask quarter. Having thus made themselves master of the ship, they put the two who were disabled by their wounds into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and secured them between decks; one they kept bound in the steerage, and made the remaining man aid them to navigate the vessel, which they brought safely into Topsham, with five prisoners on board.

One captain Richard Griffith, and his boy John Codanon, recovered their sloop called the Tryal, from five Frenchmen, put on board them by a captain of a man-of-war. Having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, they brought the vessel with their prisoners safe into Falmouth.

Although much depressed by their defeat at La Hogue, the French were not long in being again fit for sea, but, with a change of policy, were now more anxious to cripple our commerce than to come to a general action. In this they were but too successful, and there seems to have been on the part of our admiralty, great carelessness in affording proper convoys to our merchantmen, and when these were granted, culpable ignorance of the motions of the enemy. The complaints of our merchants were therefore loud, and were raised to the highest pitch by the destruction of a large portion of the Smyrna fleet in 1693. This fleet consisted of upwards of 400 vessels, not English only, but also Dutch, Swedish, and others. Sir George Rooke was sent with a powerful fleet to protect them, but being misinformed regarding the strength and movements of the enemy, he fell in with an overwhelmingly superior force of the enemy, and with difficulty escaped the loss of his whole convoy. He lost above a hundred ships with cargoes valued at above a million; but had the French shown as much ability in attacking, as Sir George did in protecting, they might have captured the whole fleet. The greatest clamour was excited at home; but more justice was done our admiral by the Dutch, although they were of those who suffered most severely.

Du Mont, who wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter:—"This is certain, that they missed

the greatest part of the convoy, and that Sir George Rooke, upon this occasion, acquired infinitely more honour than those who commanded the French fleet. While the one, though unable to resist such as attacked him, in the midst of threatening dangers, by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the best part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that others suffered themselves to be deprived, by the superior skill of this admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept, fortune put into their hands."

Since, as we have already said, the French had avoided pitched battles, but chose rather to try to intercept our merchant ships, a change in the English mode of conducting the war resulted in its turn. It now became a leading object to destroy, by bombardment, fire-ships, and similar means, the seaports of the enemy. An early and remarkable instance of this, was the attack upon St. Maloes, which was reduced nearly to ruins by an English squadron, under commodore Benbow. As we have had frequent occasion to mention fire-ships, we may derive some idea of their nature, as then used, by an account of the contents of one of them employed on this occasion. It was a new ship of about three hundred tons. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through to give air to the fire, and upon these lay three hundred carcasses, filled with grenadoes, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapped in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were so vehement as to consume the hardest substances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water.

This formidable engine of war, it was thought would have served to demolish the whole city; but it struck upon a rock, before reaching the place where they intended to moor it. Finding it impossible to bring it off, and the sea water beginning to penetrate, the engineer set fire to the vessel. "The explosion," says my authority, "was terrible beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthenware for three leagues round, and struck off the roofs of three hundred houses. The capstern of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon down to the ground. The greatest part of the walls towards the sea fell down also."

We might deem this account exaggerated. Let us contrast with it one sentence from the official report of the bombardment of St. Jean D'Acree, which has taken place as these sheets are passing through the press. "During the bombardment, the principal magazine, and the whole arsenal blew up. By the explosion two entire regiments, formed in position on the ramparts, were annihilated, and every living creature within the area, of 60,000 square yards, ceased to exist, the loss of life being variously computed from 1200 to 2000 persons."

If the English people were dissatisfied with the little success of their fleets, king William does not seem to have been better pleased. We find him this year telling his parliament—"I am always glad to meet you here, and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present, by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident that the former were only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which has brought so great a disgrace upon the nation, I have resented it extremely, and as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future. And it may well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward, for the better annoying our enemies and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of this kingdom." Upon this the house of commons came unanimously to a resolution, that they would support their majesties and their government, inquire into the miscarriages of the fleet in the preceding summer, and consider of all possible ways and means for conserving the trade of the nation.

The effect of these resolves was considerably more vigorous in the naval transactions of the following year. The bombardment system was pursued. Dieppe and Havre de Grace were nearly laid in ruins, Dunkirk and Calais were attacked and much damaged, and although these expeditions were not productive of any important benefit, they served to convince the world that we were still superior at sea, and by distracting Louis's attention to various points of attack, acted as a diversion in favour of William in his undertakings by land. His majesty's language, therefore, when he

next met his parliament, was in a different key—"I am glad to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose the fleet in these seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean, has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success."

Various places on the French coasts were bombarded in the next summer, but the nation was disposed to look upon these as trifling services, hardly worthy of employing the British navy. However, as our historian quaintly remarks, "it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coast, than to suffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did some years before."

The following acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our countrymen performed, deserve to be remembered:—On the 30th of May, 1695, as one William Thompson, master of a fishing-boat belonging to the Port-of-Pool, in Dorsetshire, was fishing near the island of Purbeck, with only one man and a boy, perceiving a privateer of Cherbourg to bear down upon him, he was so far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himself the best way he could with two little guns, which he had mounted, and some small arms; and with so inconsiderable a force, behaved himself with such success, that, in a little time, he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and six more of the French, which so discouraged the rest, that they bore away. In his turn, Thompson gave chase to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy strike, beg for quarter, and surrender. Thompson, thus victorious, brought away the sloop with fourteen prisoners, of whom the captain was one, having left two more at Corfe castle, and carried her into Pool harbour. This privateer had two patareroes, several small arms and grenadoes, and sixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the admiralty gave captain Thompson a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a present also of the vessel he had taken.

Their lordships, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Williams, master of a fishing-smack belonging to Whitsund-bay, for retaking several vessels after they had fallen into the hands of French privateers. Peter Jolliffe, in a small hoy, called the Sea Adventure, perceiving a French privateer near the island of Purbeck make prize of a fish-

ing-boat belonging to Weymouth, boldly attacked him, though of three times his strength, and having first obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on shore near the town of Lulworth, the people of which made themselves masters of the vessel, and took the crew prisoners; for which brave exploit, captain Jolliffe was honoured also with a gold chain and medal.

The naval warfare was carried on in much the same way, not very gloriously, it must be confessed, until the peace, which was concluded at Ryswick, in September, 1697. The death of the king of Spain led to events which interrupted the general peace, and, while engaged in most extensive and formidable preparations to renew the war, William received an injury, by falling from his horse, and died in consequence, in March 1702, in his 51st year.

HERBERT, EARL OF TORRINGTON.—Arthur Herbert was descended from a noble family, and as his father and others of his relatives had suffered severely for their loyalty to Charles I., the son, upon the restoration, received early promotion in the navy, to which service he had attached himself. He was active and enterprising, and before the revolution had attained the rank of vice-admiral. The occasion of his leaving the cause of the Stuarts, is thus stated by bishop Burnet:—"Admiral Herbert being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote for the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conscience. The king said he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people who talked more of conscience were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice; but though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of four thousand pounds a-year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise; for, as he had great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the king's service, from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past service would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing." King James had soon ample reason to regret having alienated from himself so conscientious and able an adherent.

The small appearance there was of his being able to live

with honour, or even with safety at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who, at that juncture, chose to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel Charles Herbert, and by his cousin Henry Herbert, whom king William afterwards created lord Herbert of Cherbery. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the States, which was a very prudent, and, in its consequences, beneficial step, numbers of English seamen following, and entering for his sake, into the Dutch service. This convinced the States that things were come to a crisis in England, and that the king had lost the affections of his subjects, to a great degree, when the seamen, who, of all people, had shown themselves most hearty in his cause, began to forsake him.

At the prince of Orange's court, Herbert was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly understood the state of the English fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; so that he was treated with very high respect, and received into entire confidence, more especially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a cautious and reserved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expressed by some other persons, who thought to make their court, by representing an attempt upon England, as a thing that might be easily accomplished; whereas the vice-admiral understood and spoke of it as an undertaking that required a very considerable strength, exceedingly discreet management, and much deliberation.

Herbert took an active part in the fitting out of the fleet intended to convey the prince of Orange and his troops to England, and was nominated to the chief command. When the prince had landed safely at Torbay and published his well-known declaration to the English nation, Herbert's influence among the sailors, was deemed so great, that he was induced to circulate among them an address, calling upon them to join the prince "for the defence of the common cause, the protestant religion, and the liberties of your country." This letter is believed to have produced a great effect, as notwithstanding their former partiality for James: the seamen in general soon joined William's standard.

On the completion of the revolution, Herbert, besides

being continued in his chief command, was made first commissioner of the board of admiralty.

His want of success at Bantry-bay has been already mentioned; but so satisfied were the king and the house of commons, that the admiral and the fleet had done all in their power, and been of high service, that while William created Herbert an earl, the commons voted him their hearty thanks, for what they term one of the greatest actions done in this last age! He was at the time a member of the house for Plymouth, and upon his motion, it was resolved, "that the house will take care to make a provision for such seamen as are, or shall be wounded in their majesty's service, and for the wives and children of such as are, or shall be slain therein."

It is not too much to suppose that this motion of Herbert's, so well-timed, when he was acknowledging the vote of thanks for the services of seamen, had its share in promoting the institution of Greenwich hospital, which took place a few years afterwards.

We have little to add to the account already given of the action off Beachy-head on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not so much as one English man-of-war lost, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole course of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in such a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithstanding the inequality of the fleets, and some unlucky accidents that happened in spite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordship at all discomposed, when upon his being sent for to town, he found so general a clamour raised against him; but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; insisted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him easy in his mind as to the consequences, being persuaded, that, of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himself than to ruin the fleet, as he absolutely must have done, if he had acted otherwise than he did. All he could say, however, had little effect at that time; so that he was committed to the tower, and commissioners were sent down to examine into the condition of the fleet, and to make the necessary inquiries for framing a charge against him, it being held absolutely requisite to bring him to a trial, that the justice of the nation might not suffer in the opinion of our allies.

The result of the trial was a triumphant and unanimous acquittal, but lord Torrington was not again engaged in the public service. He continued, however, to attend regularly in his place as a peer, and took a part in the debates, particularly when affairs relating to the navy were under consideration. He died at an advanced age, in 1716.

EDWARD RUSSEL, Earl of Orford, was the son of lord Edward Russel, and grandson of Francis, earl of Bedford. Being destined by his father for the sea-service, he received an education suitable to the pursuit; and, entering at a very early age into the navy as a volunteer, was, when nineteen years old, appointed lieutenant of the *Advice*; this was in the year 1671. On the commencement of the second Dutch war, he was appointed third lieutenant of the *Prince*, at that time fitting out for the flag of Sir Edward Spragge. On the 15th of February, 1675, he was appointed commander of the *Reserve*, and soon afterwards sent on the Mediterranean station. He continued there several years, but without having an opportunity of achieving any considerable exploit. On the 15th of December, 1677, he was removed into the *Defiance*; and, in March following, into the *Swiftsure*. He was appointed, on the 10th of August, 1680, commander of the *Newcastle*; and, from the time he quitted the command of this ship, a period not exactly known, till after the revolution, there is a total vacancy in his naval, though not in his political life. Soon after the accession of king William, captain Russel was promoted to be admiral of the blue squadron; and having hoisted his flag on board the *Duke*, served in that capacity under the earl of Torrington, when he put to sea, after the battle of Bantry-bay. Nothing memorable, however, took place during the time it was prudent for it to keep the sea. On the 1st of December, he sailed for Holland with a small squadron of five-sail, but contrary winds and stormy weather compelled him to return. Finding the *Duke*, and the third-rates of his squadron too large to be trusted on the Dutch coast at that advanced season of the year, he shifted his flag into a yacht, and sailed again on the 11th, with only three fourth-rates, two frigates, and the *Mary* yacht. The object of this mission was, to conduct the queen of Spain to the Groyne; and it is thought to have been extremely prejudicial to the interests of the English nation, as the fleet was so long retarded by contrary winds, that the opportunity was lost of

blocking up the Toulon squadron, a service that was to have been executed by this fleet. Whether this be true, is not our business to inquire. Admiral Russel arrived in safety at Schonevelt, on the coast of Zealand, but the queen did not embark till the middle of January. The squadron returned to the Downs on the 18th, and admiral Russel removed into his old ship the Duke. He was detained by contrary winds, and did not sail from Torbay till the 7th of March. After a stormy passage of nine days, he arrived in safety at the Groyne, where, having landed his charge, he returned to England on the 25th of April. In December 1690, admiral Russel was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet which had then returned into port for re-equipment against the ensuing summer. When ready for sea, its appearance was truly formidable. It consisted of fifty-seven English and seventeen Dutch ships of the line. Yet such was the delay occasioned by contrary winds, and such was the caution of the French, that the summer passed over in a fruitless repetition of projected attacks on their ports, none of which were ever attempted to be carried into execution. In the following year, the eyes of all Europe were turned, with the utmost anxiety, on an enterprise which was to complete the triumph, or totally defeat the expectations of the unfortunate exile, James, still styled by the French, king of Great Britain. The preparations for war, which had been languid, or at least, not exceeding the ordinary course of national contest, on a sudden assumed an appearance of vigour worthy of the great stake for which two nations were to contend. The appearance of victory at Beachy Head, the promised countenance of the numerous partizans of James, who resided in England, the many capricious exceptions taken by persons of the first rank to the conduct of William, all appeared to prognosticate, and even to insure success. They infused additional spirit into the French nation, till enthusiasm made each individual almost think himself the arbiter on whom the fate of Europe depended. The equipment, destined to carry into execution the projects of Louis, was immense. Its force has been variously stated; some representing it as not more than forty-four ships, while others have swelled the account to sixty-three and upwards. The combined fleet evidently out-numbered them: they reckoned no less than ninety-nine sail in their line-of-battle. Many persons contemplating the force of the allied fleet, and considering the vast inequality of the enemy, may attri-

bute less merit to the English admiral than he really deserves. Superior as was his force, it was not possible to bring into that part of the action, in which the French were first discomfited, numbers equal even to those which they put to flight. Admiral Russel's account, which has been already given, is plain and modest, as well in respect to the fleet he commanded as to the loss of the enemy. Tourville, who was in the *Royal Sun*, carrying one hundred and ten guns, the finest ship in Europe, passed all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Russel, and bore down upon him; but by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking that the English admiral would, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one: yet, though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was ashamed to abandon a situation which his officers in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals and captains, ashamed to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The battle went on, in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and at other times snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Allemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey; and a thick fog at four in the afternoon separated the combatants from the view of each other.

Signal as was the defeat of the enemy, enough had not been done to content the minds of all. The temporary fury, notwithstanding the want of proper materials to feed and supply it, raged with the utmost violence against Russel. A scrutiny into his conduct was commenced in parliament during the winter, and ended highly to his honour. The popular heat was, however, not to be allayed by any measure short of his dismissal from his command. This took place in the spring; and with it he resigned also the treasurer-ship of the navy, an office which he had held ever since the year 1689. The ill success of our naval operations during the summer of 1693, occasioned his recal to the service as soon as the fleet returned into port for the winter: and William, as if to atone his former dismissal, appointed him, in addition to his other trust, on the 2d of May following, first commis-

sioner for executing the office of lord high-admiral. The fleet being ready, Russel hoisted his flag, as commander-in-chief, on the 1st of May. The operation to be first attempted was, an attack on Brest; a resolution fatal as well as disgraceful to the British arms, and which ended in the destruction of lieutenant-general Talmash, who commanded, by land, the forlorn hope sacrificed on this melancholy occasion. The grand fleet, under the command of Russel, did not sail from Spithead till the 6th of June. The French failing to render themselves masters of the European seas, had turned their efforts towards the Mediterranean, where the Count de Tourville was ordered to collect all the naval force of France. Thither Russel was sent with a fleet composed of one hundred and thirty-six ships, eighty-eight, of which were of the line, and the admiral of France, retiring with precipitation to the harbour of Toulon, convinced the neighbouring states of their error, after every means had been used, with temporary success, to impress them with an idea of the naval supremacy of Louis. During the time the fleet continued in the Mediterranean, Russel was attacked by a fever, and reduced so low, that he was obliged to leave the chief command of the fleet for a time, with vice-admiral Aylmer. But having recovered his health towards the autumn, he resumed the command, and sailed for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 8th of November. Having wintered there, he returned to his former station the following year, where he kept the French in awe. He convinced the nations of the world of the inferiority of the French naval power, when compared to our own; and prevented the detachment of any force sufficient to disturb the tranquillity of the European seas. He returned to England in the autumn, and appeared no more in the character of a naval commander. In 1697, when king William was preparing to go to Holland, admiral Russel, then first commissioner of the admiralty, was appointed one of the lords justices during his absence, and created a peer by the title of baron of Shingey, viscount Barfleur, and earl of Orford. In 1699, he resigned all his employments, and from this period, till the eighth year of queen Anne, he concerned himself no farther with public business, than persons of his elevated rank usually do, whether connected with the administration of government or not, which may be readily accounted for, by recollecting that the direction of all naval affairs was confided by queen Anne, to prince George of Denmark, who, imme-

diately on her accession, was declared lord high-admiral, a post which he continued to hold till his death. In 1709, the earl was once more called into public life, being again appointed first commissioner for executing the office of lord high-admiral. He was offered on this occasion, the post of lord high-admiral itself: this he positively refused taking, though he expressed himself perfectly willing to accept of a share in the direction. He did not long, however, continue to hold the post he had accepted, for soon after the removal of the earl of Godolphin from the office of lord high-treasurer, the earl of Orford resigned his post of first commissioner of the admiralty, and again retired from public life, till the decease of the queen, when he was chosen one of the lords justices to act till the arrival of king George I. from Hanover. This monarch immediately appointed him one of his privy council; and on the 13th of October, recalled him to his former post of first commissioner of the admiralty, which he continued to hold till the 16th of April, 1717, when he retired altogether from public employment. He died at his house in Covent Garden, on the 26th of November, 1727, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Among other distinguished seamen of these times whose names deserve honourable mention, are George Legge, lord Dartmouth, who died in the tower, where he was confined on suspicion of being disaffected to the revolution government; Anthony Hastings, distinguished for his successes against the African pirates, and who fell gloriously at the battle of La Hogue; Henry, first duke of Grafton, who also fell in defence of his country; and John Neville, who is said to have been descended from the admiral of the fleet to William the conqueror, and whose actions proved him worthy of so illustrious a descent. We may place side by side with Neville, Sir John Berry, the son of a poor but excellent clergyman in Devonshire. This worthy man died in comparatively early life, and left a numerous family in poverty. John Berry was bound apprentice on board a merchantman of Plymouth, and after having been twice taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and undergone many misfortunes, became boatswain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy. He thence fought his way up with great intrepidity to the command of a fleet, and died rear-admiral in 1691.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

Anne ascended the throne on March 8th, 1702, being then thirty-eight years of age. She died August, 1714. The policy of William's reign was continued by his successor during the greater part of her reign, and the land service was still, as under William, preferred to the naval, and for a similar reason. The duke of Marlborough, who had attained a complete ascendancy in the councils of the queen, had directed his commanding genius to military affairs, and soon acquired for himself the character of the greatest general of the age. The appointment of the queen's consort, prince George of Denmark, to be lord high-admiral, was not a very felicitous one; his rank and near relationship to the sovereign, preventing measures connected with the admiralty from being so narrowly scrutinized as they would otherwise have been, while the commissioners, who acted for him, were too much disposed to take shelter under his name. The naval transactions of the reign, were, however, by no means unimportant.

The war for which William had prepared, was finally declared in May, 1702, against France and Spain; the Dutch, as before, continuing their alliance, offensive and defensive, with England.

The ostensible object of this war was to support the claims of the archduke, Charles of Austria, to the throne of Spain, the succession of which had been guaranteed to him by a treaty, to which France was a party. Louis XIV., however, supported the claims of his second grandson, Phillip; and thus we shall have occasion to mention two persons under the title of king of Spain, namely, Charles and Phillip.

Sir George Rooke was appointed to the chief command of the fleet; and a powerful expedition, the duke of Ormond being in command of the troops, was sent against Cadiz. This was completely unsuccessful, Cadiz being found to be better defended than was anticipated, and the Spaniards showing no great disposition to take the part of king Charles as had been expected. Sir George's orders, besides, were to endeavour, if possible, to conciliate the Spanish, which he found very difficult to reconcile with bombarding their towns, and knocking down their houses over their heads. He was more successful in an attack upon Vigo, into which the fleet of Spanish galleons, richly laden, put in under the convoy of a French squadron. The attack was pushed

with great vigour. Fifteen French men-of-war, two frigates, and seventeen galleons, were burned, sunk, or taken, while the loss of the English and Dutch was very trivial.

Admiral Benbow had been sent, before the public declaration of war, with a squadron to the West Indies, in order to be ready to prevent the Spanish Islands from falling into the power of France, or, what was considered the same thing, acknowledging the authority of king Phillip. This was a most disastrous expedition; and as in its results it involved the characters and lives of several British officers, it requires from us a farther notice. Benbow's squadron consisted of two-third rates, and eight-fourth rates. The French, under Ducasse, were equal, if not superior in number. On the tenth of August, 1702, having received advice that Ducasse had sailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to sail to Portobello, Benbow resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha. On the nineteenth, in the evening, he discovered near that place, ten sail to the westward: standing towards them, he found the greater part of them to be French men-of-war; upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up, the French steering along-shore under their topsails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates astern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered alongside the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack, until the *Defiance* was got abreast of the headmost.

Before he could reach that station, the *Falmouth*, which was in the rear, attempted the Dutch ship, the *Windsor*, the ship abreast of her, as did also the *Defiance*; and soon after the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windsor* stood no more than two or three broadsides, before they luffed out of gun-shot, insomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock, until night, the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company.

On the twentieth, at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to assist him, the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles astern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gunshot of the enemy, yet the latter did not fire. About two in the afternoon, the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could: and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night.

On the twenty-first, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank shot; but the Ruby being ahead of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was ahead of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ship that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement, the rear-ship of the enemy's was abreast of the Defiance and Windsor, but neither of those ships fired a single shot. On the twenty-second, at day-break, the Greenwich was five leagues astern, though the signal for battle was never struck night or day; about three in the afternoon the wind came southerly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage. On the twenty-third, the enemy was six leagues ahead, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten, the enemy tacked with the wind at E.N.E., the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a shot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. About noon, they recovered from the enemy a small English ship, called the Anne-galley, which they had taken off the rock of Lisbon. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing something at last, and therefore continued to steer after them; but his ships, except the Falmouth, were soon astern again; at twelve the enemy began to separate.

On the twenty-fourth, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind, when the admiral fired a broadside. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but he presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of one of the

enemy's ships of about seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored to pieces. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, ahead of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward: then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm aweather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her topsails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle.

The enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ships ahead, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, remanned and took her in tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle signal out all the while, and captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, sent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line. Upon this, captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "That he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that from what was past, he might guess he could make nothing of it."

The brave Benbow, more surprised at this language, than he would have been at the sight of another French squadron, sent for the rest of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion. They obeyed him, indeed, but were most of them of captain Kirby's way of thinking; which satisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phrased it, there was nothing to be done, though there was the fairest opportunity that had yet

offered. Our strength was, at this time, one ship of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty; their masts, yards, and all things else in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper, upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was soon after joined by rear-admiral Whetstone, with the ships under his command.

As soon as he conveniently could, Benbow issued a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone and several captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of several offenders. On the sixth of October, 1702, the court sat at Port-Royal, when captain Kirby, of the *Defiance*, was brought to trial. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant officers; by whose evidence, it appeared, that the admiral boarded *Ducasse* in person three times, and received a large wound in his face and another in his arm, before his leg was shot off; that Kirby, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of his desertion, as greatly discouraged the English in the engagement; that he kept two or three miles astern all the second day, though commanded again and again to keep his station; that he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the deepest distress, having two or three French men-of-war upon him at a time; and that he threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. He was deservedly sentenced to be shot.

The same day, captain Constable, of the *Windsor*, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. The next day captain Wade was tried, and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant officers on board his own ship, as also, that he was drunk during the time of the engagement, he had the same sentence with Kirby. As for captain Hudson, he died a few days before his trial should have come on, and thereby avoided dying as Kirby and Wade did, for his case was exactly the same with theirs.

On the twelfth, came on the trials of captain Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and captain Fog, who was captain of the admiral's own ship, the Breda, for signing, at the persuasion of captain Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it. All they offered was in extenuation of their offence, and amounting only to this, that they were apprehensive Kirby would have deserted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed on the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that they behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought fit to suspend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given, with a proviso that it should not commence till his royal highness's pleasure should be known.

Benbow died of his wounds soon after the trials; he was an honest, rough seaman, and fancied that the command was bestowed upon him for no other reason, than that he should serve his country: this induced him to treat captain Kirby, and the rest of the gentlemen, a little briskly at Jamaica, when he found them not quite so ready to obey his orders as he thought it was their duty; and this it was that engaged them in the base and wicked design of putting it out of his power to engage the French, presuming that, as so many were concerned in it, they might be able to justify themselves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and so they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honesty baffled them; and we may guess at the spirit of the man, by the answer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expressed his sorrow for the loss of his leg. "I am sorry for it too," says the gallant Benbow, "but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out."

The condemned captains were immediately shot on their arrival at Plymouth, in April, 1703.

In November of the same year happened a dreadful storm, memorable in the annals of our navy; for by it there perished thirteen ships of war, and upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned.

In the spring of 1704, Sir George Rooke again put to sea, with a well equipped fleet; but, perplexed by contradictory

instructions, he did nothing decisive, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona.

Being sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, he called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared that he thought it requisite they should resolve upon some service or other, it was determined to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar. The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived in the Bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July, and the marines, English, and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Hesse, on the Isthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor, who answered that he would defend the place to the last. On the twenty-second, the admiral, at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them. This order was no sooner issued, than captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: however, they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by Captain Whitaker, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated. As this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. After putting as many men as could be spared into the place, under the command of the prince of Hesse, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water.

While they lay here, the Dutch admiral sent a flag-officer and six ships to Lisbon, under orders to return home, and a promise that he would quickly follow them. On the 9th

of August they sailed again from Gibraltar, and had sight of the French fleet, which they resolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away; but Sir George pursued them with all the sail he could make. On the thirteenth of the same month, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper posture to receive him. They were fifty-two ships, and twenty-four galleys, very strong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their galleys were placed in those squadrons. In the centre was count Toulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet consisted of fifty-three ships; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, two-fourth rates, with a fifth and a sixth, and two fire-ships, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van should push through our line with their galleys and fire-ships, they might give them some employment.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gun-shot of the enemy, the French set all their sails at once, as if they intended to stretch ahead and weather us; so that our admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the signal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catherine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away by the help of their galleys to leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they filed and stood to the northward. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at last bore away.

This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great advantages of the French; which those who understand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For first, their ships were larger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of

metal; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their galleys; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the French admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty-gun ship of ours, commanded by captain Mighells; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off, and her complement restored by the galleys. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had neither powder nor ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch an undisputed claim to the title of maritime powers.

Repeated and strenuous attempts were immediately made to retake Gibraltar, but these were as constantly baffled by our superior force at sea.

Notwithstanding his brilliant successes, Sir George Rooke was soon after driven into retirement by the intrigues of party, which at this time ran very high. Upon this subject, a keen party writer of the day, in a pamphlet styled "Caveat against the Whigs," has the following invective, which we present our readers as a specimen:—"In 1704," says he "Sir George Rooke, with a crew of cabin-boys, took the almost impregnable fortress of Gibraltar; so that, at the same time, British trophies were erected eastward as far as the banks of the Danube, and her flags were seen waving on the towers of the most western part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. After this, under great disadvantages, both in the number, rates, and condition of his ships, and, above all, in the want of ammunition, he so far convinced the French how unequal a match they were for us on the watery element, that they never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how

were his services undervalued by the faction here! Gibraltar, which was able to defy the power of Spain, and to baffle and waste their army in a fruitless siege, and which is likely to continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a safeguard to our commerce, was a place of no strength or value, and the engagement at sea was celebrated with lampoons, instead of congratulations. Neither his actions in this war, nor in the last, his conduct in saving our Turkey fleet, or his courage in destroying the French ships at La Hogue, could prevail with them to allow him any share of skill or bravery; so that he is to wait for justice from impartial posterity, not only in these qualities, but in one much more rare in this age, which he showed in refusing to ask a privy seal for a sum of money remaining in his hands of what had been remitted to him; as he had not wasted it in monstrous bowls of punch, so he scorned to enrich himself by converting the public treasure to his own use, but justly accounted for it. These monuments, in spite of envy and detraction, will remain to his honour in the records of time, and his memory will live without the assistance or expense of a lumpish pile of stones, clamped up against the walls of Westminster Abbey, as was bestowed to commemorate the loss of some of her majesty's ships, and the more valuable lives of many of her subjects, for want of common care and discretion."

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was now advanced to the chief command, and he, with Sir John Leake and Sir Thomas Dilkes, well maintained their superiority, and successfully repelled several attempts made on Gibraltar. About the same time, admiral Sir George Byng was remarkably successful against the French privateers, and in affording protection to our commerce.

In October, 1705, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and lord Peterborough conjoined in command, and took Barcelona—an event of much importance to king Charles's cause. Alicant was shortly afterwards also reduced, as was also Majorca, and not long after, Ostend.

This year was farther rendered memorable by the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, whose ship, the *Association*, struck on a rock off the Scilly rocks, and perished, as did several others of the fleet at the same time.

Prince George of Denmark died in 1708, when the earl of Pembroke was appointed lord high-admiral, with general approbation; but finding the duties of his office more than

his strength enabled him to perform, he retired the following year, when a board of admiralty was nominated, at the head of which was the earl of Orford; Sir John Leake and Sir George Byng, being two of its members.

The peace of Utrecht took place in 1713, nothing of great consequence having, in the meantime, occurred at sea.

The gain of England, by this long war, is thus summed up by our historian:—"To conclude this part of my subject, I must observe, that upon the close of the war, the French found themselves totally deprived of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made, or at least chiefly, by our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported king Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal steady to the grand alliance; which, besides the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and all this against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his ministers, who were all at that time in the French interest in their hearts; from which they had never departed so much as in show, if the most Christian king had been able to perform what we did; since it is well known, that the Portuguese first offered themselves to, and contracted an alliance with, that monarch and his grandson of Spain. At the same time, our fleets prevented the French from so much as sailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the last war, and kept many of the Italian States in awe. The Algerines, and other piratical States of Barbary, contrary to their natural propensity to the French, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. To speak the truth, the slackness of the Dutch, in sending ships to this part of the world, had in this respect an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them.

Let us but consider the figure that France made at the beginning of the last war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, she had sometimes better fleets; instead of waiting till she was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and seek her squadrons at a distance, she spread the sea with her navy, and insulted us upon our own coasts; though we had Spain for us in all that war, yet it

was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and while we protected Spain by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by France at home. But in this war the enemy seldom appeared at sea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of Malaga; the extinction of the French force at sea, was in a manner completed by our enterprise on Toulon. They were, from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the one on Scotland, very fully showed it. They stole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehension of being overtaken hindered them from landing, and their return was a plain flight.

In a word, we had to deal, in the first war, with the fleets of Brest and Toulon, capable of disputing with us the dominion of the sea in our full strength; in this, if we could guard against the Piccaroons of St. Maloe's and Dunkirk, all was well; our merchantmen suffered sometimes; but our fleets and squadrons were always safe; nay, even in the trivial war between single ships, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the admiralty's computation; which shows not only that the French suffered more than we, but that they suffered a third more in this war than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many sea-fights in that, and there being but a single one in this."

ADMIRAL BENBOW.—John Benbow was the son of a royalist gentleman who, by the civil wars, was reduced to great poverty. John, was early employed in seafaring. It is said, by some, that he began as a waterman's boy. We learn that he was owner and commander of a merchant vessel in the reign of Charles II. It was called the Benbow frigate, and he made then as respectable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the Mediterranean. He was always considered by the merchants as a bold, brave, and active commander, one who took care of his seamen, and was therefore cheerfully obeyed by them, though he maintained strict discipline, with greater safety there, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raised his reputation greatly, so that no man was better known or more esteemed, by the merchants upon the Exchange, than captain Benbow. It does not, however, appear that he ever sought any preferment in that whole

reign; neither is it likely that he would have met with it in the next, but from a remarkable occurrence strongly characteristic of the man.

In the year 1686, captain Benbow, in his own vessel the Benbow frigate, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Salee Rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads captain Benbow ordered to be cut off and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went ashore, and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the Moors' heads in a sack. He had scarcely landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired what he had in his sack? The captain answered, salt provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers; but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain Benbow alleged that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was suspected. The officers told him that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provision where he pleased; but that otherwise it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation.

The captain consented to the proposal, and away they marched to the custom-house, Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated captain Benbow with great civility; told him they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that, since he had refused to show the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the showing them could be of no great consequence one way or other. "I told you," says the captain sternly, "they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service." The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors' heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid, and Charles II., then king of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the English captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with

great testimonies of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholic majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to king James, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy.

After the revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruises in the channel, where he was employed at the request of the merchants, and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing the French commerce and securing our own. For this reason he was commonly made choice of to command the squadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have already given some account. I shall content myself, for this reason, with remarking, that he showed no less courage than conduct upon such occasions, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage as to instruct the seamen and engineers according to his manner of ever enforcing his commands by his example.

The diligence and activity of captain Benbow could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and brave a prince as king William; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of captain Benbow's merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which he was employed to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the depredations of Du Bart. He showed such diligence in this, and did such signal service, by preserving our merchant ships, that he escaped the slightest censure, when libels flew about against almost every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth really was, that the seamen generally considered rear-admiral Benbow as their greatest patron; one, who not only used them well while under his care, but was always ready to interpose in their favour, as far as his interest went, when they were ill-treated by others.

There was, at that time, a warm dispute as to the expediency of preferring mere seamen, or, as they were then called, tarpaulins, to gentlemen, in the navy; admiral Benbow was consulted more than once by the king upon that subject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both; that a seaman should never lose preferment for want of recommendation, nor a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was also a great enemy to

party distinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged of from his actions at sea, rather than from the company he kept on shore; and for this reason he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different parties, who were all of them ready to testify, upon any occasion, his courage and conduct.

In the year 1697, he was sent, with a small squadron before Dunkirk; where he saved the Virginia and West India fleet from falling into the hands of the French privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would likewise have succeeded in restraining Du Bart from going out, if the Dutch rear-admiral Vandergoes had been in a condition to assist him, or if the lords of the admiralty had been inclined to take his advice; for observing, in the beginning of August, that the French frigates were hauled into the basin to clean, he judged their design to be what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring tide; and, therefore, as his ships were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to desire that four of the best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but also to heel and scrub; which he judged might have been done, before the spring tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar; but this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ships; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from pursuing them as well as he was able; and some ships of his squadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns and forty men, which had done a great deal of mischief. This was one of the last actions of the war, and the rear-admiral soon after received orders to return home with the squadron under his command.

It is very well known, that after the peace of Ryswick, and even while the partition treaties were negotiating, king William had formed a design of doing something very considerable in the West Indies. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is said, it was first put by father Henepin, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it several times in his mind; and at last took a settled resolution, that if the French attempted to deceive him, as he had great reason to believe they would, something of consequence should be done in that part of the world.

In the mean time, however, he thought fit to send a small squadron of three fourth-rates, into the West Indies, under the command of rear-admiral Benbow, who had private instructions from the king, to make the best observations he could on the Spanish ports and settlements, but to keep as fair as possible with the governors, and to afford them any assistance, if they desired it. He was likewise instructed to watch the galleons; for the king of Spain, Charles II. was then thought to be in a dying condition. Benbow sailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the West Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent situation. Most of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm disputes with their governors; the forces that should have been kept up in them for their defence, so reduced by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them.

He then addressed himself to execute his commission, and sailed for that purpose to Carthagena, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a style so plain, as forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in some measure, by doing justice; and in the same manner he proceeded with the governor of Portobello; but still the great ends of his commission remained altogether unanswered, not through any fault of the admiral's, but for want of a sufficient force, either to engage the Spaniards to confide in him, or to perform any thing considerable, in case the French had sent a strong fleet into that part of the world, as it was then expected they would do. This affair was complained of in parliament, where the smallness of the squadron, and the sending it so late, were very severely reflected upon; though, at the same time, great compliments were paid to admiral Benbow's courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic testimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the services they could either expect or desire; so that he was received with the most cordial friendship by his majesty, who, as a mark of his royal favour, was pleased to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the three bent bows, which he and his family already bore, as many arrows.

The whole system of affairs in Europe was changed by the time admiral Benbow came back; the king had disco-

vered the disingenuousness of the French, and saw himself under necessity of entering upon a new war. One of his first cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as possible, and to give the command of it to officers that might in all respects be depended upon; and to this disposition of the king's, Benbow owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruising off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns; but this was held to be no security against France; and it was no sooner known, that they were fitting out a strong squadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a descent. Benbow satisfied the ministry, that there was no danger on this side; and then it was resolved to prosecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession; to facilitate which, it was thought absolutely necessary to send a strong squadron to the West Indies.

This squadron was to consist of two third-rates and eight fourths; which was as great a strength as it was judged could be at that time spared; and it was thought indispensably requisite that it should be under the orders of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be safely relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this important command. Benbow was thought of by the ministry, as soon as the expedition was determined; but the king would not hear of it. He said that Benbow was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties; and that, therefore, it was but fair some other officer should take his turn. One or two were named and consulted: but either their health or their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused; upon which the king said merrily to some of his ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, "Well, then, I find we must spare our *beaus*, and send honest Benbow."

His majesty accordingly sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, whether he was willing to go to the West Indies, assuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiss if he desired to be excused. Benbow answered bluntly, "That he did not understand such compliments; that he thought he had no right to choose his station; and that, if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East or

West Indies, or any where else, he would cheerfully execute his orders as became him." Thus the matter was settled in very few words, and the command of the West India squadron conferred on him.

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

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

The French knew too well the importance of the Spanish

West Indies, not to think of providing for their security, as soon as ever they resolved to accept the will of the late king of Spain. The officer made choice of to command the squadron which was first to be sent thither, was the famous M. Du Casse, governor of St. Domingo. He was to carry with him one hundred officers of all ranks, who were intended to discipline the Spanish militia in the kingdom of Mexico; but, before this could be done, it was thought necessary to send Du Casse to Madrid, to ask the consent of the Spanish council, which took up some time; for though the Spaniards could not but be sensible in how wretched a situation their affairs in the West Indies were, yet it was with great reluctance that they gave way to this expedient.

The French councils, which were better conducted, had foreseen all these difficulties; and, therefore, had a squadron ready at Brest, consisting of five ships of the line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April 1701, sailed for the Spanish West Indies; and, on the 20th of October, the count de Chateau Renaud sailed also with fourteen ships of the line and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were supposed to be already departed from the Havannah, under the escort of the marquis de Coetlogon; and, after all this, Du Casse likewise sailed with his squadron, from whence the English reader will easily see, that as admiral Benbow received no supplies, he was truly in danger of being crushed by the superior power of our enemies, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them.

When vice-admiral Benbow arrived first at Jamaica, which was at the close of the year 1701, he made such wise dispositions for securing our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French saw, with great amazement, all the schemes defeated, which they had been enabled to form by their having much earlier intelligence than we of the intended war; and their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the marquis de Coetlogon, they were constrained to act only on the defensive; and found all the grand projects they had meditated for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, entirely frustrated.

The Dutch accounts, at the same time, from Curocoa, said plainly, that notwithstanding all the blustering of the French, vice-admiral Benbow, with a small English squa-

dron, remained master of those seas; but, in a few weeks, the scene began to change; for the vice-admiral had first the news of M. Chateau Renaud's arrival at Martinico with a squadron much stronger than his own; and, soon after, information that this squadron had been joined by the marquis de Coetlogon from the Havannah, which alarmed the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Jamaica excessively, because we had no force capable of resisting this French fleet, in case their commanders were determined to act offensively.

In this uncertain situation, things continued to the end of April, 1702, when the vice-admiral resolved, notwithstanding there was a great want of men on board the squadron, to put to sea, in order to cruize between Jamaica and Hispaniola; and accordingly he sailed on the 8th of May; but, before he was quite clear of the island of Jamaica, he met with rear-admiral Whetstone, with whom he returned, to communicate to the government some orders received from England; having first sent the Falmouth, Ruby, and Experiment, to cruise off Petit Guavas. He had advice about the middle of May, that on the 18th of the preceding month, there passed by Camanagoto, on Terra Firma, seventeen ships, which steered towards the west end of Cuba. These ships he judged to be part of M. Chateau Renaud's squadron, and that they were bound to the Havannah, to offer their service for convoying home the flota; but he had not strength to follow them, without subjecting the island to the insults of those ships which were at Leogane. Some little time after, the master of a Spanish sloop from Cuba, acquainted him that Chateau Renaud had arrived at the Havannah, with twenty-six ships of war, waiting for the flota from La Vera Cruz; and this was confirmed by the ships he had sent out, which, during their cruize in those parts, had taken four prizes.

We have already given a full account of what happened on the admiral's sailing to intercept Du Casse. The scheme formed by admiral Benbow for the destruction of the French force in the West Indies, and having a chance for the galleons, shows him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually disproves that idle and ridiculous calumny of his being a mere seaman. He saw that the French officers were excessively embarrassed by the wayward conduct of the Spaniards, who would not take a single step out of their own road, though for their own service.

He resolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the smallest of their squadrons, having before sent home such an account of the number and value of the Spanish ships, and of the strength of the French squadrons that were to escort them, as might enable the ministry to take all proper measures for intercepting them, either in their passage from the West Indies, or when it should be known that they were arrived in the European seas. When he had done this, he sailed from Jamaica on the 11th of July, with two third-rates, six fourths, a fire-ship, bomb-tender, and sloop, in hopes of meeting rear-admiral Whetstone; but missing him, he sailed in search of Du Casse's squadron, which he came up with and engaged, on Wednesday, the 19th of August, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonstrates the courage and conduct of this gallant seaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ship's company; since it is impossible he could, in such circumstances, have maintained the engagement so long, if his inferior officers, and all the common seamen, had not been unanimous. The French accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage; but Du Casse, who was a brave man, and by much the best judge of this matter, has put the thing out of dispute, by the following short letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at Carthagena; the original of which is still, or at least was, in the hands of admiral Benbow's family:—"SIR, I had little hopes, 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 —, they deserve it.—Your's,
DU CASSE."

The first care the admiral had, after his return to Jamaica, was to provide for the officers who distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and next to bring those to justice, who had so basely betrayed their trust; and in this he was so earnest, that perhaps he failed a little in point of form, since, in order to their trial, he granted a commission, which it has been questioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excusable reasons; the first was, that he found himself in no condition to preside in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which ensued upon cutting off his leg, from the time of his coming ashore: the other, that in case he had been able to assist upon that occasion, he was desirous of declining it, from his having so great a personal interest in the affair. After the court-mar-

tial was over, the admiral lived nearly a month; that court sat on the 6th of October, and the admiral died on the 4th of November following.

He was, all that time, extremely sensible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovery. Yet, during that long illness, he supported his character as an English admiral, with the same firmness he had shown during the engagement, giving all the necessary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune or the concerns of his family.

SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.—Cloudesley Shovel was born in 1650, of poor parents. He was bound apprentice to a shoemaker, and applied himself for some years to that trade; but being of an aspiring disposition, and finding no appearance of raising his fortune in that way, he betook himself to the sea, under the protection of Sir John Narborough, with whom he went as a cabin-boy: but applying himself very assiduously to navigation, and having naturally a genius for that art, he soon became an able seaman; and as those were stirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived to preferment. This he in a great measure owed to the favour of Sir John, who, having been cabin-boy to Sir Christopher Myngs, was a man who raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, by mere dint of capacity, and therefore proved a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Shovel to his notice.

After the close of the second Dutch war, our merchants, in the Mediterranean, found themselves very much distressed by the piratical state of Tripoli; which, notwithstanding several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit fresh depredations, almost as early as the Dutch war broke out. As soon, therefore, as the king found himself at leisure, he ordered a strong squadron into those parts, under the command of Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the spring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his reception. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try

negotiation rather than force, determined him to send a person, in whom he could confide, to the Dey of Tripoli, to propose terms of accommodation, and those, too, very moderate in their nature; for he desired only satisfaction for what was passed, and security for the time to come. The admiral intrusted Shovel with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the Dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore: Sir John sent him back again with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his inquiries and observations. The Dey's behaviour was worse the second time: but Shovel, though naturally warm, bore it with wonderful patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts: accordingly, in the night of the 4th of March, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and destroyed the enemy's ships with great success. He was in consequence promoted to a ship.

He was in the battle of Bantry-bay, in the *Edgar*, a third-rate, and gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct, that king William, on the recommendation of admiral Herbert, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and he was then made rear-admiral of the blue.

When the king, in the spring of the year 1692, set out for Holland, he declared him rear-admiral of the red; and, at the same time, commander of the squadron that was to convoy him thither. On his return, he joined admiral Russel with the grand fleet, and had a great share in the famous victory at La Hogue.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, he was not much in favour, and we do not find him employed in any affair of importance, though he was then admiral of the white, till he was sent to Vigo, after the taking of that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly showed upon every occasion.

He commanded the grand fleet up the Straits in the year 1703, where he did every thing it was possible for an admiral to do, whose instructions were very extensive, and who yet wanted an adequate force to accomplish a great part of those instructions. It is in such conjunctures as these that the skill and capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in this expedition Sir Cloudesley gave as convincing proofs of his courage and conduct as any admiral could do; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; he did what was to be done for the relief of the protestants then in arms in the Cevennes; he countenanced such of the Italian powers as were inclined to favour the cause of the allies, and he struck such a terror into the friends of the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to undertake for that court. All this he did with a fleet indifferently manned and victualled, so that all parties agreed that Sir Cloudesley had done his duty in every respect, and well deserved the high trust reposed in him. He took his part in the glorious action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery.

Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to Spain, Sir Cloudesley accepted the command of the fleet, jointly with the earls of Peterborough and Monmouth, and accordingly arrived at Lisbon with twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, in June, 1705, and, towards the latter end of the same month, sailed to Catalonia, arriving before the city of Barcelona on the 12th of August, when the siege of the place was undertaken.

There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel found himself here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land-officers divided in their opinions; the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, upon whom king Charles principally depended, was not on speaking terms with the earl of Peterborough; all things necessary for the siege were in a manner wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on admiral Shovel, who on this occasion gave the most signal proofs, not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service.

He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to serve them; he landed, for the use of the army, almost all the

military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others, and, in short, was so useful, so ready, and so determined in the service, and took such care that every thing he promised should be fully and punctually performed, that his presence and councils in a manner forced the land-officers to continue the siege, till the place was taken, to the surprise of all the world, and, perhaps, most of all to the surprise of those by whom it was taken; for, if we may guess at their sentiments by what they declared under their hands in several councils of war, they scarcely believed it practicable to reduce so strong a place with so small a force, and that so ill provided.

In March, 1707, he received orders to prepare for an expedition against Toulon. The instructions which Sir Cloudesley received, in relation to this affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war, by obliging the French king to abandon the support of his grandson in Spain, were sent him to Lisbon; and, in obedience to them, the admiral made such dispatch, that on the 20th of May he sailed for Alicant; where, having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June, came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes; where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, till the 29th of that month. The enemy were at that time strongly entrenched on the river Var, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. These entrenchments were defended by eight hundred horse, and six battalions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battalions more, under the command of general Dillon, an Irish officer, from whose courage and conduct the French expected much. Sir Cloudesley having observed to the duke, that part of the French lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them, and that he would land a body of seamen, who should attack the highest and strongest of their entrenchments, he consented that they should be attacked immediately. Accordingly, on the 1st of July, Sir Cloudesley ordered four English, and one Dutch man-of-war, to enter the mouth of the river Var, where they began to cannonade the French lines: soon after which, six hundred English seamen landed in open boats, under the command of Sir John Norris, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were so

terrified with such an unexpected salutation, that they threw down their arms, after a short dispute, and abandoned their works.

This great effort made by the English, not only procured an easy passage, where the greatest resistance was expected, but totally disconcerted the French schemes, since the troops had scarcely quitted these entrenchments before they met general Dillon, who was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of St. Paul, and to retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to prosecute the march to Toulon. It appears from this account, that whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of Sir Cloudesley. He proposed forcing the passage of the Var, and executed it; he induced his royal highness of Savoy to pursue his march immediately; and, as soon as that resolution was taken, the admiral sailed with his fleet for the islands of Hieres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemy's correspondence with Italy. But instead of six, the duke made it full twelve days before he attacked Toulon, and then laid the blame on prince Eugene, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expose them. It is true, that when Sir Cloudesley went first to compliment the duke upon his safe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highness told him, he was glad to see him at last, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when Sir Cloudesley answered, that he had not delayed a moment since it was in his power to wait upon his royal highness: he replied, smiling, "I did not say you, but the maritime powers had made me wait; for this expedition I concerted so long ago as 1693, and fourteen years is a long time to wait, Sir Cloudesley."

As the duke of Savoy never would have undertaken this affair without the assistance of the fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesley; as he did nothing, when before Toulon, but by the assistance of the fleet, from whence he had all his military stores; so he could not possibly have made a safe retreat, if it had not been covered by the fleet.

He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ships of the line; three fifth-rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line,

five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England. On the 22d of October, he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at six in the evening, he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is presumed, that he saw the light on St. Agnes, one of the islands of Scilly. Soon after this, several ships of his fleet made the signal of distress, as he himself did; and it was with much difficulty that Sir George Byng, in the *Royal Anne*, saved himself, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir John Norris and lord Dursley also ran very great risks; and several ships besides the admiral's perished.

Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown ashore the next day upon the island of Scilly, where some fishermen, having taken a valuable ring from his finger, buried him. This ring, being shown about over the island, was talked of. This led to the discovery of the body, which being removed to London, was buried in Westminster Abbey with great solemnity.





GEORGE ROOKE was the son of Sir William Rooke, of an ancient family in the county of Kent, where he was born, in the year 1650. His father gave him the education becoming a gentleman. His first station in the navy was that of a volunteer, in which he distinguished himself by his courage and application. This obtained for him the post of a lieutenant, whence he rose to that of a captain before he was thirty. These preferments he enjoyed under the reign of Charles II.; and under that of James, he was appointed to the command of the *Deptford*, a fourth-rate man-of-war, in which post he was at the revolution.

Admiral Herbert distinguished him early, by sending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a squadron to the coast of Ireland. In this station, he concurred with major-general Kirke, in the relief of Londonderry, assisting in taking the island in the Lake, which opened a passage for the relief of the town.

In the beginning of the year 1690, he was appointed rear-admiral of the red, and served in the fight off Beachy-head, on the 30th of June the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms, admiral Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to inquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John

Ashby, who, in their accounts, justified their admiral, and showed that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages.

In the spring of the succeeding year, he convoyed William to Holland, and was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, in which station he served in the battle of La Hogue, on the 22d of May, 1692, where he behaved with distinguished courage and conduct. It was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day, and which threw the French entirely into confusion.

But the next day was for him still much more glorious; for he had orders to go into La Hogue and burn the enemy's ships as they lay. There were thirteen large men-of-war, which had crowded as far up as possible, and the transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, were disposed in such a manner, that it was thought impossible to burn them. Besides this, the French camp was in sight, with the French and Irish troops that were to have been employed in the invasion, and several batteries upon the coast, well supplied with heavy artillery. The admiral, however, made the necessary preparations, notwithstanding he saw the dispositions made on shore for his reception; but, when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squadron. Even this did not discourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore, and, having manned all his boats, went himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night six three-deck ships, and the next day he burned six more of from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns, together with most of the transports and ammunition-vessels, and this under the fire of the batteries, in sight of the French and Irish troops; and yet, through the wise conduct of their commander, this bold enterprise cost the lives of no more than ten men.

It was happy for Rooke that he served a brave prince, who inquired particularly into every man's conduct before he punished or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at La Hogue appeared to him so worthy of public notice, that, having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he settled a pension of a thousand pounds a-year on him for life. In the spring, his majesty went to Portsmouth to view the fleet, and, going on board admiral Rooke's ship, then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him

the honour of knighthood, having a little before made a naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red, and intrusted with the command of the squadron that was to escort the Smyrna fleet. The ill success of this expedition has been already referred to.

A violent party resentment was raised against him, owing to his conduct in parliament; for being in 1695 elected member for Portsmouth, and voting mostly with those that were called tories, great pains were taken to ruin him in the king's opinion; but to the honour of William, when pressed to remove Sir George Rooke from his seat at the admiralty-board, he answered plainly, I WILL NOT. "Sir George Rooke," continued his majesty, "served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him for acting as he thinks best for the service of his country in the House of Commons;" an answer truly worthy of a British prince.

Upon the accession of queen Anne, in 1702, Sir George was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, as also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom; and, upon the declaration of war against France, it was resolved that he should command the grand fleet sent against Cadiz, the duke of Ormand having the command in chief of the land forces. The result of this expedition, and the unsuccessful attack upon Vigo, need not be repeated.

When the attempt on Barcelona miscarried, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from England, chased the Brest squadron into Toulon; and having afterwards passed through the Straits, joined Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, off Lagos; and continued cruising for about a month in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of Spain. On the 17th of July, being in the road of Tetuan, a council of war was called, in which several schemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable; at last, Sir George Rooke proposed the attacking of Gibraltar, which was agreed to, and immediately put into execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21st of the same month, the troops, which were but eighteen hundred men, were landed the same day; the admiral gave the signal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and, by the glorious courage of the English seamen, the place was taken on the 24th. After this remarkable service, the Dutch admiral thought of nothing but returning home, and actually detached six men-of-war to Lisbon, so little appearance was there of any engagement. But, on the 9th

of August, the French fleet, under the command of the count de Thoulouse, was first seen at sea, and appeared to be by much the strongest that had been equipped during the whole war; the English admiral, however, resolved to do all that lay in his power to force an engagement. We have already given an account of the battle which followed off Malaga.

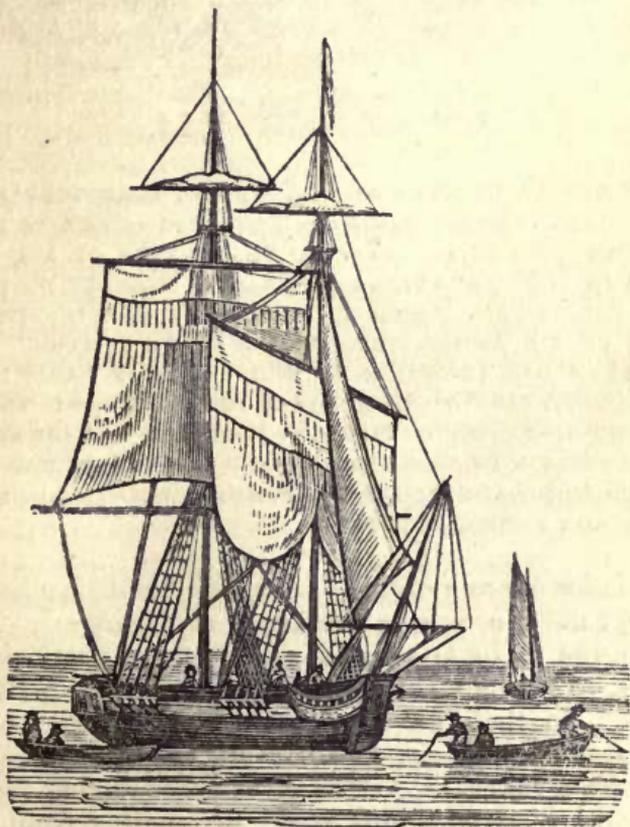
On the return of Sir George Rooke, he was extremely well received by the queen and the lord high-admiral. But, unluckily for him, the battle off Malaga was, some way or other, compared to that of Blenheim, fought the same year; which made the matter of fact a point of party debate, and, in the addresses sent up from all parts of her majesty's dominions, the whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the duke of Marlborough's success, without saying a word of the victory at sea; whereas the tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon both; and, to say the truth, both these battles were decisive; that of Blenheim put an end to the influence of France in the empire, as that of Malaga extinguished the French power at sea.

Sir George, perceiving that as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest with those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking the fortress of Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle off Malaga, the last engagement which happened between these two nations at sea, during this war, he was constrained to quit his command: and, as the tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his post immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, so the whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendancy to the like good purpose, with regard to Sir George Rooke.

After this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir George Rooke passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and his strict adherence to the tories, made him the darling of one set of people, and exposed him no less to the aversion of another. In party matters he was warm and eager, but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous

in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit, wherever it appeared. He was equally superior to popular clamour and popular applause; and he had a contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it. He died in 1709.

The highly honourable names of Sir Daniel Mitchell, Sir Ralph Delavel, admiral Churchill, Sir Thomas Dilkes, Sir John Leake, Sir Andrew Leake, Sir Stafford Fairborne, together with that of William Dampier, the celebrated voyager, all of whom ornamented this period, we can do no more than mention.





CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF GEORGE I.—1714 TO 1727—BYNG, LORD TORRINGTON—
 SIR WILLIAM JUMPER—SIR JOHN JENNINGS—DUKE OF LEEDS—
 REIGN OF GEORGE II.—1727 TO THE TREATY OF AIX LA CHA-
 PELLE IN 1748—ADMIRAL VERNON—SIR CHARLES WAGER—SIR
 JOHN NORRIS—SIR PETER WARREN. GEORGE II.—FROM THE
 PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE TO HIS DEATH IN 1760. GEORGE
 III.—FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763.
 THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—ADMIRAL JOHN BYNG, HIS TRIAL AND
 EXECUTION—TAKING OF QUEBEC—SUCCESSSES IN EAST AND WEST
 INDIES—UNION OF THE SPANISH AND FRENCH FLEETS—THEIR
 DESTRUCTION—ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN—HAWKE—LORD ANSON—
 SIR GEORGE POCOCK—TYNTE.

THERE is hardly any period of English history so barren of important naval events as the reign of George I. This is in no degree to be attributed either to the insufficiency of the navy, or to the want of skill and gallantry in its commanders. In these respects there was no falling off; our most formidable rivals, the Dutch, were now our firm allies; with France, too, we were at peace during the whole of this reign. A war with Spain, originating from trifling causes, and in which the Spanish fleet was nearly annihilated

without any general engagement, afforded our seamen the only opportunity of acquiring distinction. The English fleets were chiefly commanded by Sir George Byng, afterwards viscount Torrington; and a brief sketch of his life will suffice to bring such actions as are deserving of notice, under our review. His principal coadjutors were Sir John Jennings, Sir James Wishart, admiral Baker, the marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, and Sir William Jumper, whose personal adventures entitle him to a separate notice.

GEORGE BYNG, LORD TORRINGTON. —

George Byng descended from an ancient family in Kent, and was born in 1663. At the age of fifteen, he went to sea, a volunteer. In 1681, he quitted the sea service, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangiers, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison; and, a vacancy soon happening, he was made ensign, and, not long after, lieutenant. In 1684, he was appointed lieutenant of the Oxford; from which time he continued in the sea service. The next year he went in the Phoenix, to the East Indies, where he boarded a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, in so much that most of those who entered with him were slain, and he himself severely wounded; the pirate sinking, he was taken out of the sea, with hardly any remains of life. In the year 1688, Byng, being first lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, was particularly entrusted in the intrigues then carrying on among the most considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince, and was the person they sent with assurances of obedience to his highness; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherborne by admiral Russell. Upon his return, the earl of Dartmouth sent him to carry a message to the prince, and made him captain of a fourth-rate man-of-war. In 1690, he was advanced to the command of the Hope, a third-rate, and was second to Sir George Rooke in the battle off Beachy Head. After this he was captain of the Royal Oak, and served under admiral Russel. In 1693, that officer distinguished him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain; in which station he served two years in the Mediterranean. Upon the breaking out of the

war in the year 1702, he accepted the command of the *Nassau*, a third-rate, and was at the taking and burning of the French fleet at Vigo. In the following year he was made rear-admiral of the red, and served in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel in the Mediterranean; under which admiral he served again, in 1704, in the fleet that was sent into the same sea in search of the French. It was he who commanded the squadron that cannonaded Gibraltar with such vigour and effect, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts, and thereby enabled the seamen, who were immediately landed, to make themselves masters of the fortifications; by which exploit the garrison was reduced to a capitulation. In the battle of Malaga, which followed soon after, he acquitted himself so well, that queen Anne conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. Towards the end of this year, Sir George Byng commanded a squadron in the Soundings, and was so successful as to take twelve large French privateers, together with the *Thetis*, a man-of-war of forty-four guns, and seven French merchant ships, richly laden. The number of men taken was 2070, and of guns 334.

In 1705, Sir George was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned for Plymouth; which place he represented in every succeeding parliament, till 1721, when he was created a peer. In the following year, his assistance was extremely useful to Sir John Leake, in relieving Barcelona; and he greatly promoted the other enterprises of that campaign, and particularly the reducing of Carthagena and Alicant. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Spain, for the relief of the army. Having performed this service, and being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel from Lisbon, they proceeded to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men-of-war, and fifty transports, to second prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon. In their return home from this expedition, Sir George narrowly escaped shipwreck, when Sir Cloudesley Shovel was lost. In the year 1708, Sir George was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the squadron fitted out to oppose the invasion designed against Scotland by the Pretender. This squadron consisted of twenty-four men-of-war; with which Sir George Byng and lord Dursley sailed from Deal for the French coast; and, having anchored in Graveline Pits, Sir George

went into a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish Road, and there learned the strength and number of the enemy's ships. On the admiral's anchoring before Graveline, the French officers suspended their embarkation; but, upon orders from court, were obliged to resume it; and accordingly, on the 6th of March, they sailed out of Dunkirk. Sir George, at this time, had been obliged for security to go to anchor under Dungeness; and, on his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French had sailed, but could get no account of the place of their destination. He was, however, inclined to believe that they were designed for Scotland; whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue them to the road of Edinburgh. On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a north-east course, as if they intended to go to St. Andrew's. Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury, a ship of fifty guns, formerly taken from us; on board of which were many land and sea officers of great distinction, and five companies of soldiers. After this, Sir George finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of the French admiral's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to his orders. But before he left Leith roads, the lord provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to show their grateful sense of the important service he had done them, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. In 1709, Sir George commanded in chief her majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean, where, however, though he did all that could be expected from him, or that it was possible for him to do, most of his measures and great designs were frustrated by the impatience and irresolution of the court of Spain; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even to what they themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, not considering that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. After his return home from this command, he was made one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death, when, not falling in with the measures of those times, he was removed; but, upon the accession of king George, he was restored to that employment. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion

in the year 1715, he was appointed to the command of a squadron in the Downs: for his important services in this situation, the king created him a baronet, and gave him a ring of great value, with other marks of his royal favour. In the year 1717, it being discovered that an invasion was intended against this kingdom, by Charles XII., king of Sweden, orders were issued for sending a formidable squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir George, who accordingly sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived on the 11th of April. He then despatched five ships of the line to cruise in the Categat, to cover the trade from the Spanish privateers. The Swedes had laid aside whatever design they had formed to our prejudice; and as no enemy appeared, and the season began to advance, Sir George returned home with the fleet. This expedition effectually removed all apprehensions that the nation was under from the Swedes.

The most important action Sir George was engaged in was the expedition of the English fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions, according to the obligations England was under by treaty, against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had, the year before, surprised Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. On the 15th of June, Sir George, who was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief, sailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital ship, and a store ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the *Rupert* to Lisbon for intelligence; and when he had arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he despatched the *Superbe* to Cadiz, with a letter to colonel Stanhope, the envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he had received for his conduct. This was done with a view to induce the king of Spain to recall his troops, or at least agree to a suspension of arms. But it had not this effect; for when Mr. Stanhope showed this letter to the cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spanish affairs, that able minister, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than consent to any such proposals; adding, that the Spaniards were not to be frightened, and that he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if the admiral should think fit

to attack them, he would be in no pain for the event. The cardinal, however, was prevailed upon to lay the admiral's letter before the king. An answer was returned by the cardinal, written under the admiral's letter, acquainting the British minister, that it was his Catholic Majesty's resolution, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had from the king his master. The admiral pursuing his voyage, though with unfavourable winds, was rejoined, off Cape Spartel, by the *Superbe* and *Rupert*, who brought him advice of the preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and informed him that their fleet had sailed from thence to the eastward, on the 18th of June. In passing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the *Argyle* man-of-war, and a galley. The admiral having four regiments of foot, which he was to land at Minorca, in order to relieve the soldiers there in garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the fleet, proceeded to that place, and, on the 25th of July, anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon. Here he received advice that the Spanish fleet had been seen, on the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering south-east; upon this he dispatched expresses to the governor of Milan, and the viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; from whence he sailed on the 25th of July, and arrived, on the 1st of August, in the Bay of Naples. The fleet sailing in, with a gentle gale, and consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, most of them large ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a sight as had never been seen before in those parts. In his conference with Count Daun, the imperial viceroy, Sir George learned that the Spanish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, had landed in Sicily, and made themselves masters of a great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were then carrying on the siege of the citadel. Hereupon it was agreed, that the viceroy should send two thousand Germans to Messina, under the protection of the British fleet, to relieve that citadel. Whilst the necessary preparations were making for this service, the viceroy presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a valuable staff of command; and sent abundance of refreshments to the fleet. On the 6th of August, Sir George sailed from Naples, and on the 9th arrived in view of the Faro of Messina. According to the best accounts the admiral could obtain, he was led to conclude, that the Spanish fleet had

sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but, as he stood in towards Messina, he saw two Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time by the crew of a felucca that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and stood through the Faro with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of it drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven men-of-war, small and great, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, galleys, and store-ships. On sight of the English squadron, they stood away in good order. The admiral followed them all that day, and the succeeding night; and the next morning early, the English being pretty near them, the Marquis de Mari, rear-admiral, with six men-of-war, and all the galleys, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which the admiral detached Captain Walton, of the *Canterbury*, with five more ships, after them, whilst he himself pursued the main body of the Spanish fleet. About ten o'clock, two of his ships came up with them, and the engagement began, which continued till the evening, and ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards. The English received but little damage. The admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and whilst he was thus employed he received a letter from Captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that separated from the main fleet, under the command of the Marquis de Mari, in these few words:—

“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.

“*Canterbury*, off *Syracusa*, Aug. 16, 1718.”

These ships that captain Walton thrust into his margin, were four Spanish men-of-war, one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms. All these were taken. He burned four men-of-war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel.

Soon after was ended the war of Sicily, in which the fleet of Great Britain bore so great a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations. Having performed so many signal services, and brought the war to so fortunate a conclusion, the admiral departed from Italy, to attend the king at Hanover, where his Majesty rewarded his services by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain; and on his return to England he nominated him one of the privy council. In the year 1721, Sir George was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Torrington, and Baron Byng of Southill in Bedfordshire, and in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that order. After this his lordship had no command at sea, although he was singled out as an object of honour by George the Second, who, when he came to the crown, placed him at the head of naval affairs, by appointing him first lord of the admiralty, in which station he died in 1733, in the 70th year of his age. He was naturally of a tender constitution, but full of ardour; and by his indefatigable activity in the discharge of his duty upon all occasions, he had hardened his body to severe service, and had enured it to patience under the greatest fatigue. The early age at which he went to sea, would not admit of his making any great proficiency in literature; but his constant diligence, joined with excellent talents, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commissions with proper dignity and address. His maxim was, to leave nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application.

SIR WILLIAM JUMPER.—Few men, who have not lived to attain the rank of commanders-in-chief, have acquired so much renown as William Jumper; fortune having been singularly bountiful in throwing in his way a greater number of opportunities of distinguishing himself, as a private captain, than probably ever before fell to the lot of any one person. His first commission was that of second lieutenant of the *Resolution*, in November 1688. Having served as lieutenant of various ships, he was promoted in 1692, to be commander of the *Hopewell* fire-ship. In the following year he was appointed captain of one of the light vessels belonging to the main fleet. He was next promoted to the *Adventure*, of forty-four guns.

His attention to the duties of his station, procured him, in 1694, to be captain of the *Weymouth*, a fourth-rate, in which he quickly acquired great renown. Being on a cruise off the coast of Ireland, in the month of June, in company with the *Medway*, at that time commanded by captain Dilkes, they fell in with a ship of war, belonging to St. Maloes, called the *Invincible*. The *Weymouth*, being a better sailing ship than the *Medway*, began to engage the enemy at two o'clock on the morning of the 17th. The *Invincible* used every endeavour to escape, and had so far the advantage, in point of speed, that the *Weymouth* was unable to close with her till after a running fight, which continued till eight o'clock at night, when the enemy surrendered. On the 31st of the same month, after a long chase, he took a second, of inferior force indeed to the first, but little less important in a national point of view, as it had done much mischief to the commerce of the allied powers, and was esteemed one of the best sailing vessels that ever put to sea. On the 31st of August following, he took a third, mounting twenty-eight guns. The captain of this vessel being a man of most daring spirit, and having a chosen and numerous crew to support him, did not surrender till after a desperate action, in which he had thirty of his men killed, and twenty-five wounded.

The *Weymouth* being employed, for some months, in convoying the fleets to and from Ireland, we find nothing interesting till May 1695, during which month he captured two privateers, one of fourteen, the other of sixteen guns. On the 19th of July he fell in with another large privateer belonging to St. Maloes, pierced for forty-eight guns, though having only thirty-six on board. Being of larger dimensions than the *Weymouth* herself, and the French commander a man of natural gallantry, a spirited contest ensued. The enemy having lost all their masts and a considerable number of their men, were at length compelled to surrender. Honour, to the brave!

In November he captured a large private ship of war, which had been lent by the king to the merchants, and, when in the service of the former, had mounted forty guns, but when captured had only twenty-four. He continued during the whole of this year on the same kind of service; and in the beginning of December engaged and captured a French ship of war, called the *Fougueux*, pierced for sixty and mounting forty-eight guns, which, striking on a rock

during the engagement, sunk soon afterwards. Having in the interval captured several merchant vessels of small note, on the 22d of the same month he fell in with a French ship of war, mounting fifty guns, which he engaged, and would have taken, but that some cartridges taking fire on board the Weymouth, blew up the round house, and disabled many of the men upon the quarter-deck. During the confusion, the enemy edged away. He was afterwards made captain of the Lennox, one of the ships sent under Sir George Rooke, on the expedition against Cadiz; in which attack, he bore a greater part than any other naval commander, being ordered to cannonade St. Catharine's fort, and cover the landing of the troops; a service he completely executed, and with the most spirited address. In the following year he accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to the Mediterranean, and came back to England in the month of December; and, in the year following that, still keeping the command of the Lennox, again returned to the Mediterranean with the fleet under Sir George Rooke.

The brilliant success which crowned this expedition is well known; and in every operation the bravery of Jumper was singularly conspicuous. After being instrumental in the reduction of Gibraltar, he signalized himself no less remarkably at the battle off Malaga, having engaged and driven three of the enemy's ships out of the line. He was dangerously wounded in this encounter; but was not prevented by that accident from continuing in the service: nor does it even appear that he quitted his ship. Soon after his return to England he received the honour of knighthood.

In 1706, and again in 1707, he continued to be employed on the Lisbon station. Returning from the Straits with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the end of the latter year, he was detached, on the morning of the 22d of October, for Falmouth, where he arrived in safety. He never went to sea after this time; but was made superintendant of the ships at Chatham, and had a handsome pension granted him. In the year 1714 he was appointed commissioner of the navy at Plymouth; but did not long enjoy his new office. He died in the following year.

GEORGE II.—George II. ascended the throne, June 11th, 1727, and died 25th October, 1760, having thus reigned thirty-three years. George was a brave and able soldier, but no sailor. His manners were abrupt, and not very refined, but his temper and dispositions good; and, upon the whole, he was a respectable king. Like most of the Hanoverian family, he was on bad terms with his father; and this gave rise to an amusing incident thus related by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall:—"When George I. died suddenly at Osnaburgh, the cabinet sent the duke of Dorset to Kew, to conduct the new king to London. While the duke was getting ready, his duchess went on and informed the princess of Wales of her accession to the throne. George had, according to his custom, gone to bed after dinner, and his wife was afraid to disturb him. At length, taking off her shoes, she advanced slowly up to the bed side, the duchess remaining at the threshold. As soon as the princess came near the bed, a voice from under the clothes cried out in German, "Was is das?" "I am come, sir," answered she, "to announce to you the death of the king, which has taken place in Germany." "That is von damned lie, von damned trick of my father," returned the prince, "I do not believe one word of it."

During this reign, no wars of general importance were engaged in. In the earlier part of the reign the peaceful and prudent policy of Sir Robert Walpole prevailed; but, in 1739, repeated insults on the part of Spain, and some unnecessary party heats at home, rendered a declaration of hostilities against that power unavoidable. France pretended a neutrality, but her secret hostility becoming apparent, war was declared against that kingdom also in 1743. This war lasted till 1748, when it was terminated by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Of this period we have now to notice the principal naval transactions. For some time before the declaration of war, hostilities had been but ill disguised, and the opponents of the ministry were continually taunting them with a want of courage and conduct. Among others, admiral Vernon was loud in his reproaches, and boasted in his place in Parliament, that with six ships he could take the Spanish settlement of Portobello. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica station, and was therefore supposed to be well acquainted with those seas. His offer was echoed by the members in the opposition, the whole nation resounded his praise, and the ships were placed at his command.

Vernon arrived at Port Royal, Jamaica, on the 23d of October. He had the satisfaction to see the Diamond man-of-war standing into the harbour with two Spanish vessels in tow, one of which was a register ship with one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight, and clothing for six thousand men, on board. He sailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November with six ships of war. Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in sight of Portobello till the 20th, in the evening. On the 21st, in the morning, he weighed and plied to windward in line of battle. Orders had been given for a general attack, but the wind coming to the eastward, the admiral was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which the squadron was piloted by captain Rentone. When the Hampton Court, captain Watson, came within a cable's length of the fort, she was becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before she could bring her guns to bear, was exposed to a smart fire from the enemy. But as soon as she was in a situation to return the salute, she seemed in a moment a cloud of perpetual thunder. In the space of twenty-five minutes she is said to have fired four hundred balls. The Norwich, captain Herbert, and the Worcester, captain Main, were not long before they came up. These were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who, perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from several parts of the fort, made a signal for landing. Meanwhile, he luffed up as near the fort as possible, and, by means of his small arms, drove the garrison from the lower part of the battery. As the boats full of sailors and marines passed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The sailors were no sooner on shore than they scaled the wall, and, pulling up the soldiers after them, struck the Spanish colours in the lower battery, and hoisted an English ensign. This was no sooner perceived by the garrison in the upper part of the fort, than they hoisted a white flag, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison of this fort consisted of three hundred men, out of which there remained alive only thirty-five privates and five officers.

On the morning of the 22d, the admiral called a council of war, and, it being thought not advisable to attack the Gloria castle by day, orders were given for warping the ships up the following night. This circumspection proved unnecessary. The Spaniards hoisted a white flag, and im-

mediately sent a boat with a flag of truce, accepted the terms offered, and the British troops took immediate possession of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts.

The taking of Portobello, while it did honour to the British navy, reflected at the same time no inconsiderable degree of praise on the English ministry. There was an evident propriety in punishing the insolence of the Spaniards in the offending Port. Portobello was an asylum for the guarda-costas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only service he rendered to his country in the destruction of Portobello. His success enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where some of the factors and servants of the South Sea Company were confined. He wrote to the president of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and servants were immediately sent to Portobello.

On the news of this expedition, the whole nation became frantic with joy. Congratulatory addresses were presented by parliament, by the cities of London, Bristol, and others. The commons granted every demand of the crown. They voted twenty-eight thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and several men of war were added to those already in commission.

Admiral Vernon continued at Port-Royal till the 25th of February, 1740, on which day he sailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded, at intervals, during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring some of their churches and convents. On the 10th of March the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed in line of battle westward along the coast. The admiral having ordered the Windsor and the Greenwich to cruise off Carthagena, proceeded with the rest of his fleet to Portobello, in order to repair the damages sustained by the small craft in the late bombardment. This business being completed, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he sailed on the 22d, and steering southwest along shore, entered the river Chegre, which is but a few leagues distant from Portobello. At the mouth of this river there was a castle or fort, called St. Lorenzo, under whose protection the guarda-costas used to ride secure. The only two of these which now remained on the coast, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the misfortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-topsail-yard. He was on board the Stafford. This accident obliged him to make a signal for

the Norwich to sail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. The Norwich was then commanded by captain Herbert, and the ketches were conducted by captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The castle mounted only eleven brass cannon, and as many patereroes. Nevertheless it sustained a furious bombardment, and a continued canonade from three of the largest ships in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garrison surrendered.

In this year the celebrated Anson began his voyage to the south seas. He sailed from St. Helen's, on the 18th of September, with five men-of-war. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle sailed for the West Indies with twenty-one ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces, commanded by lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which consisted of a hundred and seventy sail, had scarcely taken its departure from the Land's-end, before it was scattered and dispersed by a violent tempest. The admiral nevertheless pursued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral island of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this island the expedition sustained an irreparable loss in the death of lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer. The command of the land forces now devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamicia, sailing near the island of Hispaniola, discovered four large ships of war. He made the signal for an equal number of his squadron to give them chase. The chase refused to bring to, and lord Augustus Fitzroy, who commanded the English detachment, gave one of them a broadside, and an engagement ensued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoisted French colours, and consequently the firing ceased, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the mistake and parted, but with loss of men on both sides.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica in January, 1741, where he joined admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with a considerable number of frigates, bomb-ketches and fire-ships. The number of seamen was about fifteen thousand, and that of the land forces at least twelve thousand, including four battalions

raised in America, and five hundred negroes from Jamaica. This formidable armament, was certainly equal to any attempt against the Spanish settlements. Their treasure might have been intercepted, and their colonies easily reduced. But the complete humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumstances. Vernon's usual promptitude and vigour seem to have failed him—the commander of the land forces was unequal to his duties, and the expedition turned out a disgraceful failure.

In some farther attempts made conjointly by Vernon and Wentworth, they were far from being successful, the discord between them marring all their projects. It would seem that the admiral was overbearing and the general incapable. In the meantime, the transactions undertaken in Europe were not of great importance, and such as they were, not successfully conducted.

On the commencement of the war with France, much was expected from our Mediterranean fleet, under the command of admiral Mathews.

The French and Spanish fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line and six frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and two fire-ships, all moored in the Bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the united fleet was one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and of men sixteen thousand five hundred; the guns on board the British fleet were two thousand four hundred and ninety, and the number of men fifteen thousand. But the number of ships of the line was equal, and these were equally manned. However, on a comparative view of the whole force of each squadron, there was an evident superiority in favour of the English, in justice to whom, we must, nevertheless, remember, that having been long at sea, their ships were foul, whilst those of the enemy were clean, and in fine sailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to support the disgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, sent positive orders for them to proceed to sea. On the 8th of February they were perceived to be under sail, the French admiral, de Court, having hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*. Admiral Mathews immediately made a signal for unmooring, and the British fleet got under weigh on the 9th. During this and the following day, these two fleets continued manœuvring in sight of each other, apparently endeavouring to gain the advantage

of situation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no great inclination to fight, and his ships sailed so well, that he might easily have escaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of skill, or want of hands, proceeded so tardily, that it was impossible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater distance than on the preceding day, and admiral Mathews had the mortification to find admiral Lestock's division considerably astern. He now imagined that de Court's intention was to draw him towards the Straits, in expectation of a reinforcement from Brest. He therefore determined to engage the enemy as soon as possible, notwithstanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at too great a distance from the centre. Accordingly, at half-past eleven, admiral Mathews made the signal to engage; which signal Lestock did not repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, so far astern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the English, was opposite to the enemy's rear, consisting of the Spanish squadron; and rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, was abreast of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets situated, when admiral Mathews hoisted the signal for engaging. Himself in the *Namur*, and captain Cornwall, in the *Marlborough*, bore down upon the Spanish admiral and the *Isabella*, and began the attack about half-past one o'clock. About two o'clock, rear-admiral Rowley, in the *Barfleur*, and captain Osborne, in the *Caroline*, came up with the French admiral and the *Ferme*, and engaged them some time. The brave captain Cornwall lost both his legs by one shot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a mast. The *Norfolk* obliged the *Constant* to quit the line. Meanwhile the *Princessa* and *Somerset* were disabled by the *Poder*, but she being afterwards engaged by captain Hawke, in the *Berwick*, was dismasted and obliged to strike.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his scattered fleet, bore away. The British fleet pursued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in sight, admiral Mathews, being apprehensive that they intended to decoy him from the coast of Italy, made a signal to discontinue the chase. The French squadron put into *Alicant* on the 16th, and the Spaniards into *Carthagera* on the day following. The British fleet having spent several days to no purpose, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in

vainly attempting to regain their former station off Toulon, were at length obliged, by contrary winds, to bear away for the Island of Minorca.

Thus ended, chiefly in smoke, this battle, which seemed to threaten a tremendous conflict; and which, from the superiority of the British fleet, ought to have annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. Admiral Mathews was so dissatisfied with Lestock's conduct, that he suspended him from his command, and sent him to England. That Lestock did not fight, is most certain. He said in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authorised to do, because, though the signal for engaging was made, yet that for the line of battle was still abroad. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular, without any impeachment of his abilities as a naval commander, may surely be admitted, when we consider him bearing down upon the enemy, and preparing to engage; but it was a feeble excuse for declining an attack. The misfortune originated in a misunderstanding between Mathews and Lestock; the latter of whom sacrificed his own reputation, to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too successful; for, by the sentence of a court-martial in England, admiral Mathews was dismissed, and rendered incapable of serving the king; Lestock was acquitted. The people of England were, however, of a very different opinion from the court, and posterity will do justice to both commanders. Mathews was, doubtless, a brave and an honest man; Lestock was an artful, vindictive disciplinarian. Whether he was really a coward, cannot be positively determined; but if he was not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honesty. As second in command, he had no business with the propriety or impropriety of orders. The last order or signal, supersedes all the preceding signals, and ought to be immediately obeyed, regardless of any apparent impropriety or absurdity. The signal for the line of battle being abroad, when that for engaging was hoisted, was a pitiful excuse for not fighting. Lestock evidently saw that the enemy was in our power, and though the admiral's signals might seem somewhat inconsistent, his intentions were not equivocal. Mathews might want head; Lestock certainly wanted heart. The one might deserve censure; the other ought to have been shot.

Nothing deserving of particular notice occurred till 1747,

when the French formed a design against our East India settlements, and, for this purpose, a considerable armament was prepared at Brest.

The British ministry sent a powerful fleet to the coast of France, commanded by vice-admiral Anson. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruising off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of May, fell in with the French fleet, consisting of thirty-eight sail, nine of which shortened sail, and prepared to engage, whilst the rest bore away with all the sail they could make. Admiral Anson first formed his squadron in line of battle; but, perceiving the enemy begin to sheer off, he made a signal for his whole fleet to give chase, and engage promiscuously. The *Centurion* came up with the sternmost ship of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windsor*, who were soon warmly engaged with five of the French squadron. The *Centurion* had her main-top-mast shot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop astern; but she was soon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great spirit and gallantry, till about seven in the evening, when the whole fleet struck their colours. The *Diamant* was the last French ship that submitted, after fighting the *Bristol* near three hours. In justice to our enemy, it is necessary to remember, that the squadron commanded by admiral Anson consisted of fourteen ships of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and a fire-ship, with 922 guns, and 6260 men on board; and that the French admiral had no more than five line-of-battle ships, and as many frigates, 442 guns, and 3171 men. Admiral Anson, in the mean time, detached the *Monmouth*, the *Yarmouth*, and the *Nottingham*, in pursuit of the convoy, and they returned with the *Vigilant* and *Modeste*, both of twenty-two guns, the rest having made their escape. But though we acknowledge the great superiority of the British squadron, it is necessary to state, that no more than eight English ships were engaged. Captain Grenville, of the *Defiance*, a very gallant officer, lost his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and twenty; that of the enemy to seven hundred. Captain Boscawen was wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball. De la Jonquiere, the French admiral, was also wounded in the same part; one French captain was killed, and another lost a leg.

Admiral Anson returned to England, and brought the

captive squadron safe to an anchor at Spithead. He set out immediately for London, where he was graciously received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear-admiral Warren was made knight of the bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet was brought through the city of London, in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, captain Fox in the *Kent*, with the *Hampton Court*, the *Eagle*, the *Lion*, the *Chester* and the *Hector*, with two fire-ships, sailed on a cruise, designing to intercept a fleet of St. Domingo merchantmen, under the convoy of four French men-of-war. After cruising a month between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of 170 sail. They were immediately deserted by their men-of-war, and forty-six of them were taken.

The British ministry, having received intelligence that nine French men-of-war of the line had sailed from Brest, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchantmen to the West Indies, ordered rear-admiral Hawke, with fourteen men-of-war, to sail immediately in quest of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of August. The French fleet, with two hundred and fifty-two merchant vessels, sailed from the Isle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the British squadron. As soon as the French admiral became sensible of his situation, he made a signal for the trade to make the best of their way with the *Content* and frigates, and for the rest of his squadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke first made a signal to form the line; but finding the French begin to sheer off, he ordered his whole fleet to give chase, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The *Lion* and the *Louisa* began the conflict about noon; and were soon followed by the *Tilbury*, the *Eagle*, the *Yarmouth*, the *Windsor*, and the *Devonshire*, which ships shared the danger and glory of the day.

About four o'clock, four of the French squadron struck, viz., *Le Neptune*, *Le Monarque*, *Le Fougueux*, and the *Severn*; at five, *Le Trident* followed their example, and *Le Terrible* surrendered about seven. Be it, however, remembered, to the credit of their several commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great spirit and resolution, and that they did not submit until they were entirely disabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about eight hundred, and of prisoners three thousand three hundred

men. M. Fromentierre, who commanded *Le Neptune*, was among the slain, and their commander-in-chief was wounded in the leg and in the shoulder. The English had one hundred and fifty-four killed, and five hundred and fifty-eight wounded. Captain Saumarez, of the *Nottingham*, was among the former. We lost no other officer of distinction. On the last day of October, admiral Hawke brought these six French men-of-war to Portsmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his services, was soon after honoured with the order of the bath.

This was the last naval action of importance previously to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October, 1748. The whole number of vessels taken from the Spaniards since the commencement of the war, amounted to one thousand two hundred and forty-nine; from the French, to two thousand one hundred and eighty-five; in all, three thousand four hundred and thirty-four. The entire loss of the English amounted to three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight ships.

It is hardly practicable to give the memoirs of our naval heroes in connection with one particular reign, as the actions of most of them extended over a much longer period of time. In concluding this section, we can do little more than enumerate some distinguished naval officers, connected with the transactions of the period closed by the peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Sir Charles Wager was of obscure origin. He is first mentioned as being appointed a captain, in 1692. By persevering good conduct and bravery, he raised himself to the rank of admiral; was first lord of the admiralty in 1733, and died in his 77th year, in 1743.

Of Sir Peter Warren, who was M.P. for Westminster, and was so popular among the citizens of London as to be elected lord mayor, an office, however, which he declined to serve; of admiral West, Watson, and some others, our limits do not admit of our entering into particulars.

Sir John Norris was of an Irish family, and was highly distinguished for nautical skill, as well as for undaunted courage. After sixty years' active service, he died at an advanced age, in 1749.

ADMIRAL VERNON.—Edward Vernon was the descendant of an ancient Norman family, and was born at Westminster, on the 12th of November, 1684. His father

who was secretary to king William and queen Mary, gave him a good education, intending to qualify him for some civil employment; but the youth was desirous of entering into the sea-service, and pursued, with application and success, those studies which were connected with his intended line of profession. His first expedition at sea was under vice-admiral Hopson, when the French fleet and Spanish galleons were destroyed at Vigo. In 1702, he served in an expedition to the West Indies, under commodore Walker; and, in 1704, on board the fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which convoyed the king of Spain to Lisbon, on which occasion Vernon had the honour to receive a valuable ring, and a hundred guineas, from that monarch's own hand. He was also at the battle off Malaga, on the 13th of August the same year.

In 1706, he was appointed to the command of the *Dolphin* frigate. In this vessel he was employed on the Mediterranean station, under Sir John Leake, who soon afterwards appointed him to the *Rye*, and sent him to England in the month of August following, with news of the surrender of Alicant. He returned back to the Mediterranean in the same ship, and continued there till the end of the year 1707, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

In the early part of the year 1708, captain Vernon was appointed to the *Jersey*, of forty-eight guns, and sailed for the West Indies, in the month of May, in company with a reinforcement for the squadron under Sir Charles Wager, who then commanded on that station. On his arrival at Jamaica, the *Jersey* was employed in cruising against the enemy, and captain Vernon's success was highly honourable to his vigilance and activity. He continued to command the *Jersey*, and remained in the West Indies till nearly the end of the war. In cruising to windward of Jamaica, he captured a French ship, belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men; and during the remainder of the summer, the *Jersey* composed one of the squadron under commodore Littleton, which was employed in watching the movements of the enemy at Carthagena.

The peace of Utrecht, which happened soon after this period, and gave almost thirty years of repose to Europe, after the tranquillity of half the nations of the civilised world had been, for nearly an equal period, disturbed by the ambition of Louis XIV., placed Vernon for the greater part of that time in the obscurity of a private situation.

On the accession of king George II., in 1797, Vernon was chosen member of parliament for the borough of Penryn in Cornwall, and soon distinguished himself by his opposition to the pacific administration of Sir Robert Walpole. It has been asserted by some writers, that the happiest era of the ancient world was from the battle of Actium to the death of Augustus; and, in modern times, the same honourable distinction has been awarded to the period when Sir Robert Walpole conducted the affairs of Great Britain. The general effects of his administration were fortunate for the interests of humanity; and during the greater part of the time that he held the reins of power, France was governed by a minister of a similar disposition. Still the measures of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, however excellent in their consequences, and after a lapse of so many years that we can weigh them without being influenced in our judgment by the passions, politics, or interest of the day, we must pronounce them to be some of the soundest efforts of enlightened policy which human ingenuity has ever contrived; these measures, we remark, were strenuously opposed by men of great political talents and unbounded powers of oratory. But the opposition of Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and their party, great though the talents of the leaders, was little more than a struggle for the emoluments of office, exasperated by feelings of personal animosity; while the opposition of Vernon and Shippen, proceeding from very different causes, flowed from most disinterested motives, and was invariably directed against the minister, and not against the man.

As a speaker in the house of commons, Vernon was one of Sir Robert Walpole's most formidable opponents; he had no pretensions, indeed, to what is usually called eloquence, nor much arrangement in his arguments, but he possessed a sufficient command of words, and delivered his opinions with generous warmth and manly freedom. The honour of England he thought endangered by the pacific councils of Sir Robert Walpole. His opinion, which was always forcibly delivered, invariably flowed from a persuasion in his own breast of its rectitude; and this conviction, which was, perhaps, most apparent when his judgment erred, as at such times it assumed a more prominent shape, wrought more on his hearers, than axioms more true, uttered by tongues more eloquent, could have done. Though a warm, and sometimes a diffuse, orator, his meaning was always ob-

vious; he never bewildered the house with metaphysical sophistries, nor descended to hide his meaning by dubious or obscure allusions. He perhaps spoke too often for his reputation as a parliamentary debater; for, on occasions where neither experience lent her aid, nor the pursuits of his life had been favourable to the acquisition of such kind of knowledge, he appeared in the foremost ranks of opposition. This does not derogate from his character. What man of moderate intellect, in the inferior walks of life, does not think himself capable of adding something to the knowledge of those whose lives have been spent in the acquisition of a particular science? Captain Vernon possessed, in an eminent degree, the virtue of frankness, and constantly expressed his sentiments without reserve. Such a character must necessarily have had great weight in a British house of commons. Though a copious speaker, and one who rarely wanted words on a debate, he never seemed on any subject to have exhausted all that his mind could furnish towards its elucidation; but having said much, and apparently all that could be advanced, he seemed to possess a fund of information superior still to what he had displayed. In debate he was hasty and impetuous, from a constitutional violence of temper, and often let fall unguarded expressions, which in his cooler moments he probably would have been glad to retract. The expedition against Portobello is supposed to have originated in some hasty expressions uttered by him in the debates relative to the aggressions of the Spanish guardacostas in the American seas; reproaching the administration with the inactivity of their measures, he pledged himself, as we have seen, that he would reduce the town of Portobello with a force not exceeding six ships of the line. His success in that enterprise we have already described, and we have little to add regarding his subsequent exploits. He was prone to take offence at slight or imaginary insults, and on one of these occasions expressed himself so disagreeably to the admiralty, that he was deprived of all command. This happened on the 11th of April, 1746, and he was never afterwards restored to his rank. From this period he lived in retirement, troubling himself but seldom with public affairs, except attending the house of commons, as member for the borough of Ipswich. He died suddenly at his seat in Suffolk, on the 30th of October, 1757, in the seventy-third year of his age. His character may be summed up in a few words. He was brave and courageous to an excess; his abilities as a

seaman were of the first class; and, as a man, his integrity and honour were unsullied. But his temper was irritable: he had too great a contempt for the talents of others, and was impatient of any species of control. These faults were considerably increased by the unbounded and almost unexampled popularity which, during the greater part of a long life, he had the happiness to enjoy; and which, though more than half a century has elapsed since his death, still continues to be attached to his name.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle was not concluded in a very cordial spirit; and, notwithstanding assurances of friendship, petty hostilities were practised, particularly by France, and preparations for war were made, until, in 1755, it became obvious that peace could no longer be preserved. Early in that year, intelligence was received, that a fleet of men-of-war was preparing to sail from different ports in France to America, with a number of land forces on board. The British ministry gave immediate orders to equip a squadron, and, towards the latter end of April, admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, sailed for America. He was soon after followed by admiral Holbourne with six line-of-battle ships and one frigate, the ministry having received subsequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, consisted of twenty-five ships of the line. This fleet sailed from Brest in the beginning of May; but, after sailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the English channel, the commander-in-chief returned to Brest, with nine of the capital ships, and the rest proceeded to North America under the command of De la Mothe. Admiral Boscawen's orders were to attack the French fleet wherever he should meet with it. Being joined by admiral Holbourne, he continued cruising off the Banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron in their attempt to enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But the thick fog, so frequent on that coast, favoured their enterprise, and De la Mothe arrived safe at Quebec with his whole squadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, which fell in with the *Dunkirk*, captain Howe, and the *Defiance*, captain Andrews, and, after a resolute engagement of five hours, struck.

From the capture of these ships the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As soon as it was known in Europe, the French ambassador left London, and the Bri-

tish ministry issued general orders for making reprisals in every part of the globe. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year.

For the credit of England, it is to be wished that a formal declaration of war had preceded the first act of hostility on our part. Previously to such declaration, every act of hostility is a piracy against the subjects of either nation.

About the close of the year 1755, overtures of accommodation were made on the part of France. At length the destination of the armament at Toulon became certainly known; the French squadron consisted of thirteen ships of the line, and fifteen thousand land forces were there ready for embarkation; nevertheless, only ten British ships were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to admiral Byng. With this squadron, not completely manned, he sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits. He arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the *Louisa*, captain Edgcombe, who informed him that he had been driven from Minorca by a French squadron of thirteen ships of the line, which had landed 15,000 men on that island. The admiral gave immediate orders for the ships to complete their provisions with all possible expedition. On the third day after his arrival, he went on shore to confer with general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be transported to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three several letters of instruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the admiralty to admiral Byng.

The council of war, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required, and Byng sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and on the 16th, arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the *Phoenix*, captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the siege of St. Philip. He then steered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that island until the morning of the 19th, when he saw the English flag still flying on the castle of St. Philip, and several bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. Early in the morning, the admiral dispatched captain Hervey, in the *Phoenix*, with the *Chesterfield* and *Dolphin*, with

orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if possible, to convey a letter to general Blakeney. Captain Hervey got round the Laire before nine o'clock in the morning; he made signals to the garrison for a boat to come off, but without effect, and the admiral, about this time, discovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Byng now stood towards the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a signal for the line of battle ahead. At seven in the evening, the French squadron, being then about two leagues distant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the English admiral, not choosing to relinquish that advantage, also put his ships about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be discovered, but it became visible before noon, and at two o'clock admiral Byng made a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral West was then at too great a distance to comply with both these orders, he therefore bore away seven points from the wind, and with his whole division attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that several of their ships were soon obliged to quit the line. Had admiral Byng been equally alert, it is most probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca saved; but the enemy's centre keeping their station, and Byng's division not advancing, West was prevented from pursuing his advantage, by the apprehension of being separated from the rest of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the *Intrepid*, the sternmost ship of the van, lost her fore-top-mast, which, according to Byng's account of the action, obliged his whole division to back their sails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared that immediately after the signal for engaging, whilst the van were bearing down upon the enemy, admiral Byng, in the *Ramillies*, edged away some points, by which means the *Trident* and *Louisa* got to windward of him, and that, in order to bring them again into their stations, he backed his mizen-top-sail, and endeavoured to back his main-top-sail. This manœuvre necessarily retarded all the ships in his division, and gave the enemy time to escape. *Galissoniere* seized the opportunity, and, his ships being clean, was soon out of danger.

From this relation of facts, it will be perceived that the admiral's conduct was not altogether justifiable. It was

in his power to fight, and, from a comparison of the two fleets, it will seem probable that a decisive victory might have been obtained. Whether admiral Byng's conduct is to be ascribed to his prudence, or his want of skill, is difficult to determine. Probably these causes operated in conjunction to produce the fatal effect. The only plausible argument that can be urged in extenuation of his conduct is, that he might be too strongly impressed by the recollection of Mathews and Lestock; the first of whom was punished for fighting, not according to rule, and the latter not punished, though he did not fight at all.

The English had, in this engagement, forty-two men killed, and one hundred and sixty-eight wounded; the French, one hundred and forty-five wounded, and twenty-six killed. The French fleet soon disappeared, and at eight in the evening, admiral Byng made a signal for his squadron to bring to, and, finding that three of them were damaged in their masts, called a council of war, which decided that there was no prospect of relieving Minorca, and that, lest any attack should be made on Gibraltar, the fleet should proceed thither.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ships of the line, which were sent from England in consequence of intelligence that the French were fitting out more ships at Toulon. Thus re-enforced, admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garrison; but while he was with great activity preparing for this second enterprise, admiral Hawke, admiral Saunders, and lord Tyrawley arrived, commissioned to arrest admiral Byng, admiral West, and governor Fowke, who were, accordingly, sent prisoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, sailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to see the French flag flying on St. Philip's castle. As soon as the garrison surrendered, Galissoniere retired to Toulon, where he remained in security, whilst Sir Edward Hawke asserted the naval empire of Great Britain, in sight of an enemy elated with the conquest of a small island, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquish.

The people of England received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general dissatisfaction, and, without the least inquiry into the conduct of the ministry, pointed all their

resentment against that unfortunate admiral. The ministry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the resentment of the people from themselves. That Byng's conduct was, in many respects, extremely reprehensible, is most certain; but it is not less certain, that the ministry were equally inexcusable for not sending troops to Minorca much sooner, and for not giving Byng a superior fleet. If the five ships which afterwards sailed to his assistance, had made part of his squadron, Galissoniere must have fled at his approach, and Minorca would have been saved.

Byng, West, and Fowke arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where admiral West was graciously received by the king. The general was tried for disobedience of orders in not sending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and sentenced to be suspended for a year. The king confirmed the sentence, and afterwards dismissed him the service. Admiral Byng, after continuing some time in arrest at Portsmouth, was escorted to Greenwich hospital, where he remained close prisoner till December, the time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the *St. George* in Portsmouth harbour. The court-martial consisted of four admirals, and nine captains of the navy, and sat a month. They found him guilty of a breach of that part of the twelfth article of war, which says,—“or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of his majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve.” He was, therefore, sentenced to be shot, that being the punishment positively ordained for a breach of this article. The court, however, being of opinion that admiral Byng's misconduct did not proceed from want of courage or disaffection, added to the report of their proceedings to the lords of the admiralty, a petition, requesting their lordships most earnestly to recommend him to his majesty's clemency.

The lords of the admiralty, having compared the sentence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth article of war, which are, “Every person in the fleet, who through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall,” &c., and not finding the crime of negligence, he being acquitted of the other two, imputed by the court, were in doubt concerning the legality of the sentence; they, therefore, presented a memorial to the king, requesting that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken. This was accordingly done,

and the judges pronounced it a legal sentence. After the lords of the admiralty had signed a warrant for admiral Byng's execution, some of the members of the court-martial expressed a wish to be released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy. A bill for this purpose accordingly passed the house of commons; but when it came to a second reading in the house of lords, each member of the court-martial was separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent. Strange as it may seem, they all answered in the negative. and, on the 14th of March, admiral John Byng was shot on board the *Monarque*, in the harbour of Portsmouth. He met his death with calmness and equanimity, having delivered, and desired to be made public, the following paper:—

“ On board his majesty's ship, *Monarque*, in Portsmouth harbour, March 14, 1757.—A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecutions, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies; nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create. Persuaded I am, justice will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim, destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me at this last moment that I know *my own* innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes *can* be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty, according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability, for his majesty's honour and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success, and that the armament, under my command, proved too weak to succeed, in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage or disaffection; my heart acquits me of these crimes, but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges; and if yet, the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their

minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside, as my resentment has done. The supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause.

J. BYNG."

A change of ministry having occurred, the helm of affairs was now under the guidance of William Pitt, afterwards earl Chatham. His first attempt, which was an attempt to destroy the French shipping at Rochfort, failed. In 1758, our arms were more successful. The reduction of Louisbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a naval armament, adequate to the purpose, was prepared with all possible expedition, and the command given to admiral Boscawen. The formidable French fleet which had protected Louisbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a shattered condition. These ships being repaired, were intended to return to their former station in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented, by the vigilant alacrity of the British minister. Admiral Boscawen sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th of February, with forty-one men-of-war. Meanwhile, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke blocked up the French ports in the Bay of Biscay, and another squadron, commanded by admiral Osborne, was sent to cruise between Cape de Gatte and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain. There were, at this time, three small squadrons of French ships of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagena, and Brest; which squadrons, under the command of Monsieur du Quesne and Monsieur de la Clue, had orders to steal away for Louisbourg, jointly or separately. The former of these commanders, in order to join the latter at Carthagena, sailed from Toulon, on the 25th April, on board the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, attended by the *Orphèe* of sixty-four, the *Oriflamme* of fifty, and *Pleiade* of twenty-four guns. Admiral Osborne, expecting the departure of this squadron from Toulon, had stationed the Gibraltar frigate in the offing of that harbour, to watch their motions. As soon as Du Quesne's squadron appeared, the Gibraltar sheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy so effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, he found himself in the midst of Osborne's fleet. In this critical situation, the French admiral made a signal for his squadron to disperse: each ship immediately steered a different course, and were as imme-

diately pursued by detachments from Osborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to block up the harbour of Carthagera. The *Pleiade*, being a prime sailer, escaped. The *Oriflamme* was chased by the *Monarque* and *Montague*, and escaped destruction by running under the guns of a small Spanish fort. The *Orphèe* was pursued by the *Revenge* and *Berwick*, and was taken by the first of these ships, in sight of Carthagera. The *Foudroyant* was chased by the *Monmouth*, *Swiftsure*, and *Hampton Court*. About seven in the morning, the *Monmouth* and *Foudroyant* began to fire at each other, the rest of the fleet being then totally out of sight. The disproportion between the two ships was very great. The *Foudroyant* had a thousand men on board, and mounted eighty guns; the *Monmouth* mounted only sixty-four, and her men were no more than four hundred and seventy. This remarkable disparity, notwithstanding, captain Gardiner resolved to vanquish his enemy. Thus determined, he brought his ship within pistol-shot of his antagonist, and now the battle raged with great fury. About nine o'clock, captain Gardiner was shot through the head by a musket ball. Soon after the captain fell, the *Monmouth's* mizen-mast fell by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the *Monmouth* returned the compliment a few minutes after, on the mizen-mast of the *Foudroyant* being shot away. This disaster was soon followed by the fall of her main-mast, which giving fresh spirits to the English, their fire became so incessant, that the French sailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the *Foudroyant* struck a little after one o'clock. This action is one of the most glorious in the naval history of Britain.

The *Orphèe* and *Foudroyant* being taken, and the commander-in-chief being a prisoner, Monsieur de la Clue gave up all thoughts of passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned to Toulon, where his squadron was laid up. But the French ministry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louisbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a fleet of transports and store-ships, at Rochfort and Bourdeaux. These transports, with three thousand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to sail under convoy of six ships of the line and several frigates. Such, however, was the intelligence and alacrity of the English minister, that effectual measures were taken to frustrate the

design. Sir Edward Hawke, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, sailed down the Bay of Biscay, and on the 3d of April brought up in Basque Road, where he discovered five French ships of the line and seven frigates at anchor off the Isle of Aix. They no sooner saw the English fleet, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in great confusion. Some of them escaped to sea; but far the greater number threw their guns and stores overboard, and, running into shoal water, stuck in the mud. Next morning, several of their men-of-war and transports were seen lying on their broadsides; but, being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly satisfied with having frustrated their intention of sailing to America.

As before observed, some of the store-ships and transports, destined for North America, were to sail from Bourdeaux. These were twelve in number. They sailed under convoy of the *Galathée*, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the Bay of Biscay they fell in with the *Essex*, of sixty-four guns, and the *Pluto* and *Proserpine* fire-ships, which were on their passage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a short, but smart conflict, the French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the transports, were taken. Two more of these transports were afterwards taken by the *Antelope* and *Speedwell* sloops.

In the same year, an English expedition, planned and guided by a quaker, named Cumming, took Fort Louis and all the settlements belonging to France on the river Senegal in Africa.

Mr Pitt's comprehensive plan of operation was too rational to be disconcerted by such miscarriages as were justly to be attributed to a want of spirit in the execution. The expedition to the coast of France, of the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the minister's opinion, that a diversion of the like nature was a proper measure. For this purpose, in the month of May, near fourteen thousand men were encamped on the Isle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillerymen, and five hundred and forty light horse. One of the regiments of infantry, being destined for another service, did not embark, so that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thousand. Two distinct fleets were assembled at Spithead: the first commanded by lord Anson, of

twenty-two sail of the line; the second under commodore Howe, consisting of several frigates, sloops, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, tenders, cutters, and transports. This fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of June, and the object in view was in a great measure accomplished; but as in this, the fleet was only indirectly employed, farther notice of it is unnecessary.

In the meantime, admiral Boscawen had arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia, whence he sailed with an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of major-general Amherst. This fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty-seven sail, anchored on the 2d of June, in the Bay of Gabarus, about two leagues westward of Louisbourg. The French governor had taken every precaution to prevent a surprise.

On the 8th of June, the grenadiers and light infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed sloops began an incessant fire upon the enemy; and the boats rowed briskly towards the shore in three divisions, commanded by generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the surf ran so high that many of the boats were staved, and some of the soldiers drowned. General Wolfe leaped into the sea, and being followed by his whole division, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the nearest battery. The other two divisions followed his example, and the enemy soon fled in confusion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and stores were landed with speed, and the town was regularly invested. General Amherst having secured his camp by redoubts and epaulments, now began his approaches in form. In landing the troops about a hundred men were killed or drowned, and about seventy boats lost.

Drucour, having received his detachments into the town, destroyed his out-posts, and all buildings within two miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the British general were at first slow, owing to the difficulty of landing his stores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marshy country, and the necessity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile, general Amherst, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ships in the harbour, and also from the island battery, detached general Wolfe, with a body of troops, with orders to march round the north-east harbour and take possession of the light-house

point. This order was executed with alacrity, and a battery erected, which silenced that of the enemy on the island. On the 29th the besieged sunk four ships at the entrance of the harbour. They made several sallies from the town, and were repulsed with loss. The British army continued to approach the town in a regular and scientific manner, and the enemy displayed no less resolution and skill in the science of defence. On the 13th of July the besiegers were about six hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21st, a shell from our battery on the light-house point set fire to one of the enemy's ships in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men-of-war having caught the flame, were also destroyed, so that two ships of force only remained. In the night of the 25th, the first of these two was set on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of seamen under the command of captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit the naval reader will read of with pleasure. By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ship in the fleet assembled, about noon, under the stern of the *Namur*. These boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with pistols and cutlasses, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midshipman. Thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's squadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there reassembled in two divisions, under the two captains, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the seamen were profoundly silent. They passed very near the island-battery undiscovered; the darkness of the night, and a thick fog, prevented their being seen, whilst the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and musketry, both from the besieged and besiegers, effectually covered the noise of their oars. As soon as each division came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men-of-war were immediately surrounded by the boats, and were first alarmed by the firing of their own sentinels. All the boats fell aboard at the same instant, and the several crews, following the example of their officers, scrambled up every part of the ships, and in a few minutes took possession of their prizes.

Day-light and the shouts of our sailors, having discovered to the enemy on shore, that their ships were in possession of the English, they immediately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious

discharge of cannon ensued. Those who were in possession of the *Prudent*, finding her aground, set her on fire, and then joined the boats, which were now employed in towing off the *Bienfaisant*, which, with the assistance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and secured.

On the 26th, whilst Boscawen was preparing to send six ships into the harbour, he received an offer to capitulate. The admiral insisted on the garrison remaining prisoners of war, and with these terms the governor finally complied. He yielded to irresistible necessity. His ships were all destroyed or taken; his cannon were dismantled; his garrison diminished, and the remainder harassed and dispirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vanished, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. The capitulation being signed, the British troops took possession of Louisbourg on the 27th, and the two islands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to Britain. The ships of war lost by the French on this occasion were not fewer than twelve.

About this time captain Forrest signalled his courage in the West Indies. Having received intelligence that there was a considerable French fleet at Port-au-Prince ready to sail for Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruise between Hispaniola and the little island Goave. He disguised his ship with tarpaulins, hoisted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid discovery, allowed several small vessels to pass without giving them chase. The second day after his arrival, he perceived a fleet of seven sail steering to the westward. He kept from them to prevent suspicion, but, at the approach of night pursued them with all the sail he could crowd. About ten in the evening he came up with two vessels of the chase, one of which fired a gun, and the other sheered off. The ship which had fired, no sooner discovered her enemy, than she submitted. Forrest manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight sail to leeward, near the harbour of Petit Goave, ordered them to stand for that place, and to intercept any vessels that attempted to reach it. He himself, in the *Augusta*, sailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. Three returned his fire; but having soon struck their colours, they were secured, and employed in taking the other vessels, of which none had the fortune to escape. The nine sail, which, by this well-conducted stratagem, had fallen into the power

of one ship, and that even in the sight of their own harbours, were safely conducted to Jamaica, where the sale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forrest acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of captain Tyrrel secured the English navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this commander demolished a fort on the Island of Martinico, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the same year, he, in his own ship, the Buckingham of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the Weazle sloop commanded by captain Boles, discovered, between the islands of Guadaloupe and Montserrat, a fleet of nineteen sail under convoy of the Florissant, a French man-of-war of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largest carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-six guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardless of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chase in the Buckingham; and the Weazle, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the Florissant. Though she sustained it without considerable damage, captain Tyrrel ordered captain Boles to keep aloof, as his vessel could not be supposed to bear the shock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The Florissant made a running fight with her stern chase, while the two frigates annoyed the Buckingham in her pursuit. At length she came within pistol shot of the Florissant, and poured in a broadside, which did great execution. The salutation was returned with spirit, and the battle became close and obstinate. Captain Tyrrel being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, and the command devolved on his first lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The second lieutenant took the command, and finally silenced the enemy's fire. On board the Florissant one hundred and eighty men were slain, and three hundred wounded. She was so much disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat. The largest frigate received equal damage. The Buckingham had seven men killed and seventeen dangerously wounded: she suffered much in her masts and rigging, which was the only circumstance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under so powerful a convoy.

During the next year occurred the capture of Quebec, by the brave general Wolfe, and in this enterprise, as well as in various others against the French colonies, the navy nobly supported the army, although the enemy were now too weak

at sea in that quarter to give any opportunity for naval distinction on its own element.

The honour of the British flag was effectually maintained by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had assembled there a considerable armament, under the command of De la Clue, which some believed to be destined for America, while others conjectured that it was designed to reinforce the squadron at Brest, and to co-operate with it in an intended descent on the English coast. At present De la Clue continued to lie in the harbour of Toulon, before which admiral Boscawen took his station with fourteen ships of the line, besides frigates and fireships.

Boscawen, having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, and tried every art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ships of the line to advance and burn two French vessels lying close to the mouth of the harbour. They met with a warm reception from several batteries, which had not been before perceived; and, the wind unfortunately subsiding into a calm, they sustained such damage, as made it convenient for the English admiral to put into Gibraltar to refit his shattered ships. De la Clue seized this opportunity of sailing in hopes of passing the Gut of Gibraltar unmolested, during the absence of the English fleet; but Boscawen had previously detached two frigates, of which one cruised off Malaga, and the other hovered between Estepona and the fortress of Ceuta, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of August, the Gibraltar frigate made the signal at the mast-head for the enemy being in sight; upon which the English admiral put to sea. At day-light he descried seven large ships, part of De la Clue's squadron, from which five ships of the line and three frigates had been separated in the night. Having made the signal to chase, and to engage in line of battle ahead, his foremost ships came up with the rear of the enemy about half-past two. The admiral himself did not wait to return the fire of the sternmost, but employed every effort to come up with the Ocean, which De la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock he ran athwart her hawse, and poured into her a furious broadside, which was returned with equal vivacity. This dispute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boscawen's vessel had lost her

mizen-mast and topsail-yards, went off with all the sail he could carry. Boscawen shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, and joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur*, which was obliged to strike. The pursuit continued all night, and De la Clue, finding himself at day-break on the coast of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ships than allow them to fall into the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portuguese shore, he put his ship under the protection of Fort Almadana, to which the English paid no regard. He himself landed with part of his men; but the Count de Carne, who succeeded to the command of the *Ocean*, having received a broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, deemed the best ship in the French navy. Meanwhile captain Bentley brought off the *Temeraire*, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while rear-admiral Broderic burned the *Redoubtable*, and took the *Modeste*. The scattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loss of only fifty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-six wounded, and not one officer was lost in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a disaster by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting possession of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in such a situation in Germany as might afford them the prospect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the necessity, therefore, of trying a last effort on an element which had been extremely unpropitious to all their designs. Their sole hopes now centered in their fleets at Brest and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by admiral Hawke, and the latter by commodore Boyce. They still, expected, however, that the winter storms would compel the English fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to cross the sea unopposed, and to execute the object of their destination against the British coasts. In this expectation they were not wholly disappointed. On the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, drove the English squadrons off the French coast. Thurot, a gallant French adventurer, availed himself of this accident to obtain his release from Dunkirk, without being discovered

by commodore Boyce, who, upon the first information of his departure, sailed immediately in pursuit of him; but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburg, in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas.

Admiral Hawke's squadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the storm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to subside, the French admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coast, immediately put to sea. But the same day that he sailed from Brest, the English admiral sailed from Torbay. The two squadrons were the most powerful of any employed in the course of the war, and worthy to be intrusted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces were nearly equal; the English being, by some vessels, more numerous, but having no superiority in number of men or weight of metal.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his course for Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. But here fortune opposed his well-concerted measures; for a strong gale sprung up in an easterly point, and drove the English fleet a great way to the westward; at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the shore. The Maidstone and Coventry frigates, who had orders to keep ahead of the squadron, discovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the island of Belleisle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a signal for seven of his ships, that were nearest, to chase, in order to detain the French fleet until they themselves could be reinforced with the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle ahead, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. These manœuvres indicated the utmost resolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempestuous, and the sea, on this treacherous coast, was indented with sands and shoals, shallows and rocks, as unknown to the English pilots as they were familiar to those of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke disregarded every danger and obstacle that stood in the way of his obtaining the important stake which now depended. De Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle

on the open sea, without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the address which his situation required. As he was unwilling to risk a fair engagement, he could have no other view but to draw the English squadron among the rocks and shoals, in order that at a proper time he might take advantage of any disaster that befell them; but, fluctuating between a resolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the British ships to come up with him, and then crowded his sail when it was too late to escape. At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The *Formidable*, commanded by the French rear-admiral, Du Verger, behaved with uncommon resolution, and returned many broadsides poured into her by the English ships as they passed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire, and ordered his master to carry him alongside the French admiral. The pilot observed, that he could not obey his orders, without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal. The brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you now are to obey my commands, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his desire, the *Thesee*, a French ship of seventy guns, generously interposed itself between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had destined for a greater occasion. In returning this fire, the *Thesee* foundered, in consequence of a high sea that entered her lower-deck ports: the *Superbe* shared the same fate; the *Heros* struck her colours; and the *Formidable* did the same, about four in the afternoon. Darkness coming on, the enemy fled towards their own coast. Seven ships of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river *Villaine*: about as many more, in a most shattered and miserable condition, escaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee shore, Sir Edward made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island *Dumet*, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of distress. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ship on shore, where she was soon after set on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the English sustained little loss but what was occasioned by the weather. The *Essex* and *Resolution* unfortunately ran on a sand-bank, where they were

lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but most of their men, and some part of their stores, were saved. In the whole fleet, no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines, were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loss of the French in men must have been prodigious. All the officers on board the *Formidable* were killed before she struck. They had, besides, four of the best ships in their navy destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their armament, the last hope of the French marine, shattered and disarmed.

It would be unjust to pass over a circumstance which characterises the spirit that distinguished the English navy at this happy period. Admiral Saunders, who had convoyed and most ably aided the troops of General Wolfe, happened to arrive from his glorious Quebec expedition a little after Hawke had sailed. Notwithstanding the length of the voyage, and the severity of the duty in which he had been so long employed, he lost not a moment in setting sail, with a view to partake the danger and honour of the approaching engagement. Fortune did not favour the generosity of his intentions. He was too late to give assistance; but such a resolution was itself equal to a victory.

The events above related compose the principal operations of the British navy during the present year. But besides the actions of whole squadrons, there were a great many captures made by single ships, attended with circumstances highly honourable.

Fewer exploits were achieved at sea in 1760, than are recorded in the memoirs of the preceding year. The British navy at this time amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships, seventeen were stationed in the East Indies, twenty for the defence of the West India islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of commerce. Considering these mighty preparations, it is remarkable that the return of the little squadron commanded by Thurot (which, as has already been mentioned, had taken refuge the preceding year in the harbour of *Gotenburg* in Sweden) should have caused a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconsiderable armament originally consisted of five frigates, on board of which were one thousand two hundred and seventy land-soldiers. They

had sailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had suffered so much by storms, that they were obliged to send back one of their largest vessels to France. It was not till the 5th of December that they were able to sail directly for the place of their destination, which was the northern coast of Ireland. In this voyage their ill fortune continued to pursue them. For near three months, they were obliged to ply off and on, among the Western Isles of Scotland, during which time they suffered every hardship: their men thinned and disheartened, suffering by famine and disease, one ship irrecoverably lost, and the remaining three so shattered, that they were obliged to put into the Isle of Ilay. Here this enterprising adventurer, though oppressed with misfortune, and steeled by such hardships as too often extinguish every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmost justice and moderation, paying handsomely for the cattle and provisions which he had occasion to use, and treating the natives with unusual courtesy and kindness.

As soon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this island, and pursued his destination to the Bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21st of February, he effected a descent with six hundred men. They advanced without opposition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw and undisciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the ammunition of the English failed; and then colonel Jennings retired to the castle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all respects untenable, being unprovided in provisions and ammunition, and having a breach in the wall of nearly fifty feet wide: nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, having supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel surrendered, on condition that his troops should be ransomed by exchanging them for an equal number of French prisoners; that the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished, nor the town burned or plundered. Thurot, having by this time got notice of the defeat of Conflan's expedition, and hearing that a considerable body of regular troops were assembled and preparing to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and set sail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a squadron, which deserves to be

considered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterprise against the British coasts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the Bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coast of the Isle of Man, three sail that bore down on him. These were English frigates, the *Æolius* of thirty-six guns, commanded by captain Elliot, the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of captains Clements and Logie, who had been despatched by the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in quest of the French squadron. At nine in the morning of the 28th of February, captain Elliot came up with the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, which was superior to the *Æolius* in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal; but both ship and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the *Pallas* and *Brilliant* attacked the other two ships of the enemy. The action was maintained with great spirit on both sides for an hour and a half, when captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*, who immediately struck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The English took possession of their prizes, and conveyed them into the Bay of Ramsay, in the Isle of Man. In this engagement, three hundred of the French were slain, or disabled; whereas, our loss did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become so terrible to all the seaports of Britain and Ireland, that the service performed on this occasion was deemed essential to the quiet and security of these kingdoms. The thanks of the house of commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus; and the defeat and capture of this petty squadron was celebrated with the most hearty and universal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the last branch of the grand armament, which had so long been the hope of France and the terror of Great Britain.

While the arms of Great Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which, for a short time, drew the attention of the public from warlike enterprises. This was the death of king George II., on the 25th of October, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and the seventy-seventh of his age. The immediate cause of his death was a rupture in the substance of the right ventricle of the heart. His death was almost instantaneous, and the rupture occurred without any apparent cause.

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

The accession of George III. to the throne of his grandfather, did not produce any immediate change in the politics of the government, nor in the fortune of the war. The French naval power was so weakened in every quarter, that no enemy of consequence presented itself to our fleets, who swept the seas almost unopposed.

A spirit of enterprise, a consciousness of superiority, and a contempt of the French, seem to have been communicated to the meanest seaman of Great Britain at this period. As an example, the bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, has been much celebrated. The ship, in her return from Bilboa, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, the captors removed all the hands but these five men and a boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel. These daring Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, which they executed with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but, missing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their broad-swords, and, soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. The Irish being now in possession of the quarter-deck, the French who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. As neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principle of navigation, they steered the ship northward at a venture, and the first land they made was the neighbourhood of Youghall in the county of Cork.

The parliament, which assembled the 18th of November, 1760, had voted seventy thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines, and a sum not exceeding four pounds monthly per man for their maintenance, the whole amounting to £3,640,000. No material alteration was made in the disposition of the several squadrons which constituted the navy of Great Britain. That in the Bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the Mediter-

anean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded in the East Indies, rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward Islands, and lord Colville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Besides these, single ships cruised in different parts in order to protect the British merchantmen, and squadrons were occasionally equipped under various commanders.

One of the most remarkable events of this period, was the reduction of the French island Belleisle, which, after a gallant and persevering defence, under its brave governor, De la Croix, surrendered in June 1701, to the English under general Hodgson and admiral Keppel.

Among individual instances of naval enterprise, we may notice the following, which confer the highest honour on the British flag. Captain Elphinstone, of the Richmond frigate, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, stationed on the coast of Flanders, being informed that a French frigate called the Felicite had made a prize of an English merchantman, sailed in quest of the enemy; and coming in sight of her, about eleven at night on the 23d, a severe engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Gravesland, which is but eight miles distant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambassadors of England and France to set out, in order to view the combat, in the issue of which, as the ships were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was materially interested. About noon both ships ran ashore, alongside of each other; and in this situation the fight continued with great obstinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ship being much damaged, the captain slain, and above one hundred men killed or wounded. The Richmond soon floated, without sustaining any considerable hurt, having obtained the victory at the expense of three men killed, and thirteen wounded.

Captain Hood, commanding the Minerva frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, cruising in the channel, descried a large ship of two decks. This was the Warwick of sixty guns taken from the English, the most boasted capture the enemy had made in the course of the war. She had formerly carried sixty, but was now mounted with only thirty-six guns, commanded by de Belair. Her crew amounted to about three hundred men, including a company of soldiers, intended as a reinforcement to the garrison of Pondicherry. Notwithstanding her superiority,

captain Hood gave chase, and came up with her at twenty minutes past ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both sides was terrible. Several masts of both ships were shot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the sea ran very high; so that the crews were greatly encumbered by their broken masts and shattered rigging. The high sea separated them, and the Warwick fell to the leeward. About a quarter after eleven, the Minerva's bowsprit was carried away, and the foremast soon followed it. This misfortune made captain Hood almost despair of coming up with the enemy, who had got three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ship with great activity, and, bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy struck, having thirteen men killed, and thirty-five wounded. The loss of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her masts were destroyed: nevertheless, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead.

These captures were preludes to one of the most remarkable actions that distinguished the whole war. On the 10th of August, captain Faulkner, of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and captain Logie, of the *Brilliant*, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river Tagus for England, and, on the 14th, discovered three sail standing in for the land, one of them a line of battle, and two frigates. These vessels had no sooner descried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the distance of seven miles, when, seeing the *Bellona* and the *Brilliant* through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ships, and, dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid it by flight. The English captains, judging them to be enemies by their crowding sail to escape, immediately gave chase, which continued all night. At five in the morning, they approached so near as to discern the *Courageux*, a seventy-four gun ship, and two frigates of thirty-six guns, the *Malicieuse* and the *Hermione*. The French captain now perceived that one of the English vessels was a frigate; and the *Bellona*, being one of the best constructed ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water, that she appeared at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoisted a red ensign in the mizen-shrouds as a signal for his two frigates to close with and attack the *Brilliant*. At the same time he took in his studding-sails, wore ship, and stood for the *Bellona*,

while captain Faulkner advanced with an easy sail, manned his quarters, and made every necessary disposition for an engagement.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to measure their strength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the sea calm; the ships were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the same. The *Courageux* had seven hundred men; the *Bellona* five hundred and fifty. While the vessels came up with each other, the fire was suspended on both sides, till they were within pistol-shot. The engagement then began with a fire of muskets and artillery. In less than ten minutes all the *Bellona's* braces, shrouds, and rigging, were shattered, and her mizen-mast went by the board, with the men on the round top, who saved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, to sheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the *Courageux*, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this impracticable. In this position the English ship might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which she could be worked, were already shot away. But captain Faulkner made use of the studding-sails with such dexterity as to wear the ship quite round; and his officers and men perceiving this change of position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible discharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermission or abatement. The fire became so intolerable that the French hauled down their ensign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the *Bellona* was considerable; but she had suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The *Courageux*, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was seen but her fore-mast and bowsprit; her decks were torn up in several places, and large breaches were made in her sides. Above two hundred and twenty of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on shore at Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ships, captain Logie of the *Brilliant* had displayed the most signal courage and address. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two ships, each of which was of equal strength with his own. But he so managed his attack and defence as to

keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them from giving the smallest assistance to the *Courageux*. Finally, he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety by flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging.

A new turn was now given to the war, which the more clear-sighted of our politicians had anticipated. Spain bound to France by the family compact between their kings, jealous of the ascendancy of England, and afraid of losing her colonial possessions, waited only a favourable opportunity to throw her weight into the scale in favour of France, whose every art was now plied to induce her to throw off the mask. Mr Pitt foreseeing this, urged an open war before the Spanish completed their plans; but his counsels were not listened to, and he resigned his office in the ministry.

Spain having gained her object in a short delay, became at length insolent and unbearable, and war was declared early in 1762, a war in which the bad success of that country, was only equalled by the bad faith which preceded it.

The British nation was unusually roused—parliament granted ample supplies—Martinico, an island of much importance to France, fell, after a desperate resistance, into the power of the English under general Monkton and admiral Rodney.

In the height of their presumption, the French and Spanish monarchs attempted to dictate to the king of Portugal, and to compel him to join in the league against Britain. The Portuguese, however, preferred remaining faithful to their ancient ally; but, the kingdom being then in a very feeble and distracted state, was quite unable to face her enemies alone. The aid of a British army, however, effectually enabled her to set them at defiance.

While the English troops were employed in taking possession of Martinico and the dependent islands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and sent an officer on shore to obtain information. Admiral Rodney, being informed of their arrival, got under sail with his squadron, and beat up to windward in quest of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made haste to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, lord Colville's squadron was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquests in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a

manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or, if that should be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all round the island, a number of light cruisers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French sea ports without running the most imminent risk of being taken; and scarcely a day passed in which some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, was not brought into the harbours of Great Britain.

In the East Indies, the fleet was under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish, admiral Pocock, who had acquired so much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command. The whole of these squadrons, combined with detached cruisers in different parts, amounted to more than two hundred and forty ships of war; a force which, considering the disciplined valour and naval experience of our seamen, was fit to contend against the united maritime strength of the whole world.

The rupture with Spain brought on an attempt against the Spanish West Indies. This succeeded, but not without difficulties, and after overpowering a brave resistance, in effecting the important capture of Havannah.

The fleet destined to extend the British empire in the west, sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March, under the command of admiral Pocock, whose valour and conduct had contributed so much towards that sovereignty which his country possessed in the East Indies. They sailed for the island of Hispaniola, where they were met by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of Sir James Douglas. The united squadrons consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board above ten thousand land forces and marines.

In this expedition, the spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the army and navy were eminently conspicuous. Never, indeed, was there a period of such cordial co-operation between the land and sea forces, or such a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, having neglected to perform

his duty in leading the squadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the service.

The expedition against the Philippine Isles was equally brilliant and successful; but we cannot here afford space for a detailed account.

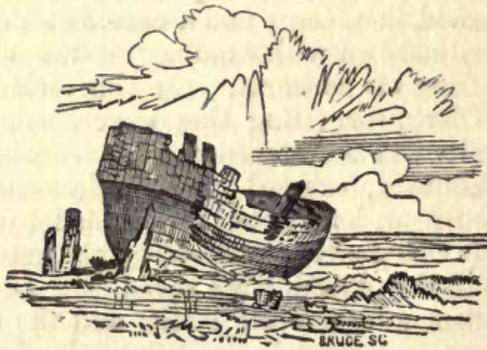
A continuation of success had inspired the English with an enthusiasm of valour, as well as of magnanimity. Of the first we have an example, in an exploit of the Brilliant and Duke of York privateers; and of the latter in the behaviour of captain Clark of the Sheerness frigate. These privateers entered a small port near Cape Finisterre, defended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours' time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoisted English colours, and spiked the cannon. They might have laid the town in ashes, but were satisfied with burning two ships, and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the use of the Spanish fleet at Ferrol. The Minerva, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ships of war, given chase to the Sheerness, commanded by captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediately followed by the captain of the Minerva, who, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks which bound the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of seamanship, and ill assisted by a crew little acquainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed in pieces; and a considerable number of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance he could receive from his consorts. On this melancholy occasion, captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occasioned by their resentment against him and his country, exerted himself vigorously for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous assistance, the greatest part of the crew and all the officers were saved.

The same firm and resolute spirit, and the same enterprising gallantry, appeared in every branch of the English marine. Even the packets performed exploits which would have done honour to ships of war of any other country. The Hampden, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, sailing between Faro and Gibraltar, was attacked by eleven privateers, which bore down in order of battle. The commodore was a barcolongo of eight guns and sixty men; the second

was a xebecque of the same number of guns and men; five of a lesser size followed a little astern; other four, carrying thirty men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear. The engagement began at eleven in the forenoon, in sight of Gibraltar, and continued till half-past one, when that mighty squadron were ordered by the commander-in-chief to haul their wind, and to return from whence they came. The Hampden proceeded to Gibraltar, with her sails and rigging greatly damaged, but without any other considerable loss.

The Harriot packet, in her passage from New York to Falmouth, displayed equal gallantry, having twice repulsed a French privateer of more than double her force. The captain was rewarded with a purse of a hundred guineas, and promoted to the command of a Lisbon packet.

Discouraged by these disasters, France and Spain turned their thoughts to peace, which was granted them upon terms which many thought too easy, and which excited much discontent in England. But this topic is not within our province.—It took place early in 1763.



THE HONOURABLE EDWARD BOSCAWEN.—

Edward Boscawen, son of viscount Falmouth, was born on the 19th of August, 1711. In consequence of his expressing a boyish fondness for the sea service, he was sent on board a frigate as a midshipman, at the age of twelve years; and after serving in that capacity the allotted time, he was appointed a lieutenant, in which station he gained high credit, as a skilful seaman, and a spirited and active officer. In 1737, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and soon after obtained the command of the *Leopard*, a fourth-rate, of fifty guns.

At the commencement of the war with Spain in 1739, captain Boscawen was appointed to the command of the *Shoreham* frigate, with which ship he was directed to cruise off the island of Jamaica. Soon after his arrival there, he had occasion to show his disinterested zeal for the public service. On being ordered to join the expedition then about to sail against Portobello, he discovered that his frigate was unfit for sea, and still more for so hazardous an enterprise, without undergoing a thorough repair. But, eager to be employed on a service where so many difficulties were to be encountered, and so much glory was, consequently, to be gained, he solicited admiral Vernon for permission to leave his ship in port, and to serve under him as a volunteer. To this solicitation the admiral gave his consent, and captain Boscawen accompanied him to Portobello, where his gallant spirit met with that success, and received those honours, which it had been so laudably ambitious to gain.

Having returned to the command of the *Shoreham* in 1741, he formed one of admiral Vernon's fleet on the expedition to Carthage. At the attack on that place, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself by that quick-sighted judgment and intrepid valour which were prominent features of his military character. He was appointed to command a detachment, consisting of three hundred sailors and two hundred soldiers, formed for the purpose of storming a fascine battery which had been erected by the enemy on the island of Boca, and by which the operations of our troops against the castle of Boca Chica were considerably impeded. Pushing forward with a strength equal to their animation, they soon climbed the entrenchments, and entering the embrasures in the face of a continued fire, and on the very muzzles of the guns, they drove the enemy from the works with considerable slaughter; and, after spiking the guns, and

burning the platforms, together with the carriages, guard-house, and magazine, Boscawen led off his detachment in order, and returned to the fleet with six wounded prisoners.

The Spaniards, fully sensible of the support which this battery had afforded them, were indefatigable in their endeavours to repair it; and having in a few days so far succeeded as to be able to bring six guns to bear on the English fleet, Boscawen was again ordered to reduce it; but the Spaniards, intimidated at the formidable appearance of the assailants, abandoned the battery without firing a shot.

He was appointed by admiral Vernon, to the command of the *Prince Frederick*, of seventy guns, in consequence of the death of lord Aubrey Beauclerk.

In the year 1747, he commanded a line-of-battle ship in the fleet sent out to America under admirals Anson and Vernon; and in the action of the 3d of May, between that fleet and the French squadron, Boscawen signalized himself equally by his heroism and his judgment. The French fleet having got the weather-gage, kept up a constant and well-directed fire on the English ships, as they turned to windward to form the line abreast of the enemy. Boscawen perceiving that our ships would thereby be disabled before their guns could be brought to bear on the French line, and his ship being a very superior sailer to any of the rest, and being, besides, the leading ship of the van, he pressed forward with a crowd of sail, received the greatest part of the enemy's fire, and singly maintained the conflict until the remainder of the fleet came up to his support; by which daring, but judicious manœuvre, he principally contributed to the complete success with which the English arms were crowned. On this occasion he was severely wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball.

On his return to England, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and was shortly after appointed admiral and commandant of a squadron of six ships of the line, ordered for the East Indies, and along with this appointment received a commission from the king as general and commander-in-chief of the land forces employed on that expedition; the only instance, except that of the earl of Peterborough, of any officer having received such a command since the reign of Charles II.

Having thus traced his rise to a high rank in the service, it may suffice now to refer the reader to the body of the history, where it will be found that Boscawen was employed

on many important expeditions. He became, while not employed afloat, a very active member of parliament, having been elected for Truro in 1741. In 1751 he was appointed one of the lords of the admiralty, and gradually reached the highest rank in the navy. In 1758 he received the thanks of parliament for his services at the taking of Louisbourg. An incident relating to him is singular. Three times in the course of his career he encountered a brave captain, named Hocquart, and three times made him prisoner. He died in the 50th year of his age, much regretted, particularly by the sailors.

EDWARD HAWKE was the only son of Edward Hawke, a barrister-at-law. Intended for the navy while yet a boy, he received a suitable education, passed through the subordinate stations of the service, and acquired a perfect knowledge of every branch of his duty. In 1733, he was made commander of the *Wolf* sloop-of-war, and in 1734 was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to the command of the *Flamborough*.

In 1740, he obtained the *Lark*, of forty guns, with which ship he was despatched to the Leeward Islands. On his return from that station he was appointed to the *Portland*, of fifty guns. He was soon afterwards removed to the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, one of the ships ordered at that time to the Mediterranean to reinforce the fleet under admiral Mathews.

On their return from the Mediterranean his ship was paid off, after which he continued for ten years unemployed, a circumstance not a little vexatious to a mind so full of ardour and enterprise. The affair off Toulon, between admiral Mathews and the combined fleet of France and Spain, afforded Hawke the first opportunity of displaying that decisive intrepidity which was destined to render such essential service to his country, and to raise him to the summit of naval glory. In the early part of that action the enemy's ship the *Poder* had driven the *Princessa* and *Somerset* out of the line, which being perceived by Hawke, he immediately bore down upon her till he came within pistol shot. He then discharged his whole broadside, and repeated his fire with such rapidity and effect, that in twenty minutes he compelled her to strike.

From this time till 1747, we have not been able to pro-

cure any account of this renowned officer. It is reported that he was brought to a court-martial, and sentenced to be dismissed the service, for breaking the line in the action off Toulon; but that he was restored to the service by the express command of his majesty George the Second. We have inquired into the truth of this circumstance, but do not find it authenticated, either by official documents, or on any good authority. It is more than probable, however, that he had been out of favour with the admiralty or the court.

In 1747, Hawke was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and soon after got the command of a squadron, ordered to sea for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of merchantmen, collected at the Isle of Aix, and destined for America, together with a formidable force, under the command of M. de l'Etendiere, chef d'escadre. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of August, with five ships of the third-rate, and eight of the fourth-rate.

A tedious cruise was at last repaid by a sight of the French squadron. The signal for the enemy being in sight was made by the Edinburgh. A general chase immediately commenced, and in less than an hour the whole of the enemy's ships were in sight, but crowded together in such a manner, as to prevent their being counted. At ten o'clock, Hawke made the signal to form the line of battle ahead. At half-past ten, captain Fox, of the Kent, informed the admiral that the enemy's fleet consisted of 12 large ships of war, with a fleet of merchant vessels and transports under their convoy. The transports and merchantmen were soon perceived to bear away with press of sail, while the ships of war were forming the line astern for their protection. Hawke finding that he lost time by endeavouring to form the line ahead, made signal for a general chase. In less than half an hour, the headmost of the English fleet had neared the enemy so considerably, that the signal was made for that ship to commence the action, which she accordingly did. In about fifteen minutes the engagement became general from van to rear. The French were inferior in point of force, but had the advantage of the weather-gage. A well-directed and brisk fire was maintained on both sides, with the utmost spirit. But the great object of Hawke was, to bring the enemy to close action, which, owing to his being to leeward, he was for a while unable to accomplish. With great difficulty he at last succeeded in getting close alongside of a French fifty gun ship, which in five minutes he compelled

to strike. Leaving the smaller ships in the rear to take possession of his prize, he hauled his wind, and pushed on to the support of the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh*, the latter of which had lost her fore-topmast, and both of which had sustained great damage. But his endeavours to relieve them were obstructed by the *Eagle* falling on board the *Devonshire*; having had her wheel shot away, and her braces and bow-lines destroyed, she was rendered altogether unmanageable. Hawke, in consequence of this circumstance, was obliged to bear away; in doing which, however, he attempted to close with a French seventy-four gun ship, but the breeching of his lower-deck guns at this time giving way, he thought it prudent to allow his ship to shoot ahead of the enemy in order to repair them. The enemy, perceiving that some accident had happened, kept up a constant and well-directed fire of single guns, with a view to dismast him, before he had time to repair the injury he had sustained. But captain Harland of the *Tilbury*, perceiving the enemy's intention, completely defeated it, by running in between the Frenchman and the admiral's ship, and keeping her in action until the latter was in a condition to renew the engagement. The admiral had no sooner secured his guns, than he made the signal for close action, having observed some of the ships of his fleet at too great a distance. In a few minutes he closed with the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, which, after a long and resolute resistance, he compelled to surrender; and about this time six more of the enemy's ships struck their colours. Night now coming on, and the British fleet being much dispersed, he made the signal to bring to; but the action continued to leeward during a great part of the night. In the morning, however, he had the mortification to find that instead of the complete success which he promised himself from the continuance of the action, the enemy's fleet was out of sight; the *Tonnant*, of seventy-four guns, which had struck, had effected her escape, and captain Saumarez, of the *Nottingham*, had fallen. In the shattered condition of his fleet, and with the prizes he had taken, he considered it imprudent to pursue the enemy. He therefore despatched a sloop-of-war to the West Indies to warn commodore Pocock of the approach of the French fleet, so that he might take the necessary measures to intercept them. The event justified the adoption of this measure, for a great part of the enemy's fleet was captured by Pocock, in consequence of the information he thus received.

Of the prizes taken by Hawke in the action, one only was in a condition to make sail, and he was accordingly obliged to lye to in order to erect jury-masts, and put them in a fit state to proceed to England.

In 1750, the country being now at peace, he was appointed to the command at Portsmouth, where he continued till 1755, when he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white, and appointed to the command of a fleet, consisting of eighteen ships, for the purpose of cruising on the coast of France, to watch the motions of the French navy, the equipment of which, at this period, amounted to an infraction of the treaty of peace. On the 29th of September he returned into port, being relieved by admiral Byng; but when that officer was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean, Hawke resumed the command of the fleet, in which he continued until, upon the recall of admiral Byng, he was directed to proceed to Minorca. He accordingly proceeded thither in the *Antelope*. The object which the French had in view having been accomplished before his arrival, he had no opportunity of retrieving the honour of that fleet which had been, in some degree, unfortunately tarnished. He, however, continued master of the Mediterranean during the remainder of this year, when he returned to England, and was appointed to command a squadron, destined for the expedition against Rochfort, under the command of Sir John Mordaunt. The result of this we have already seen.

In October, he again sailed for the coast of France, with a view to blockade the enemy's ports; and he continued during the winter on that station. In the spring of 1758, he returned to Spithead, and in March sailed again with seven ships of the line, and several frigates, for the Isle of Rhe, off which he arrived on the night of the 3d of April. The squadron continued to play off and on till the morning of the 4th, when they made sail for Basque Road. At day-break he discovered an enemy's squadron with a numerous convoy to windward. He immediately gave chase; but the wind baffling him, the enemy effected their escape, and got into St. Martin's on the Isle of Rhe. Upon this he bore away to Basque Road, in a line of battle ahead, and, in the afternoon, discovered a squadron and convoy lying off the Isle of Aix. He observed their force to consist of one ship of seventy-four guns, three of sixty-four guns, one of sixty guns, and about forty transports. This armament, on board of which were embarked three thousand troops, was under

orders to proceed to Louisbourg to reinforce the garrison of that place; and Hawke being acquainted with this circumstance, knew the importance of destroying it. Accordingly, at half-past four o'clock, he made the signal for a general chase to the S.E. At five, the enemy began to cut their cables, and, in the utmost consternation, endeavoured to escape. At six o'clock, the French commodore slipped his cable, by which time several of the English ships were within gun-shot of him. Many of the French ships were now close in shore; and being aware that there was not sufficient depth of water to follow them, he brought up at half-past six, off the Isle of Aix. At five the next morning, all the enemy's ships were discovered aground, and nearly dry, at the distance of five or six miles. As soon as the flood-tide made, he put his best pilots into the Intrepid and Medway frigates, and they warped in shore above a gun-shot. The enemy were now seen to be particularly busy in getting boats from Rochfort to assist them in warping their ships through the soft mud in which they lay, as the flood-tide floated them. In order to facilitate this, they threw their guns, stores, &c. overboard. By this means, and their great exertions, they succeeded in getting their ships of war as far as the mouth of the river Charente, where it was not possible for the English to approach near enough even to annoy them. The transports were dragged on shore near the Isle Madam, and so protected by a shoal, that no injury could be done them. On the 5th, captain Ewer of the marines, was despatched with one hundred and forty men to the Isle of Aix, to destroy the works which the enemy were employed in erecting. This service was effected without opposition, and without giving the smallest disturbance to the inhabitants. Having thus completely frustrated the enemy's intended expedition to Louisbourg, and thereby accomplished one of the principal objects he had in view, he returned to England.

Soon after his arrival, he was appointed second in command of the fleet under lord Anson, fitted out for the purpose of covering a descent then meditated on the coast of France near Cherbourg. He continued his flag in the Ramillies; and on the 1st of June sailed with the fleet for the coast of France. But being seized with a fever soon after the arrival of the fleet in the Bay of Biscay, he was obliged to resign his command, to return to England for his recovery. The effects of this severe illness prevented him

from going again on service during the remainder of the year. But his health being at length re-established, he got the chief command of the channel fleet, at that time very considerably strengthened, in order to oppose the formidable armament equipped by France, for the purpose of invading Britain. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 18th of May, and for six months he rode triumphant off Brest, keeping that port in a state of blockade; and the French admiral submitted to this mortifying circumstance, rather than hazard a general action. At last a strong westerly wind drove Hawke from his station, and after endeavouring for upwards of twenty days to regain it, he was compelled to put into Plymouth Sound on the 8th of November, and the enemy, seizing that opportunity, put to sea.

On the 14th of November, the Marquis de Conflans sailed from Brest with his whole fleet, and steered for Quiberon Bay, with a view to capture or destroy a small English squadron, stationed there for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of transports, destined for the invasion of Ireland. Hawke having shifted his flag to the Royal George, sailed in pursuit of Conflans on the very day that he left Brest. The result of his pursuit, so memorable in the naval annals of England, has been described by himself much in detail, and with admirable perspicuity.

“ Royal George, Penris Point, Nov. 24, 1751.

“ SIR,—In my letter of the 17th, by express, I desired you would acquaint their lordships with my having received intelligence of eighteen sail of the line and three frigates of the Brest squadron being discovered about twenty-four leagues to the N.W. of Belleisle, steering to the eastward. All the prisoners, however, agree, that on the day we chased them, their squadron consisted, according to their accompanying list, of four ships of eighty guns, six of seventy-four guns, three of seventy guns, eight of sixty-four guns, one frigate of thirty-six guns, one of thirty-four guns, and one of sixteen guns, with a small vessel to look out. They sailed from Brest the 14th instant, the same day I sailed from Torbay. Concluding that their first rendezvous would be Quiberon, the instant I received the intelligence, I directed my course thither with a pressed sail. At the first, the wind blowing hard at S. by E. and S. drove us considerably to the westward; but on the 18th and 19th, though variable, it proved more favourable. In the meantime,

having been joined by the Maidstone and Coventry frigates, I directed their commanders to keep ahead of the squadron, one on the starboard and the other on the larboard bow. At half-past eight o'clock in the morning of the 20th, Belleisle, by our reckoning bearing E. by N. one-fourth N. the Maidstone made the signal for seeing a fleet. I immediately spread abroad the signal for a line abreast, in order to draw all the ships of the squadron up with me. I had before sent the Magnanime ahead, to make the land: at three quarters past nine she made the signal for an enemy. Observing, on my discovering them, that they made off, I threw out the signal for the seven ships nearest them to chase, and, by drawing into a line of battle ahead of me, endeavour to stop them till the rest of the squadron should come up. The other ships were also to form as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. That morning the enemy were in chase of the Rochester, Chatham, Portland, Falkland, Minerva, Vengeance, and Venus, all which joined me about eleven o'clock; and, in the evening, the Sapphire from Quiberon Bay. All the day we had very fresh gales from N. W. and W. N. W. with heavy squalls. M. Conflans kept going off under such sail as all his squadron could carry, and at the same time keep together, while we crowded after him, with every sail our ships could bear. At half-past two P. M. the fire beginning ahead, I made the signal for engaging. We were then to the southward of Belleisle, and the admiral headmost; he soon after led round the Cardinals, while his rear was in action. About four o'clock the Formidable struck, and a little after the Thesée and Superbe were sunk; about five the Heros struck, and came to an anchor, but it blowing hard no boat could be sent on board her. Night was now come on, and being on a part of the coast among islands and shoals, of which we were totally ignorant, without a pilot, the greatest part of the squadron being in the same situation, it also blowing hard on a lee-shore, I made the signal to anchor, and came to in fifteen fathom of water, the Island of Dumet bearing E. by N. between two and three miles, the Cardinals W. half S. and the Steeples of Crozie S. E. as we found next morning.

“In the night we heard many guns of distress fired, but the violence of the wind, our want of knowledge of the coast, and whether they were fired by a friend or an enemy, prevented all means of relief.

“By day-break on the 21st, we discovered one of our ships

dismasted on shore, the French Heros also, and the Soleil Royal, which, under cover of the night, had anchored among us, cut and ran ashore to the westward of Crozie. On the latter's moving, I made the Essex's signal to slip and pursue her; but she unfortunately got upon the Four, and both she and the Resolution are irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding we sent them all the assistance the weather would permit. About fourscore of the Resolution's company, in spite of the strongest remonstrances of their captain, made rafts, and, with several French prisoners belonging to the Formidable, put off, and I am afraid drove out to sea. All the Essex's are saved, (with as many of the stores as possible), except one lieutenant and a boat's crew, who was driven on the French shore, and have not since been heard of. The remains of both ships are set on fire. We found the Dorsetshire, Revenge, and Defiance had, during the night of the 20th, put to sea, as I hope the Swiftsure did, for she is still missing. The Dorsetshire and Defiance returned the next day; and the latter saw the Revenge without. Thus, what loss we have sustained has been owing to the weather, not the enemy, seven or eight of whose line-of-battle ships got to sea, I believe, the night of the action.

"As soon as it was broad day-light in the morning of the 21st, I discovered seven or eight of the enemy's line-of-battle ships at anchor, between Point Penris and the River Villaine, on which I made the signal to weigh, in order to work up and attack them; but it blowed so hard from the N. W. that, instead of daring to cast the squadron loose, I was obliged to strike top-gallant-masts. Most of their ships appeared to be aground at low water; but on the flood, by lightening them, and the advantage of the wind under the land, all, except two, got that night into the River Villaine.

"The weather being moderate on the 22d, I sent the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal and Heros. The French, on the approach of our ships, set the first on fire, and soon after the latter met the same fate from our people. In the meantime I got under weigh, and worked up within Penris Point, as well for the sake of its being a safer road, as to destroy, if possible, the two ships of the enemy which still lay without the Villaine; but before the ships sent ahead for that purpose could get near them, being quite light, they got in with the tide of flood.

"All the 23d we were employed in reconnoitring the en-

trance of that river, which is very narrow, with only twelve foot water on the bar, at low water. We discovered at least seven, if not eight line-of-battle ships, about half a mile within, quite light, and two large frigates which appeared to have guns in. By evening I had twelve long boats fitted as fire-ships, ready to attempt burning them, under cover of the Sapphire and Coventry; but the weather being bad, and the wind contrary, obliged me to defer it, till at least the latter should be favourable: if they can by any means be destroyed, it shall be done.

“In attacking a flying enemy, it was impossible, in the space of a short winter's day, that all our ships should be able to get into action, or all those of the enemy brought to it. The commanders and companies of such as did come up with the rear of the French on the 20th, behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and gave the strongest proofs of a true British spirit; in the same manner, I am satisfied, those would have acquitted themselves, whose bad going ships, or the distance they were at in the morning, prevented from getting up. Our loss by the enemy is not considerable, for in the ships which are now with me, I find only one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines killed, and about two hundred and two wounded. When I considered the season of the year, the hard gales on the day of action, a flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the coast we were on, I can boldly affirm, that all that could possibly be done, has been done. As to the loss we have sustained, let it be placed to the account of the necessity I was under of running all risks to break this strong force of the enemy. Had we had but two hours more daylight, the whole had been totally destroyed or taken, for we were almost up with the van when night overtook us.

“Yesterday came in here the Pallas, Fortune, and the Proserpine fire-ship. On the 16th, I had despatched the Fortune to Quiberon, with directions to captain Duff to keep strictly on his guard. In his way thither she fell in with the Hebe, a French frigate of forty guns, under jury-masts, and fought her several hours. During the engagement, lieutenant Stuart, second of the Ramilies, whom I had appointed to command her, was unfortunately killed. The surviving officers, on consulting together, resolved to leave her, as she proved too strong for them. I have detached captain Young to Quiberon Bay with five ships, and am making up a flying squadron to scour the coast to the Isle

of Aix, and if, practicable, to attempt any of the enemy's ships that may be there. I am, Sir, &c.

“EDWARD HAWKE.”

From this period until the month of August following, no naval operations took place, and Hawke continued in London. He was then ordered to hoist his flag again in the Royal George, and to repair to Quiberon, to relieve admiral Boscawen in the command of the fleet on that station. But during the time he remained there, the enemy gave him no opportunity of adding to the glory he had so well acquired; and after destroying a small fort on the Island of Dumet, he returned to Portsmouth.

In 1761, he was again ordered to the coast of France with a powerful fleet to watch the motions of the enemy, but they never once gave him an opportunity to attack them. He prevented all vessels from entering or coming out of the ports of Brest, Bourdeaux, and Rochelle; and completely cut off every sort of communication between them and the sea.

On Hawke's return from this service, he was elected one of the elder brethren of the trinity house; and soon afterwards he was honoured with the freedom of the city of Dublin.

In May, 1762, he was ordered to sea with seven sail of-the-line and two frigates, with a view to intercept a small squadron that had escaped from Brest, under cover of a thick fog, destined for the attack of Newfoundland. But he was not fortunate enough to fall in with this squadron, and after an uninteresting cruise of some weeks, he returned to port. Immediately on his arrival, he was appointed to the command of ten sail of-the-line and three frigates, and ordered to proceed to Lisbon, which city was at that time threatened to be attacked by the combined force of France and Spain. But the arrival of the English fleet in the Tagus, under the command of Hawke, was alone sufficient to deter the enemy from putting their threat in execution. He had, therefore, no opportunity of distinguishing himself on this occasion; and the peace of Paris, which took place soon afterwards, put a period to his active services.

On his return home he was made rear-admiral of England; and two years afterwards he was appointed first lord of the admiralty, and at the same time vice-admiral of England. He continued to preside at the board of admiralty with the

same distinguished ability to which alone he owed his elevation, till the year 1771, when he resigned. Some years subsequent to his resignation, he was raised to the peerage by the style and title of baron Hawke of Towton, in the county of York.

He was now advanced in years, and depressed by infirmities; but his zeal for the navy remained unabated. His conduct on the trial of admiral Keppel, was strongly characteristic of his generous and independent spirit, as well as of the lively interest which he felt in the service.

In 1779, he retired to a country seat at Sunbury, in Middlesex, where he died on the 17th of October, 1781. He left a family, and his title still remains in his descendants.





LORD ANSON.—George Anson was descended from an ancient family in Staffordshire, and was born at Shugborough manor, in the parish of Colwich, in that county, in the year 1697; being the third son of William Anson, Esq. His inclination leading him to the navy, he went to sea, at an early age, and in 1716,* he was made second lieutenant of his majesty's ship, the Hampshire, by Sir John Norris, which promotion was confirmed by the board of admiralty. In the next year, he was again in the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir George Byng; and, at this time, he had an opportunity of seeing, on the Danish shore, the illustrious Czar Peter of Russia, and the famous Catharine, his empress. On the 15th of March, 1717-18, Anson was appointed second lieutenant of the Montagu, one of the ships of Sir

* In Sir John Barrow's elaborate and excellent *Life of Anson*, published in 1839, it is stated—"After a diligent search at Somerset-house, it appears that the name of George Anson is first found, as volunteer in the books of the Ruby, in January 1712; from the Ruby to the Monmouth, and from that to the Hampshire, where he received his acting order as lieutenant. As captain Peter Chamberlain commanded all these ships, (the Ruby from 1706 to 1712,) it is extremely probable that Anson entered the service under this officer, who, in 1720, was wrecked in the Milford frigate, off the coast of Cuba, when he and nearly the whole of the crew perished."

George Byng's squadron, in the expedition to Sicily, and he was present in the celebrated action near that island, by which the Spanish fleet was effectually destroyed, and the designs of the king of Spain against Sicily received a check. In 1722, he was preferred to be commander of the Weazel sloop.

He was raised in 1724, to the rank of post-captain, and to the command of the Scarborough man-of-war. Soon after this appointment, he was ordered to South Carolina, where he continued above three years; and during his residence in this province, he erected a town (Anson Burgh), and gave name to a county, which is still called Anson county. Being ordered home, in October 1727, he returned to England, in the following spring, and was paid off, in May 1728; before the expiration of which year, he was appointed captain of the Garland man-of-war, and went out in her to South Carolina; whence he was ordered back, in the following year, and the ship was put out of commission. However, having the good fortune to be in favour with lord Torrington and Sir Charles Wager, successively, first lords of the admiralty, he did not remain long out of employment; for in 1731, the command of the Diamond, one of the Downs squadron, was bestowed upon him, which command he held but about three months, the Diamond being then paid off. On the 25th of January, 1732, he was again called into public service, and appointed captain of the Squirrel man-of-war, in which ship he was again ordered, in the following April, for South Carolina, where he continued till the spring of the year 1735.

In these employments, Anson conducted himself with an ability and discretion which gave general satisfaction; and after his last return from South Carolina, he stayed at home between two and three years; it being the 9th of December 1737, when he was put into the command of the Centurion. In this ship, he was ordered, in February following, to the coast of Guinea; from which station he returned to his own country, by the course of Barbadoes and South Carolina, on the 10th of July, 1739; having executed with great prudence and fidelity the directions of government. Anson's conduct, in his various situations and employments, had produced so favourable an opinion of his capacity and spirit, that when, in the war which broke out with Spain in 1739, it was determined to attack the American settlements of the Spaniards in the great Pacific Ocean, and by this means to affect them

in their most sensible parts, he was fixed upon to be the commander of the fleet which was designed for that purpose. The history of this celebrated expedition is in every one's hand.

It will be sufficient for us to relate, that he departed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September, 1740, at the head of a squadron consisting of five men-of-war, a sloop-of-war, and two victualling ships; that he stopped first at Madeira, then at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, and next at Port St. Julian, in Patagonia; that he encountered prodigious difficulties in doubling Cape Horn; that, in this perilous passage, the fleet was separated, and part of it never joined him again; at length, he arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez; that from thence he proceeded to Peru, took the town of Paita, anchored a few days at Quibo, sailed to the coast of Mexico, and formed the design of intercepting the Acapulco ship; that, after stopping awhile at the harbour of Chequetan, he determined to cross the Pacific Ocean; that at last his squadron was reduced to his own single ship, the Centurion; that he made some stay at Tinian, one of the Ladrones or Marian islands, from which he went to Macao; that sailing back from Macao, in quest of the Manilla galleon, he had the happiness of meeting with it, and of taking it, on the 30th of June, 1743; that, after this enterprise, he returned to Canton, whence he embarked for England, by the Cape of Good Hope; that having completed his voyage round the world, he came safe to an anchor at Spithead, on the 15th of June, 1744; and that he executed the whole of the undertaking with singular honour and advantage to himself, and the officers and people under him, though from original errors and defects in the embarkation, and from causes in which he was in no wise concerned, the grand design of the expedition was not fully answered.

Before commodore Anson set sail upon this expedition, he took care to furnish himself with the printed journals of the voyages to the South Seas, and the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, which he afterwards carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the information of several intelligent persons who fell into his hands; and, through the whole enterprise, he acted with a remarkable discretion, and with a calmness which particularly distinguishes his character. His humanity was displayed at the island of Juan Fernandez, in his assisting with his own labour, and obliging the officers, without dis-

tion, to assist in carrying the sick sailors, in their hammocks, to shore. At the same place, he sowed lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set, in the woods, a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach stones, for the better accommodation of those who should hereafter touch there. From a like regard to future navigators, Anson was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made; for he well knew, by his own experience, the want of these materials, and of how great consequence they might prove to any British vessels, which, in succeeding times, might be employed in those seas. By the wise and proper use which he made of the intelligence he had obtained from some Spanish captures, the commodore was encouraged to form the design of attacking the town of Paita; and his conduct, in that attack, added much to his reputation.

In no instance was the fortitude of his mind put to a severer trial, than when the *Centurion* was driven out to sea, from the uninhabited island of Tinian; himself, many of the officers, and part of the crew being left on shore; but even in this situation, he preserved his usual composure and steadiness, though he could not be without his share of inward disquietude. He calmly applied himself to every measure which was likely to keep up the courage of his men, and to facilitate their departure from the island. He personally engaged in the most laborious part of the work which was necessary to the constructing of a vessel for this purpose; and it was only upon the pleasing and unexpected news of the return of the *Centurion*, that, throwing down his axe, he by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved.

When he was at Macao, commodore Anson, exerted great spirit and address in procuring the necessary aid from the Chinese, for the refitting of his ship; and in the scheme for taking the Manilla galleon, and in the actual taking of it, he displayed united wisdom and courage: nor did the usual calmness of his mind forsake him on a most trying occasion; when, in the moment of victory, the *Centurion* was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. During his subsequent stay at Canton, he acted, in all respects, with the greatest spirit, and firmly maintained the privileges and honour of the British flag. The perils with which he had been so often threatened, pursued him to the last; for, on his

arrival in England, he found that he had sailed through the midst of the French fleet, then cruising in the channel, from which he had, the whole time, been concealed by a fog. Thus was his expedition finished at the end of three years and nine months; "after having, by its event," says the writer of his voyage,* "strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet, in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and, in the end, rarely fail of proving successful."

A few days after his return to his own country, Anson was made a rear-admiral of the blue, and in a very short time, he was chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. In 1744, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and in the following year he was made a rear-admiral of the white. In 1746, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral; and in the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, he commanded the squadron in the channel service; and nothing, perhaps, would have frustrated the success of this expedition, but the accidental intelligence which was given by the master of a Dutch vessel to the duke d'Anville's fleet, of admiral Anson's station and intention.

Early in the ensuing spring, however, he had an opportunity of rendering a very signal service to his country; for, being then on board the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, with rear-admiral Warren, in the Devonshire, and twelve ships more under his command, he intercepted, off Cape Finisterre, a considerable fleet, bound from France to the East and West Indies, laden with merchandise, treasure, and warlike stores, and took six men-of-war, and four East Indiamen, not one of the enemy's vessels of war escaping. By this successful exploit he defeated the designs of two hostile expeditions, and made a considerable addition to the force and riches of our own kingdom. Very soon after this event, his majesty king George II., raised him to the English peerage, by the title of lord Anson, baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton; and his lordship made choice of a motto, very happily suited to the dangers he had gone through, and the successes he had met with, "*Nil desperandum.*"

* This writer was Col. Robins, an eminent officer of engineers.

In 1749, lord Anson was made vice-admiral of Great Britain; an appointment that is more of a civil than a military nature, but which, nevertheless, was always given to a military man. In 1751, he was preferred to be first commissioner of the admiralty; and, in the years 1752 and 1755, he was one of the lords justices of the kingdom, during his majesty's absence. On the 16th of November, 1756, lord Anson, upon a change in the administration, resigned his post as first commissioner of the admiralty. On the 24th of February, 1757, he was made an admiral; and, on the 2d of July, he was again placed at the head of the admiralty board, where he continued during the remainder of his life. He came in with his old friends, the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Hardwicke, and in the most honourable manner; for he renewed his seat with the concurrence of every individual in the ministry, Mr. Pitt resuming the seals as secretary of state, and with the particular approbation of king George II. All the rest of his conduct, as first commissioner of the admiralty, was crowned with success under one of the most glorious administrations which this country ever saw.

The last time that lord Anson commanded at sea was in the year 1758, to cover the expedition against the coast of France. Being then admiral of the white, and having hoisted his flag on board the Royal George of one hundred guns, he sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke serving under him; and by cruising continually before Brest, he protected the descents which were made that summer at St. Malo's, Cherbourg, and other places. The French fleet not venturing to come out, he kept his own squadron and seamen in constant exercise; a thing, which, in his opinion, had been too much disregarded. On the 30th of July, 1761, his lordship was raised to the dignity of admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet. In February 1762, he went to Portsmouth with the queen's brother, prince Charles of Mecklenburgh, to show him the arsenal, and the fleet which was then upon the point of sailing, under the command of Sir George Pocock, for the Havannah. In attending the prince, he caught a violent cold, from which he never quite recovered. He died on the 6th of June, 1762, at his seat at Moor Park, in Hertfordshire, and was buried in the family vault at Colwich.

Besides the other honours which we have mentioned, lord Anson was a member of his majesty's privy council, one of the

elder brethren of the Trinity House, and a governor of the Charter House. He was very assiduous at the admiralty-board, and remarkably quick and ready in making naval dispositions of every kind, and in appropriating the proper strength and proper sort of ships to the different services. He was pleased to see his table filled by gentlemen of the navy; and he was a true friend and patron of men of real merit and capacity in the service.

As an officer and a man, the memory of lord Anson is entitled to the utmost veneration and respect. As an officer, he was cool and steady in the execution of his duty, of an enterprising spirit, yet patient under difficulties, and endowed with a courage that no dangers could dismay. He had the welfare of his country truly at heart, and served it with a zeal that has been equalled by few, and surpassed by none. Among the many services that will immortalize his name, his discreet and fortunate choice of his officers was none of the least, as will readily be allowed, when it is mentioned, that Sir Charles Saunders, captain Philip Saumarez, Sir Piercy Brett, Sir Peter Dennis, and lord Keppel, were his lieutenants in the Centurion. As a man, he was warm and steady in his friendships, and particularly careful of the interests of those whom he had taken under his protection, if they continued worthy of his patronage. In his disposition he was mild and unassuming, and could boast of no great acquaintance with the world, but on professional subjects his judgment was quick and comprehensive; and Mr. Pitt allowed him to be one of the ablest colleagues of his glorious administration. Of good fortune, no man had a larger share than lord Anson, but it should be remarked, that scarcely any man deserved it more; his successes were not the result of blind chance, but of well-concerted and well-executed designs. On the whole, we may safely pronounce our hero to be one of the most illustrious characters that our navy has produced, and one whose name will descend with honour to the latest posterity.

Sir George Pocock, of whose name frequent honourable mention has been made, was the son of Mr. Pocock, chaplain to Greenwich Hospital. He raised himself to the highest reputation in his profession, and died in 1792, in the 87th year of his age.

Of Richard Tyrrel, and his famous combat with the Florissant, we have already spoken.



CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE III. 1763 TO 1783—PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY—BYRON—CAPTAIN COOK—WAR OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION—WAR WITH FRANCE—WAR WITH SPAIN—WAR WITH HOLLAND—SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR—ELLIOT, LORD HEATHFIELD—BARRINGTON—KEPPEL—RODNEY—KEMPENFELT—LOSS OF THE ROYAL GEORGE—SIR JOHN MOORE—MAURICE SUCKLING—SIR CHARLES HARDY—SIR HYDE PARKER—PAUL JONES.

DURING the interval of peace which followed the termination of the seven years' war, the attention of the English government was laudably directed to the promotion of maritime discovery; a subject, at all times deeply interesting to the British sailor, and in connection with which, many of his most enduring, though peaceful, laurels have been won.

It is not consistent with the nature of this work, to enter minutely into the detail of voyages of discovery; but the opportunity must not be altogether passed by, unused, to give a brief notice of at least two navigators distinguished in this department, whose history is naturally connected with the era of which we treat.

Lord Anson, celebrated alike in the warlike and peaceful pursuits of his profession, has been already mentioned. The

improvements he introduced in navigation, and in the management of his crews, was of the greatest utility to his successors. Of these, the first of whom we shall offer an account, is Byron.

THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYRON, second son of William, fourth lord Byron, and grandfather of the celebrated poet, lord Byron, was born in November, 1723, and appointed a midshipman in 1731; he afterwards served on board the *Wager* store-ship. In this vessel he sailed, in 1740, for the South Seas, with the squadron under the orders of commodore Anson. The distresses which he experienced after the loss of that ill-fated ship, have been recorded in his interesting narrative, a work in the hands of most naval readers.

Immediately on his return home, he was promoted to be commander of a sloop of war; and advanced, in December, 1746, to be captain of the *Syren* frigate. After this no mention is made of him during the war: not long after its conclusion he was appointed to the *St. Alban's*, and ordered for the coast of Guinea, with commodore Buckle. On his return to England, in January, 1753, he was appointed to the *Augusta*, of sixty guns, then ordered to be equipped for a guardship at Plymouth. From this ship he was promoted to the *Vanguard*, of seventy guns, a ship ordered to be fitted for sea at Plymouth, in the beginning of the year 1755, a rupture being then apprehended with France. In 1757, he was captain of the *America*, a sixty gun ship, one of the armament employed on the unsuccessful expedition against Rochfort, under Sir Edward Hawke. At the close of this year he was sent out senior officer of a small squadron, consisting of his own ship, the *America*, with the *Brilliant* and *Coventry* frigates, ordered to cruise off the coast of France.

No other material mention is made of Byron till the early part of 1760, when he commanded the *Fame*, of seventy-four guns, and was ordered to Louisbourg with some transports, having on board artificers and engineers, sent to demolish the fortifications of that once important place. Having received information from the governor of Louisbourg, that some French ships of war, with store-ships, were in Chaleur Bay, he proceeded in quest of them, with his own ship, the *Repulse*, and *Scarborough*. He succeeded in destroying the whole, consisting of three frigates, the *Marchault*, of thirty-two guns, the *Bienfaisant*, of twenty-two, and the

Marquis Marlose, of eighteen, with twenty schooners, sloops, and small privateers, having on board some troops, with a considerable quantity of provisions and stores.

Captain Byron returned from Louisbourg, and arrived in safety at Plymouth, towards the end of November. We believe him, though no farther particular mention is made of him, to have continued in the Fame nearly, if not entirely, till the end of the war. Soon after peace had taken place, it was resolved to send out a small force on a voyage of discovery; and Byron, in consequence of his universally acknowledged judgment and skill in the art of navigation, was pitched upon to command it.

His instructions, dated the 17th of June in that year, explain the nature and object of the expedition. "Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power, may be found in the Atlantic Ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanic Straits, within the latitude convenient for navigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commodities useful in commerce; and whereas his majesty's islands called Pepy's island and Falkland Islands, lying within the said track, notwithstanding their having been first discovered and visited by British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be formed of their coasts and product, his majesty taking the premises into consideration, and conceiving no conjuncture so proper for an enterprise of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken." Captain Byron, pursuant to these instructions, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June, and having visited the Falkland Islands, passed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the islands of Disappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York Island, and Byron Island. He returned to England in the month of May, in the year 1766—having determined in the course of this long navigation many doubtful points, the result of which was highly interesting to the public, and of great importance to future navigators.

Byron, after his return, held no command till the year 1769, when he was, on the 3d of June, appointed governor of Newfoundland. On March 31, 1775, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the blue, on the 28th of April, 1777, to be rear-admiral of the white, on the 23d of January, 1778, to be rear-admiral of the red, and, immediately after, to be vice-admiral of the blue. The hostile intentions of France becoming at this time apparent, and it being discovered by the administration, that a strong squadron of twelve ships of the line, commanded by count d'Estaing, was under orders to sail, as it was supposed, to America, admiral Byron was chosen to command a squadron of nearly the same force, which was ordered thither for the purpose of counteracting their interference. He sailed on the 9th of June; but the squadron encountering a violent gale of wind, was completely dispersed. Byron, who had his flag on board the *Princess Royal*, of ninety guns, arrived alone off Sandy Hook on the 18th of August, and found d'Estaing at anchor there before him, in such a station as to prevent all possibility of his getting either into New York or Rhode Island. He consequently bore away for Halifax, and having repaired the injuries the ship received on its passage, he sailed to New York, in order to join lord Howe, with all the force he had been able to collect. This consisted of no more than his own ship, the *Culloden*, of seventy-four guns, the *Diamond* frigate, with the *Dispatch* and *Hope* sloop-of-war. But the enemy, after a skirmish with some of the English ships, put into Boston, in New England, to repair the damages they had sustained, and to prepare for a voyage to the West Indies. Having collected his whole force, he followed in pursuit, and arrived in time to prevent any farther attack from being made on admiral Barrington, who had with a force, comparatively speaking, small, not only withstood the utmost efforts of the French admiral, but made himself master of the island of St. Lucia. Some months were spent in watching each other, during which time both sides received reinforcements; but the enemy still retained a manifest superiority, both in numbers and in the size of their ships. Such was the situation of affairs, when in the beginning of July, the vice-admiral having received intelligence that the French fleet, in great force, had been discovered from St. Vincent's, immediately put to sea in pursuit of them; when on his passage to Grenada, he received advice that the island was attacked by a force not exceeding nineteen ships of the

line. He hastened thither, and arrived off St. George's Bay, where the enemy lay at anchor, soon after day-light. On the 6th of July, immediate measures were taken to bring them to close action; but the enemy's fleet, when completely formed, was found to consist of twenty-seven ships of the line, instead of nineteen, which had been before stated as their highest force. Notwithstanding this great superiority, the whole of Byron's force, amounting to twenty-one sail only, seven or eight of which were of sixty-four guns, while very few in D'Estaing's fleet carried fewer than seventy-four, the latter most industriously avoided a close action, a point he was enabled, from the great superiority his ships possessed in point of sailing, to carry into effect. The encounter produced nothing decisive: encumbered as Byron was with a numerous fleet of transports, he was unable to effect any thing farther, and Grenada fell into their hands. He himself, in his despatches, makes the following remark on the enemy's conduct:—"Although it was evident, throughout the whole day, that they resolved to avoid a close engagement, I could not allow myself to think, that, with a force so greatly superior, the French admiral would allow us to carry off the transports unmolested."

Byron soon after this event returned to England in a frigate, leaving the command with rear-admiral Parker, and never accepted of any subsequent command. On the 19th of March, 1779, while absent in the West Indies, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the white, which was the highest rank he lived to attain.

He died on the 10th of April, 1786, with the universal and justly-acquired reputation of a brave and excellent officer, but of a man extremely unfortunate. He left two sons, of whom John, the elder, was the father of the celebrated poet.

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CAPTAIN COOK.—The parents of captain Cook, who were respectable in their lowly station, were settled for some time before his birth at Marton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and in this place their son James, destined to give celebrity to their name and family, was born on the 27th of October, in the year 1728. Having received the first rudiments of education at his native place, he was further instructed in writing, and the common rules of arithmetic at Ayton; and, at the age of thirteen years, he was

apprenticed to a shopkeeper at Staiths, a fishing town ten miles from Whitby. The sea, however, was the object towards which he manifested an early inclination; and, in consequence of some disagreement with his master, he obtained his discharge, and bound himself for seven years to Messrs. Walkers of Whitby, quakers by religious profession, who employed two ships in the coal trade.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he continued in vessels of this description, as a common sailor, till at length he was appointed mate in one of Walker's ships. At this time, he was not distinguished by any peculiar and very marked character, though, without doubt, he must have acquired a considerable degree of knowledge in practical navigation. In the spring of the year 1755, when hostilities commenced between England and France, Cook, and the ship to which he belonged, happened to be in the river Thames; and after concealing himself some time, to avoid being impressed, he determined to enter into the British navy. His first situation was on board the *Eagle* man-of-war, to the command of which captain, afterwards Sir Hugh, Palliser was appointed in 1755. As an active, diligent seaman, he recommended himself to the captain's notice; and in consequence of his acknowledged merit, as well as by some private interference, he obtained in May, 1759, a master's warrant, and was appointed to the *Mercury*.

This ship was destined for North America, where she joined the fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, which, in conjunction with the land forces under general Wolfe, was engaged in the siege of Quebec. As it was necessary to take the soundings in the river St. Lawrence, between the island of Orleans and the North shore, in the front of the French fortified camp at Montmorency and Beauport, Cook was recommended by captain Palliser to this difficult and hazardous service. He performed it, with great personal risk, to the entire satisfaction of his employers; and furnished the admiral with a complete and correct draught of the channel and soundings.

Before this time, it is thought that he had scarcely ever used a pencil, and that he had no knowledge of drawing. He next surveyed those parts of the river below Quebec, which navigators had found to be attended with much danger; this business was executed with his customary diligence and skill; and when his undertaking was finished, his chart of the river St. Lawrence was published with

the necessary soundings and directions for navigating the river.

After the expedition to Quebec, Cook was appointed master of the Northumberland man-of-war. During the station of his ship at Halifax, he read Euclid, and devoted his leisure time to the study of astronomy, and other branches of science. In 1762, the Northumberland came to Newfoundland, to assist in the recapture of the island from the French; and after this was accomplished, Cook surveyed the harbour of Placentia, and the heights of the place, with a diligence which engaged the notice of captain Greaves, the governor of Newfoundland. The governor formed a high opinion of his abilities and character; and this opinion was amply confirmed by the concurring testimony of all the officers under whom he had served.

Upon Cook's return to England, towards the close of the year 1762, he married. Early in the year 1763, he accompanied captain Greaves to Newfoundland as surveyor of its coasts. In 1764, he was appointed, under the orders of commodore Palliser, marine surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador; and of the satisfactory manner in which he executed this office, the charts which he afterwards published, afford sufficient evidence. These services were continued till the year 1767; and while he was employed in them, he transmitted to the Royal Society an observation of the eclipse of the sun at Newfoundland, with the longitude deduced from it, from which he appears to have already acquired the character of an able mathematician.

But a new and more interesting scene opened upon him. A spirit of discovery had been excited towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, and in the following century it was very vigorous and active: but, soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century, it declined: at a subsequent period, during the reign of king George II. it again began to revive; and two voyages were performed for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage through Hudson's Bay. But a nobler display of this spirit was reserved for Cook to furnish. Soon after the peace of 1763, two voyages round the world were undertaken by captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, to whom we are indebted for several discoveries, which served to extend the knowledge of geography and navigation; but before the return of the two last of these commanders, another voyage was projected, on a more extensive scale than either of the former.

The transit of Venus in 1769, which was likely to be observed with the greatest advantage in some of the islands of the South Sea, afforded an inducement to this expedition; and after a variety of preliminary consultations and debates, Cook, who was strongly recommended by Mr. Stephens, secretary to the admiralty, and by Sir Hugh Palliser, was appointed to the command of it, with the rank of a lieutenant in the royal navy.

A vessel of three hundred and seventy tons, called the Endeavour, was prepared; but before the necessary arrangements were completed, captain Wallis returned, and upon being consulted, he recommended Port Royal Harbour in George's Island, since known by the name of Otaheite, as the most proper place for the proposed observation of the transit. Lieutenant Cook was accompanied by Mr. Charles Green, who had been assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and also by Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, and Dr. Solander, men of the highest eminence in science.

Lieutenant Cook had further views in this voyage than the mere observation of the transit, and, accordingly, when that business was accomplished, he was directed to pursue discoveries in the great Southern Ocean. The complement of Cook's ship consisted of eighty-four persons, she was victualled for eighteen months: and furnished with ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, together with an ample store of ammunition and other necessaries.

On the 26th of August our navigators set sail from Plymouth Sound, and on the 13th of September anchored in Funchiale Road, in the island of Madeira. Here they were hospitably entertained; and having laid in a fresh stock of beef, water, and wine, they left the island on the 18th of September. Their reception at Rio de Janeiro was very different from that which they had met with at Madeira; and they were detained there from the 13th of Nov. to the 7th of the following month, involved in disagreeable discussion with the viceroy, a man destitute of science, and who could not be made to comprehend the objects of the voyage. Captain Cook behaved during the whole of the dispute with spirit, tempered with discretion. Leaving Rio de Janeiro, they proceeded on their voyage, and on the 13th of April, 1769, anchored in Matavia Bay, in the island of Otaheite. The 3d of June was the day in which the transit of Venus was to take place. It was accurately observed, an account

of which was published in the sixty-first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

We shall not farther detail the particulars of this voyage, than to touch upon such facts as are closely connected with the subject of the article. Captain Cook remained at Otaheite till the 15th of July, after which he sailed to the Society Islands. He then proceeded to the inhospitable coasts of New Zealand, and on the 10th October, 1770, he arrived at Batavia, with his vessel nearly worn out, and a crew much fatigued and sickly. The repairs of his ship obliged him to continue in this unhealthy place, till near the end of December, during which time he lost many of his seamen and passengers, and still more on his passage to the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached on the 16th of March 1771. From the Cape he sailed to St. Helen's, where he arrived on the 1st of May; and on the 12th of June he came to an anchor in the Downs, having been absent almost three years, during which he had experienced every danger to which a voyage of such length is incident, displaying on all occasions a mind equal to the most perilous enterprises, and to the boldest and most daring efforts of navigation.

The manner in which he had performed his voyage round the globe, justly entitled him to the applause and protection of government. He was, accordingly, promoted to be master and commander, by commission, bearing date August 1771. On this occasion, the persevering commander, from a consciousness of his own merit, was desirous of being made a post-captain, which was refused, as being a departure from the ordinary rules of the naval service. A pitiful excuse in such a case.

Shortly after his return to England, it was determined to equip two ships to complete, or rather to extend, the discoveries already made in the South Sea. He had laid before the Royal Society "an account of the flowing of the tides in the South Sea," and it had long been a prevailing idea, that the unexplored part of that sea contained another continent, and many plausible arguments had been urged in support of the opinion. To ascertain this point was the important object of Cook's second voyage. Two ships were provided, equipped with uncommon care, and furnished with every necessary that could contribute to the safety, health, and comfort of the navigators. The first of these, commanded by captain Cook, was called the Resolution, a vessel of four hundred and sixty-two tons burden; the other the

Adventure, of three hundred and thirty-six tons burden, was commanded by captain Furneaux.

They set sail in April 1772, and were out from that time to the 30th of July 1775, having during that long interval lost but one man by sickness in captain Cook's ship, although he had sailed in all climates from fifty-one degrees north, to seventy-one degrees south, with a company of one hundred and eighteen men. On the 9th of the following August, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and three days afterwards he received a more distinguished and substantial mark of the approbation of government, in being appointed one of the captains of Greenwich hospital, a situation which was intended to afford him a pleasing and honourable retirement from his labours and services.

On the 20th of February 1776, he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he was admitted on the 17th of March. The same evening a paper was read which he had addressed to the president, containing an account of the method which he had taken to preserve the health of the crew of his majesty's ship the Resolution during her voyage round the world. For this paper, as the best experimental essay in the year, it was resolved, by the president and council of the society, to present him with Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal. "If," says Dr. Kippis, "captain Cook had made no important discoveries; if he had not determined the question concerning a southern continent, his name would still have been entitled to immortality, on account of his humane attention to, and his unparalleled success in preserving the lives and health of his seamen."

The captain had abundant reason, on this head, to assume the pleasurable, but modest language, with which he has concluded his narrative of his second voyage round the globe. "Whatever," says he, "may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health among a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about the southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and divide the judgment of philosophers."

One circumstance alone, says his biographer, was wanting to complete the pleasure and celebrity arising from the assignment of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal—the hero was not there to hear the admirable discourse of the president on that occasion, or receive the honour conferred upon him, having sailed some months previously on his last voyage.

“If,” said Sir John Pringle, the president, “Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her mariners; who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country?”

The want of success which attended captain Cook's attempt to discover a southern continent, did not prevent another plan being resolved on which had been under consideration some time. A grand question remained to be determined, and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. The dangers which our navigator had twice braved and escaped, would have exempted him from being solicited a third time to venture his person in unknown countries, among desert islands, inhospitable coasts, and in the midst of savages: but on his opinion being asked as to a person most proper to execute this design, he was fired with the magnificence of the project, and the consequences of it to the interests of science and navigation, and determined, without hesitation, to relinquish the delights of domestic life, and to engage in new and arduous undertakings. His services were no sooner offered than they were accepted. He received his appointment in February, 1776, and sailed from Plymouth Sound in the *Resolution*, accompanied by captain Clerke in the *Discovery*, on the 12th of the following July. Of this voyage we cannot here do more than observe, that he completely fulfilled the end of the expedition, by demonstrating, in the most satisfactory manner, the impracticability of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, a second grand object of geographical inquiry which he had solved by his indefatigable exertions. Intelligence had already arrived of what he had done, and of the discoveries which he had made; while, however, his friends were waiting with the most earnest solicitude for tidings concerning him, and the whole nation expressed an anxious impatience

for a public announcement of the result of his long voyage, advice was received from captain Clerke, in a letter dated at Kamptschatka, that our illustrious navigator had lost his life in an affray with the natives of Owhyhee, on the 14th of February, 1779.

“Captain Cook,” says one of his biographers, “possessed, in an eminent degree, an inventive mind, which, by its native vigour, suggested noble objects of pursuit, and the most effectual methods of prosecuting and attaining them. This faculty he exemplified in a great variety of critical and difficult situations. To this kind of genius he added unwearied application. By his genius and unremitting assiduity, he acquired an extensive acquaintance, not only with navigation, but with many other sciences. He was so well informed with regard to different branches of the mathematics, and particularly in astronomy, that he was able to take the lead in various observations of an astronomical kind, in the course of his voyages. In general literature, and even the art of composition, he was so great a proficient that he acquired reputation, not merely as the performer, but as the narrator, of his various interesting enterprises. Perseverance and steadiness in the prosecution of the objects to which his life was devoted, were distinguishing features of his character; and such was the invincible fortitude of his spirit, that no difficulties or dangers intimidated him or deterred him from accomplishing any purpose which he formed, or which the hazardous services assigned him required. His fortitude was, of course, accompanied with complete self-possession. This latter quality was eminently useful to him in many critical and trying circumstances. Accordingly, it is observed that the calmness and composure of his mind were such, that, after having given necessary directions, he could take his rest, and sleep during the hours which he allotted to himself with perfect soundness. To the great qualities possessed by captain Cook, he added the most amiable and conciliatory virtues. His humanity is illustrated in the whole course of his conduct during his successive voyages; with regard to the inhabitants of the countries which he visited, and with respect to the accommodation, health, and comfort of his own seamen. In the private relations of life, he maintained an excellent and exemplary character as a husband and father, and as a sincere and steady friend; and his sobriety and virtue gave stability and security to every other moral qualification. He was also distinguished by the sim-

plicity of his manners. In conversation he was unaffected and unassuming; and yet, on necessary occasions, obliging and communicative."

If the arduous, but exact researches of this extraordinary man did not discover a new world, they discovered seas, un-navigated and unknown before. They made us acquainted with islands, people, and productions, of which we had no conception. And if he was not so fortunate as, like Americus, to give his name to a continent, his pretensions to such a distinction remain unrivalled; and he will be revered while there remains a page of his own modest account of his voyage, and as long as mariners and geographers shall be instructed by his labours, to trace the various courses and discoveries he has made.

From the numerous poetical tributes which the untimely fate of Cook called forth, we shall confine ourselves to an extract from Hannah More's poem on "Slavery."

"Had those advent'rous spirits who explore
Thro' ocean's trackless wastes, the far-sought shore,
Whether of wealth insatiate, or of power,
Conquerors who waste, or ruffians who devour:
Had these possessed, O Cook! thy gentle mind,
Thy love of arts, thy love of human kind;
Had these pursu'd thy mild and liberal plan,
Discoverers had not been a curse to man!
Then bless'd Philanthropy! thy social hands
Had link'd dissever'd worlds in brother's bands;
Careless, if colour, or if clime divide;
Then lov'd, and loving, man had liv'd and died."

The Royal Society testified their respect for the memory of their illustrious member by medals, struck on this occasion, some of gold, others of silver, and others of bronze. Cook left a widow and a numerous family, who were handsomely provided for by government.

HISTORY OF GEORGE III., 1763 to 1783.

The peace which, as we have seen, was thus laudably employed, continued about ten years. It was first interrupted by the civil war with our American colonies.

It is fortunately no part of our plan to enter into any discussion of the causes of the American revolt. The unhappy war which ensued, afforded no scope for the daring deeds of our brave sailors. The Americans had as yet no navy, and, although in their attempts to raise one, they showed

much of the spirit of their progenitors, none of the petty combats which ensued along their coasts, or in their lakes, are worthy of record in our naval annals; for, as it was a service, although of its kind sufficiently well performed, ungrateful to the navy, so to dwell upon it were ungrateful to their historian. The war with France, which that nation, supposing the opportunity favourable to humble Britain, rendered unavoidable, was looked upon as a relief; and, instead of depressing, roused the spirit alike of the nation and of its defenders by sea and land. This war was declared begun in February, 1778.

The ancient national animosity of the English was rekindled with great fury, as the conduct of France was deemed an act of treachery of the deepest dye—with what justice opinions have differed.

The effects of this spirit, in augmenting our armaments by sea and land, were soon visible. In a short time we had, besides a vast number of armed vessels and privateers, about two hundred ships of the line, frigates, and sloops, in commission. Of these, fifty ships of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain. The whole number of vessels on the coast of America amounted, it was said, to one hundred and thirty. Admiral Barrington was stationed at the Leeward Islands. Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica. The men of war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coast for the protection of trade; and admiral Duff's squadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with several capital ships. Nor were the French slow in their preparations. They had assembled a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the sea ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom.

These mighty preparations were not, however, productive of any immediate proportionate effect. Without incurring any charge of party partiality, we may, with safety, affirm that the affairs of Great Britain were not at this period guided by men clear in council and decided in action. D'Estaing, the French admiral, was allowed to leave Toulon unopposed, and his arrival in America completely neutralized our maritime power in that quarter. His policy, which he perseveringly pursued, was to avoid coming to a general action, to force him to which, repeated attempts were made by the English admirals, lords Howe, Byron, and Hood; who together, or successively, commanded on the American

station. Many partial actions were fought, brought on by the incessant attempts of the English admirals, and generally terminating in their favour; but, as D'Estaing skillfully retained such a position as to avoid a pitched battle, he was enabled to gain his objects, namely, to afford protection to the Americans, and to harass the English commerce.

The operations of the war in Europe were scarcely more decisive. The command-in-chief had been given to admiral Keppel, but his proceedings were embarrassed by the necessity which existed, or was thought to exist, for protecting the country itself from invasion, which rendered it impolitic to risk his fleet in a general engagement. At length he resolved to attack the enemy. His fleet consisted of thirty ships of the line, divided into three squadrons. The French fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships of the line, and a number of frigates, had sailed from Brest the 8th July, divided also into three squadrons, D'Orvilliers, commander-in-chief. The two fleets came within sight of each other in the afternoon of the 23d of July, in the Bay of Biscay, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Brest. At first the French admiral, from his movements, seemed desirous to bring on an engagement, probably supposing the British fleet to be nearly of equal force with what it was about four weeks before; but on coming nearer he discovered his mistake, and from that moment he evidently determined to avoid an action. This plan he adhered to for the three following days, notwithstanding every effort used by the British admiral to bring him to action; which the latter ardently wished for, before the East and West India fleets, which were expected about this time, should arrive, finding it would be difficult to protect them effectually, as the French fleet overspread many leagues of the ocean. All the advantage he could obtain in four days was to separate two of the enemy's line of battle ships, which returned to Brest, and could not again rejoin their fleet: this placed both fleets upon an equality as to line of battle ships. On the 24th the British admiral threw out the signal to chase to windward, which was continued the two following days, keeping at the same time his ships as much connected as the nature of a pursuit would admit, in order to seize the first opportunity of bringing the enemy to a close engagement; but this proved impossible, the French cautiously avoiding coming to an action, and showing in their manœuvres great address and nautical knowledge. About four o'clock in the morn-

ing of the 27th of July, the French were discovered to windward about five miles distance. Admiral Keppel finding some of his fleet too much scattered, made signals to collect them together, still continuing to follow the enemy. About ten o'clock a squall came on, which continued an hour; when it cleared up, the two fleets, by a shift of wind, had neared each other, but on different tacks. About half-past eleven the signal was given for a general engagement, at which time the ships as they came up began firing. The French attacked at some distance the headmost of Sir Robert Harland's division, which led the van. Their fire was warmly returned by almost every ship in the fleet, as they ranged along the line; and notwithstanding it had been extended by the chase, they were soon engaged, as the two fleets passed each other. The cannonade was very heavy, and did considerable execution on both sides. The enemy, as usual, fired chiefly at the rigging, which crippled many of the British ships, while the English continued the old way of fighting, by firing principally at the hulls of the enemy's ships.

The action, for the short space it lasted, about three hours, was very warm. The loss on the side of the British was one hundred and thirty-three killed, and three hundred and seventy-three wounded; among the latter were four officers, none of whom died. The French concealed their loss as much as possible; they acknowledged, however, one hundred and fifty killed, and about six hundred wounded.

After the different ships had repaired their damages, the commander-in-chief, about three o'clock in the afternoon, made the signal to form the line of battle ahead. The red division, commanded by Sir Robert Harland, immediately obeyed; but the blue division never came into the line during the rest of the day, Sir Hugh Palliser alleging afterwards that his ship the *Formidable* was so much disabled that he could not obey the signal.

Admiral Keppel's letter to the admiralty, prior to the engagement, mentioned his being for several days in chase of the enemy, from which the public expected that, if an action should happen, it would prove a decisive one; but, on reading the Gazette account of this affair when it was over, and finding that the enemy had escaped with their whole fleet, not a ship being captured or destroyed, they were greatly chagrined and disappointed.

Both sides claimed the victory in this undecisive action.

To whatever cause the want of success in this engagement was owing, it is evident that a fair opportunity was lost of striking a blow against the maritime power of France, which might have been decisive.

The commander discovering in the morning that the French had escaped, that many ships of his own fleet had suffered greatly in their masts and rigging, and that there was not the least prospect of overtaking the enemy before they could reach Brest, had no alternative but to bring the fleet home to be repaired. He arrived off Plymouth on the 31st of July.

Admiral Keppel put to sea again with the same number of ships and commanders, on the 22d of August. The French had left Brest some days before, but instead of looking out for the British fleet, they bore away for Cape Finisterre, leaving their trade at the mercy of our fleet and privateers. Many of their merchantmen accordingly fell into the hands of the English. The British admiral continued cruising in the bay till the 28th of October, when he returned to Portsmouth, and the French got to Brest a few days after.

The dissatisfaction of the nation, in respect to this transaction, was greatly increased by the steps taken by Sir Hugh Palliser, who, on the 9th of December, in the same year, presented to the board of admiralty a document charging admiral Keppel with unofficer-like conduct, with having misconducted the action of the 27th of July, and disgracefully lost a glorious opportunity of doing a most essential service to the State, whereby the honour of the British nation was tarnished. This measure, with other recriminations of the admirals on the result of this battle, led to both admirals Keppel and Palliser being put upon their trial by court-martial.

When the contents of the accusation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by prejudices, were various and contradictory. Those who only knew that we had neither taken nor destroyed any of the French ships in the late engagement, a circumstance which they could not hesitate in ascribing to the misconduct of our commanders, fancied they understood the charges against the admiral. They wished that the man who had tarnished the ancient lustre of the British flag might be brought to condign punishment; for never any crisis was more alarming than the present, or more loudly demanded every exertion of discipline and severity.

This torrent of popular censure, which, on another occasion, would have burst forth with irresistible fury, was effectually checked by two circumstances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of British seamen, who loved his manners, and respected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the ministry, and especially to be no favourite with the first lord of the admiralty. This was sufficient to occasion a suspicion that the ministers in general heartily concurred in the accusation, partly to divert the public from reflections, and partly to share with others the blame which must otherwise have lain entirely on their own shoulders. It was known that almost every officer entrusted with a principal command had fallen under their displeasure; and although errors, doubtless, must have been committed by our commanders in the course of the war, yet a repeated series of calamity could only be occasioned by an error at head-quarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, skill, or integrity in those who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cause and reputation of admiral Keppel were still further supported by a memorial presented to his majesty on the 30th of December, and signed by the first names in the British navy. This paper contained a severe remonstrance against the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliser, but of the lords of the admiralty.

This memorial occasioned no alteration in the measures adopted by the lords of the admiralty, who issued their orders to admiral Sir Thomas Pye, to hold a court-martial at Portsmouth, on the 7th of January, for the trial of admiral Keppel. The court accordingly assembled, and continued till the 11th of February. In the course of the evidence, not one fact was proved that could give support to a single article in the charge. On the other hand, the evidence brought forward by the admiral proved, that the reason why the British fleet did not reattack the French, was the disobedience of Sir Hugh Palliser, who disregarded the admiral's signal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. This obliged the court-martial to give the admiral an honourable acquittal. On the 12th of April following, a court-martial on Sir Hugh Palliser pronounced the following sentence:—"That it is their opinion the charge against admiral Keppel is malicious and ill-founded, it having appeared that the said admiral, so

far from having by misconduct and neglect of duty, on the days therein alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer."

The court-martial then proceeded to state that Sir Hugh Palliser's conduct was wrong in not obeying the admiral's signal to fight, or sending him word that he was unable. Yet they added that, "Notwithstanding his omission in that particular, the court are of opinion he is not, in any other respect, chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour on the days above-mentioned, and they acquit him accordingly."

Thus ended the year 1778, in which, although success was not such as could have been desired, we had, at least, the satisfaction that our arms were no longer exclusively turned against our countrymen; and that the enemy was kept at bay. In the following year, Spain and Holland, who had been secretly against us, became more and more openly our enemies, and at this period we may, without much exaggeration, say, that we contended against the whole maritime powers of the world without a single ally, while our enemies, with malignant eyes, awaited our total destruction.

On the 16th of June, 1799, hostilities were commenced against Spain, whose fleet had combined with that of France to act against Britain. In America and the West Indies the same system of avoiding decisive fighting was continued by the French, and the detail of the conflicts that occurred would be little interesting.

The following is preserved for the sake of the romantic and characteristic anecdote of the brave sailor.

On the Jamaica station, captain Luttrell, who commanded a small squadron, resolved, in conjunction with captain Dalrymple and a detachment of land forces, to attack the Spanish fort Omoa. As they had no artillery, the only feasible plan of bringing this enterprise to a successful termination was, to attempt to carry the place by a *coup de main*. A general attack, therefore, was made on the fort at the same time, on the night of the 16th of October, by sea and by land: very little resistance was offered, and the fort, garrison, ships in the harbour, together with two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, and three millions of piastres, fell into the hands of the British.

Respecting this capture, an anecdote is related of a sailor, particularly deserving a place in this work. "A single

sailor scrambled over the wall of the fort, with a cutlass in each hand: thus equipped, he fell in with a Spanish officer just roused from sleep, who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword: the tar, disdainng to take advantage of an unarmed foe, and willing to display his courage in single combat, presented the officer with one of the cutlasses, saying, 'I scorn any advantage, you are now on a footing with me.' The astonishment of the officer, at such an act of generosity, and the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing else but to be cut to pieces, could only be rivalled by the admiration which his relating the story excited in his countrymen." Upon this circumstance being mentioned to Sir Peter Parker at the return of the squadron, he appointed this intrepid fellow to be boatswain of a sloop-of-war.

We give the following isolated combat, which introduces the celebrated and brave Paul Jones on the scene. He was at this time in the service of the Americans.

On the 23d of September, captain Pearson and captain Piercy, with the ships under their command, having a large convoy of merchant vessels with them off the Yorkshire coast, received information that an enemy's squadron had been seen there a few days before. Measures were immediately taken to secure the convoy, and preparations made for action. A little after noon on the same day, the enemy's ships were seen, consisting of a two-decked ship and two frigates. Soon after seven o'clock the action commenced, the largest ship of the enemy attacking the *Serapis*, captain Pearson, forty guns, assisted occasionally by one of the frigates, while the other frigate attacked the *Countess of Scarborough*, captain Piercy, twenty guns. The object of the largest vessel, which was commanded by Paul Jones, was, from the commencement of the engagement, to board the *Serapis*; for this purpose they manœuvred in different ways: at first, after firing two or three broadsides, she dropped within pistol shot of the *Serapis*' quarter; but being repulsed in this attempt to board, she sheered off. Afterwards, when captain Pearson manœuvred his ship, in order to lay her again along-side of the enemy, the latter laid the *Serapis* athwart hawse, where she lay for some time, till at last, having got clear, the two ships brought up close along-side of each other, the muzzles of their guns actually touching. For two hours the battle raged in this situation with dreadful fury, the enemy making several attempts to set fire to the *Serapis*

by means of combustibles which they threw on board her; their attempts, fortunately, were unsuccessful. About half-past nine, all the guns of the *Serapis*, behind the main-mast, were rendered useless by a dreadful explosion that took place, which also destroyed all the officers and men who were in that part of the ship. The loss of the *Serapis* was further increased by the fire of one of the enemy's frigates, which kept constantly sailing round and raking her.

Paul Jones, finding that he had little chance of succeeding by fighting against the *Serapis*, had recourse to stratagem; some of his men called for quarter; and on captain Pearson hailing to inquire if they had struck, no answer was returned; he naturally supposed that, though unwilling to yield, they were not in a state to make a much longer resistance; he, therefore, ordered his men to board the enemy; but they had scarcely succeeded in this, before a greatly superior number of men, armed with pikes, who had lain concealed, attacked them, and compelled them to return to the *Serapis*. At this critical juncture, before the men could regain their guns, and before the *Serapis* could be placed in proper position, the frigate poured in another broadside with dreadful effect, so that captain Pearson, unable to bring even a single gun to bear, was under the painful necessity of striking his colours. The ship to which he struck was the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty guns, and three hundred and seventy-five men. The frigate which had been employed, during the battle, in sailing round and raking him, was the *Alliance* of forty guns, and three hundred men. The former was so dreadfully disabled, that, soon after the battle, the crew were obliged to quit her. The loss of the *Serapis* was forty-nine killed, and sixty-eight wounded; that of the *Bon Homme Richard* was three hundred and six killed and wounded. The battle between the *Countess of Scarborough* and her opponent the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and seventy-five men, was fought with equal obstinacy, but with the same want of success on the part of the British; after a contest of two hours, captain Piercy, perceiving another frigate bearing down against him, was compelled to strike his flag; his loss was four men killed and twenty wounded. The gallantry of captain Pearson in this engagement, was rewarded by a knighthood and by the situation of lieutenant governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Renewed and extensive preparations were again made for vigorous action in 1780.

The supplies, so far as they regarded the navy, were very great: eighty-five thousand seamen, including marines, were voted for the service of 1780; the supplies for these men amounted to a sum then deemed enormous and unprecedentedly great, viz., £4,470,000; the whole sum voted for the navy was upwards of £7,000,000; and the total supplies were £21,000,000.

The flag-officers employed were the following:—Sir Thomas Pye, at Portsmouth; Gambier, at Plymouth; Roddam, at the Nore; Geary, succeeded to the command of the Channel fleet, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy; commodore Johnstone, on the Lisbon station; Arbuthnot, in America; Sir G. B. Rodney, on the Leeward Island station, in the Sandwich, with six sail of the line; Sir Peter Parker was stationed at Jamaica, in the command of the Windward Islands; and Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies.

France had agreed to assist Spain in an attack on Gibraltar: the Spaniards at the very commencement of their war with this country, having sat down before this important fortress; and though no immediate apprehension was entertained that it could speedily or easily be reduced, yet prudence required that effectual efforts should be made for its support.

For this purpose Sir George Rodney was employed. He was to go out to take the command on the Leeward Island station; and in his course there, Gibraltar was to be relieved. Along with him, a squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Digby, was also sent out, which, when the relief of Gibraltar had been accomplished, was to return to England, while Sir George Rodney proceeded to the West Indies. On the 27th of December, 1779, this commander put to sea, with twenty sail of the line, and nine frigates, taking under his protection the merchant vessels bound to Portugal and the West Indies, along with the store ships and victuallers destined for Gibraltar and Minorca.

Soon after this fleet put to sea, it fell in with a very considerable Spanish convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, under the protection of a sixty-four gun ship, and four frigates: the whole fleet was taken, and turned out to be a very rich prize, as several of the merchant vessels belonged to the royal company of the Caraccas. This capture, besides being the source of riches to the captors, was extremely fortunate in another respect, as a great number of the vessels were loaded with

wheat and other provisions; and some of them with naval stores.

Fortune appeared to favour admiral Rodney, and to have singled him out as the person destined to retrieve the affairs of the British navy. On the 16th of January, he fell in with a Spanish squadron; consisting of eleven sail of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. As the enemy were inferior in force to the British fleet, they used every endeavour to avoid an engagement, and in these endeavours they were assisted by their vicinity to the coast, the roughness of the weather, and the time of the year; but Sir George, aware of their design, and of the circumstances which favoured its execution, evinced great skill in counter-acting it. After much manœuvring, the Spaniards were compelled to fight. In their anxiety to escape, they had thrown themselves into considerable confusion, and when they perceived a battle was inevitable, they had hardly time to arrange their ships in order of battle. They fought, however, with great spirit and resolution; and returned our fire with considerable effect. It was near the close of one of the short days in January. The night soon drew on: it was dark and tempestuous; and the horrors of battle in such a night were greatly augmented by the blowing up of the Spanish ship *San Domingo*, which happened early in the action. She mounted seventy guns, and carried six hundred men. Not a single soul was saved. The *Bienfaisant*, which was alongside of her at the time of the explosion, very narrowly escaped a similar fate. The Spaniards, unable to withstand the superior force of the British, sought safety in flight.

The result of this action was glorious and decisive: the Spanish admiral's ship, the *Phoenix*, mounting eighty guns, was taken; the *San Julian*, a seventy gun ship, was also captured, but she was afterwards retaken; another seventy gun ship that was taken, ran on the breakers and was completely lost. Four of the Spanish fleet escaped into Cadiz, damaged in a greater or less degree.

After this battle, admiral Rodney proceeded to Gibraltar, where, having effectually executed the commission on which he was sent, he sailed to the West Indies.

We shall not attempt to detail the numerous actions fought both in the East and West Indies during this year, none of which, however well contested, were very decisive or attended by important results. Among the French admi-

rals, De Suffrein greatly distinguished himself, particularly on the East India station. He was one of the most skilful and brave officers of the French navy, to whom the English had ever been opposed.



Towards the end of this year, war was formally declared against the Dutch, and for the year 1781, his majesty's forces, both by land and sea, had been enabled to oppose the formidable power of America and her allies. His Majesty, however, lamented that additional supplies, and consequently additional burdens would still be necessary; but the parliament were desired to grant only such supplies as they should deem requisite for the honour and security of the nation. When the address was moved, an amendment was proposed, tending to blame ministers for the whole of their conduct in the American war, which, however, was thrown out, there appearing, on a division, a majority of 212 for the original motion, while only 150 supported the amendment.

Parliament granted the following supplies for the sea service; viz. for the maintenance of ninety thousand men, including twenty thousand marines, £4,446,000; for the ordinary, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers, £386,261; for the buildings, repairs, &c. of the navy, £617,016; for the ordnance required for the sea service,

£234,000; and for discharging the navy debt, £3,200,000; making a total of £872,788. As the whole supplies granted for the year amounted to £25,380,324, it is evident that the supplies for the navy, were rather more than a third of the whole.

The most important naval event that happened in Europe, this year, resulted from the war in which Great Britain and Holland were now engaged. It was well known that the Dutch were making great preparations in their ports; this circumstance, the vicinity of those ports to our coasts, and the remembrance of the naval fame which the Dutch had acquired in their last wars with England, made our government extremely desirous to meet their preparations with an adequate force. This force was stationed in the Downs, for the purpose of more narrowly and closely watching the Dutch fleet, when it should put to sea; it consisted of four ships of the line, one of fifty, and one of forty-four guns, and some frigates; the command of it was bestowed on vice-admiral Parker.

Soon after this, information was received that a fleet of Dutch frigates was at sea for the purpose of intercepting our Baltic fleet. Admiral Parker was therefore ordered to take the merchantmen under his protection, and to proceed with them to Leith roads. The Dutch had also a fleet of merchantmen going to the Baltic, which they were naturally anxious to protect. Accordingly, seven ships of the line, carrying from fifty-four to seventy-four guns, ten frigates, and five sloops, were prepared, and sent to sea, under the command of rear-admiral Zoutman.

As soon as it was known that the Dutch fleet were superior to that under the command of admiral Parker, commodore Stewart, with the *Berwick* of seventy-four guns, and the *Tartar* and *Belle Poule* frigates, was ordered to join him; this he accomplished a short time before the hostile fleets met. Admiral Parker had cruised so long in the north seas, that his vessels, in general, were in bad order. In this respect, as well as in weight of metal, he was inferior to the Dutch.

On the 5th of August, at day break, as the British admiral was steering towards the coast of England, with the Baltic fleet under his convoy, the Dutch squadron under Zoutman, was discovered near the Dogger Bank, steering northward.

As soon as admiral Parker ascertained that it was the

Dutch fleet, he ordered the merchant ships under his protection to separate, under escort of a frigate; this done, he made the signal for a general chase, and at six o'clock, another signal was made, to form a line of battle abreast, at two cables' length asunder, for the purpose of drawing his ships towards the enemy in a regular form. It was soon apparent that the Dutch admiral did not mean to avoid an action; he made the signal for the vessels under his protection to separate from the ships of war, but only to a short distance to the leeward of his line of battle, which he formed on the larboard tack. The British admiral did not make the signal for battle, till all his ships had ranged themselves alongside their opponents. The first vessel on our side which commenced firing was the Berwick; she soon, however, was obliged to quit the line in consequence of the loss of her mizen-topmast; but in a short time, she once more got into action with the van ship of the enemy. The Dolphin also was compelled to make sail and to quit the line, in order to weather the van of the Dutch squadron; and the Buffalo was incapable, from the damage she received early in the engagement, to bear down and close with her opponent. This disaster deranged the van of the British line, while the van of the enemy having suffered very little, admiral Parker did not find himself in a condition to prevent them from bearing away unmolested. After they had sailed a little way, they made a show of again waiting to be attacked, by sometimes taking the wind upon one side, and sometimes upon the other; these manœuvres had, however, no object but to conceal their intention of getting off before the wind. The cannonade continued for three hours and forty minutes. Some of our ships fired two thousand five hundred shot each, and the battle, through the whole of it, displayed great courage on both sides.

The Dutch had many advantages in this fight. Their weight of metal was greatly superior to ours; they had several frigates of a large size, which did not content themselves with keeping at a distance, and occasionally affording assistance, by towing out of the line the ships that might be disabled, but were closely and regularly intermixed with their line, lying between the line of battle ships, where they took a very effective part in the action, and did much mischief to our vessels, by firing at their rigging, while the whole of their attention was necessarily directed to their opponents.

At twelve o'clock, when admiral Parker hauled down the signal for battle, the ships on both sides lay like logs on the water, so completely unmanageable, that the utmost efforts of their respective crews could not keep them within the distance necessary to continue the battle. It was observed that the English ships were principally damaged in their masts and rigging, so that they could not pursue the enemy, while the damage of the Dutch ships lay almost entirely in their hulls, which were greatly shattered. This circumstance seems to prove that the English were more anxious to destroy their opponents, while the Dutch were more desirous to secure their own escape, if necessary, by incapacitating their opponents from pursuing them.

One of the best ships belonging to the Dutch, the *Hollandia*, of sixty-four guns, went down during the night after the battle, in such a sudden manner, that her crew were obliged to abandon her, without being able to bring off their wounded companions. The loss of men on both sides was very great, for hard fighting and not manœuvring was the object both with the English and Dutch; the former, who were by far the least sufferers, had one hundred and four men killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded in the seven ships. Of these twenty were killed, and sixty-seven wounded in the *Fortitude* only.

We revert to admiral Rodney and the West India fleet, whose exploits this year, were again remarkable.

Soon after Rodney returned to his station in the West Indies, he and general Vaughan, who commanded the land forces there, received such information respecting the Island of St. Vincent, as determined them to attempt its capture. It was represented to have suffered so much by a hurricane, as to be incapable of much resistance. On this representation, Rodney and Vaughan went against it, and landed some troops; but it was soon discovered, that the information on which they had proceeded on this enterprise was incorrect, as the island was in a very respectable state of defence; and the enemy having heard of the intended attack, were fully prepared to meet and resist it. They, therefore, re-embarked the troops. As, however, the forces had been collected, the commanders, as soon as they heard of the war between this country and Holland, directed their efforts against the Dutch islands.

The principal island which the Dutch possessed in the West Indies was St. Eustatius; which, though little better

than a barren rock, had long been the seat of a lucrative and prodigious traffic; it was considered and used as a free port; and the Americans resorted to it with all the plunder they had procured from the capture of our vessels in that sea. This island, thus barren by nature, but rich by the accumulation of spoil, is remarkably strong, and well fortified; there is, indeed, only one place where a landing is practicable. It might, therefore, have proved an arduous and dearly-earned conquest, had its inhabitants exerted themselves in its defence, and kept in proper order the fortifications which had been erected on it for that purpose; but they were too intent on commerce to be prepared for war.

The British fleet and army, in order to conceal the real object of the expedition, at first appeared off the coasts of Martinique; whence they suddenly turned, and surrounded the island of St. Eustatius; their force was much greater than was necessary for the object in view; and, relying on this and on the unprepared state of the enemy, they immediately sent a peremptory summons to the governor, allowing him only an hour to surrender the island and its dependencies. The governor, unapprized of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, and totally unprepared for defence, surrendered without fighting.

The wealth that fell into the possession of the conquerors, exceeded greatly their expectations, and all the information they had received respecting it. The whole island seemed one great storehouse of the richest merchandise. The beach itself was spread over with hogsheads of tobacco and sugar. The value of all the commodities that fell into the hands of the captors, it was impossible accurately to compute, or even to conjecture; the lowest estimate rated them at three millions sterling. This, however, did not comprehend the shipping. One hundred and fifty vessels, many of them with cargoes of great value, were taken in the bay; besides a Dutch frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and five other smaller vessels.

St. Martin and Saba, small islands, appendages and neighbouring to St. Eustatius, were also taken in the same easy manner, and a fleet, richly laden, which had sailed from St. Eustatius, a very short time before, under the protection of a single ship of war, was pursued, overtaken, and captured.

As we had gained possession of the Dutch islands thus easy, it seemed as if we were careless about retaining them;

for they were left in such an incomplete state of defence, that on the 26th November, they were surprised and retaken by a body of French troops, under the command of the Marquis de Bouilli.

We approach now towards the conclusion of the war, when British valour, which had been in some degree clouded, shone forth with its wonted brilliancy.

When Spain united with France against Great Britain, she seemed particularly anxious to regain Gibraltar. Minorca, also, as being an island so close to the coast of Spain, and having always, till its capture by Great Britain, formed part of that monarchy, was another object of desire. The siege of Fort St. Philip, in this island, was carried on with great vigour, and a force of sixteen thousand regular troops, with a hundred and nine pieces of heavy battering cannon, and thirty-six large mortars, under the command of the duke de Crillon, was employed for that purpose. To oppose this immense force, general Murray, who commanded the fort, had a very feeble and inadequate garrison. He, however, made a determined resistance, and did not surrender till the number of his men was reduced by scurvy to not more than six hundred and sixty, out of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two, fit for duty. The joy of the king of Spain at the conquest of Minorca was excessive; he determined now to direct his whole efforts to the reduction of Gibraltar, before which he had long kept a numerous army; whose attempts, however, had been completely baffled by the intrepidity of general Elliot, who commanded that fortress. The duke de Crillon was appointed captain-general of the Spanish armies. Forty thousand land forces, including twelve thousand French troops, forty-seven sail of the line, besides floating batteries, frigates, and other vessels of war, formed the force employed. The plan of attack adopted, was that of the chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of great reputation, but was said to have been modified, if not formed, by the Spanish monarch himself. According to this plan, floating batteries were to be constructed on such a principle, that it should be impossible for any effort or means of the besieged either to sink or set fire to them. In order to render it impossible to sink them, their keels and bottoms were to be fortified with an extraordinary thickness of timber; to secure them against fire, the sides of the floating batteries were to be lined with timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, with a large quantity of wet sand be-

tween. It was supposed that by this means no cannon shot would penetrate, or if it did, that the wet sand would not only impede its progress, but prevent it from setting fire to the vessels. An extraordinary part of their construction was that in imitation of the circulation of the blood in the living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continual succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessel. By this means it was expected that the redhot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief, as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure the immediate extinction of any fire produced.

In order to construct these machines, ten great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were cut down to the state required by the plan of the engineer; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber were employed in their construction. There was still, however, some things to be guarded against. They were not yet bomb-proof. In order to render them so, and at the same time to protect the men at the batteries from grape-shot, a hanging roof was erected, and contrived in such a manner, that it could be raised or let down with the greatest facility, at the pleasure of those on board the vessels. This roof was formed of a strong netting, covered and protected by wet hides of great strength and thickness; such a slope was given it, as it was supposed would effectually serve to throw off the shells that might fall on it, before they could burst or do any mischief. On board these batteries were placed brass cannon of a large calibre, and in each ship a supply was kept in case of accident. D'Arcon had contrived a kind of match to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature as to emulate lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns of the battery were to go off together.

The Spanish commander did not trust entirely to these means. Twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were collected, and the quantity of gunpowder was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels.

General Elliot so far from appearing daunted, determined to begin the attack. About seven in the morning of the 8th of September, he commenced a powerful and well-directed fire, by which, about ten o'clock, the Mahon battery and another adjoining it were set in flames, and by five in the evening they were entirely consumed. The enemy were

exceedingly mortified, and hastened their preparations for the grand, and, as they hoped, the decisive attack. On the morning of the 9th, by break of day, a new battery of sixty-four heavy cannon was opened, which poured without intermission its shot into the garrison. The enemy, during this and several succeeding days, fired at the rate of six thousand five hundred cannon shot and one thousand and eighty shells in every twenty-four hours; while their ships made continual attacks on Europa Point, the defence of which was solely entrusted to captain Curtis and the marine brigade under his command. In order that the attention of the garrison might be completely distracted, by the various and multitudinous forms of attack going on at the same time, the gun and mortar-boats were added to the other instruments of war, and continued their assaults, both by day and night, without the smallest intermission, on the works of the fortress.

At this time the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to forty-eight sail of the line, arrived at Alge-siras from Cadiz; and every thing was also complete in the battering ships. These were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy cannon; and to the service of each gun, thirty-six artillery-men were appointed; besides these, there were a sufficient number of officers to direct the operations, and of seamen to work and manage the vessels, so that the whole number on board of these battering ships could not be less than six or seven thousand men. The plan was, that the fire of these vessels should be steadily directed to one object, while the gun and mortar-boats, with the floating battery and the bomb-ketches should carry on their attack in every possible direction. It was calculated that every part of the fortress would at one and the same time be exposed to a destructive fire; and as it would be impossible for the garrison to be everywhere present and upon the alert, it was hoped that some point would be so far injured as to present a favourable place for assault.

About eight o'clock in the morning, on the 13th of September, the ten battering ships of the enemy weighed anchor and stood over towards Gibraltar, where they occupied the stations allotted for them, about nine hundred yards from the works. The ship on board of which was the Spanish admiral, was stationed near the king's bastion, while the other vessels extended, three to the southward of the flag, as far as the church battery; five to the north-

ward, near the Old Mole; and one a little to the westward of the admiral. As soon as they had reached their stations, they began a heavy cannonade, in which they were seconded and supported by the cannon and mortars in the lines, while the batteries from the garrison opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and with shells from the howitzers and mortars. The scene of this day is described by eye-witnesses as grand and terrible in the highest degree.

Although general Elliot made no display of the measures he had adopted, they were found to be completely adequate for the purposes of defence and of destruction. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land, from the garrison, astonished the commanders of the allied forces, who could not conceive the possibility that general Elliot, straitened within the narrow limits of a garrison, should have been able to construct such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the quantity of shot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships alone received in the course of the day, was estimated at not fewer than four thousand. Nor were the mortar-batteries in the fortress worse supported; and while the battering ships appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehension to the garrison, the whole extent of the peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it.

For a long time it seemed as if the battering ships were completely invulnerable to all the attempts made by the garrison to destroy them; while they continued through the greatest part of the day to maintain a destructive cannonade, they resisted the combined powers of fire and artillery to such a degree, that the incessant showers of shells, and red-hot shot, with which they were assailed, made no visible impression upon them. About two o'clock, however, there were signs of their approaching destruction: smoke was seen to rise from the upper part of the admiral's deck, and the men were observed using fire engines, and pouring water into the holes made by the red-hot shot. This circumstance stimulated the efforts of the garrison. It was now beyond a doubt, that though these battering ships were constructed with so much art and ingenuity, and though they were capable, at the same time, of inflicting and of suffering so

much, yet there were in the garrison means sufficient to destroy them. In the course of the night, it could not be accurately ascertained whether the fire on board of them increased. That it was not got under, was evident from the continued efforts of the men to work the fire engines, and to pour water down the shot holes. The fire from the garrison was therefore continued without intermission throughout the whole of the night; and by one o'clock in the morning, the admiral's ship and another were more visibly on fire. Everything on board them indicated the utmost confusion and alarm; rockets were thrown up, to announce their distress and danger to the other ships, and the fleet immediately sent out all the assistance in their power; but to afford assistance, under the circumstances in which the battering ships were placed, was neither safe nor easy. It was impossible to remove the battering ships, or to save them where they were: the only object, therefore, was to take out the men. But the very means which had been employed to render these ships formidable to the garrison, made it extremely dangerous to approach them; they were filled with combustible matter, which, now that they were on fire, was continually exploding; while the fire from the garrison, directed with more vigour against these ships, as they were seen to be on flames, added greatly to the danger of those who attempted to save their unfortunate comrades.

While these operations were going on, brigadier Curtis, with his squadron of gun-boats, lay under the New Mole, ready to take advantage of any favourable opportunity which might present itself. Accordingly, about three o'clock, when the enemy had suffered most dreadfully, and were thrown into the utmost confusion, by their battering ships having taken fire, he began an attack upon their flank. His gun-boats were drawn up in such a manner, as to rake the entire line of the battering ships, and thus to repel all attempts which the Spaniards were making to succour those who were in them: no hope of safety now remained for these unfortunate men, unless in the humanity of their conquerors; and this humanity was in a great measure successfully exercised, notwithstanding that to save them was still attended with imminent danger. It was not, however, till the morning of the 14th that the whole extent of the defeat of the Spaniards was discovered, or that the efforts of brigadier Curtis, in the cause of humanity, could be successfully exerted. When daylight appeared, the scene was

most dreadful. In the midst of the flames great numbers of the enemy were discovered crying out for assistance; while others were seen floating on pieces of timber, liable every moment either to be washed off, or to be destroyed by the shot from the garrison. As soon as the effects of the fire from Gibraltar were clearly seen, and it was put beyond a doubt that the enemy were completely defeated, the firing ceased entirely. Every thought, which but a few minutes before had been directed to the destruction of the Spaniards, was now turned to their rescue from death. In a moment it was forgotten that they were enemies, and only remembered that they were suffering fellow-creatures. At the same moment, those vessels which had been employed to deal destruction among them, were used for the purpose of saving them; and it would be impossible to determine, whether the British displayed more intrepidity in their endeavours to save or to destroy. In this employment, the marine brigade were almost exclusively engaged; and their escape from destruction was almost miraculous.

Such admirable measures had been taken by the governor for the protection and security of the garrison, while they were employed in defending the fortress and in annoying the enemy, that their loss was comparatively light, and it was chiefly confined to the artillery corps. The marine brigade, of course, being much more exposed, suffered more severely; yet not nearly to such a degree as might have been anticipated. In the course of about nine weeks, the whole number slain amounted only to sixty-five, and the wounded to three hundred and eighty-eight. How little chance the Spaniards had of succeeding in their attack, even if their battering ships had not taken fire, may be judged from this circumstance, that the works of the fortress were scarcely damaged.

The garrison was soon after relieved by Lord Howe, who succeeded in landing two regiments of troops, and in sending in a supply of fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder.

The repulse of the allied French and Spanish at Gibraltar, joined to the celebrated victory which Rodney had already gained on the 12th of April, paved the way to a peace. We have dwelt somewhat minutely on the former, although not exclusively naval, because it is inseparably interwoven with naval affairs, and also because it is an event deeply interesting in itself. Of the latter, we shall reserve the account until we come to the memoir of lord Rodney.

George Augustus Elliot, the noble defender of Gibraltar, son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stoles, was born in Roxburghshire, in 1717. He was created a British peer, under the title of lord Heathfield, for his gallantry on this occasion, and died in 1790.

In the East Indies, during this year, the palm of superiority was bravely and obstinately contested between admirals Hughes and De Suffrein, but still without any decisive result. A short account of a part of their proceedings may serve as a specimen of the whole.

As soon as intelligence reached the East Indies of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, Sir Edward Hughes and the commander of the land forces, determined to attempt the conquest of the Dutch settlements. Negapatnam was the first that fell into their hands. As soon as they had completed this conquest, admiral Hughes sailed with troops on board against the Dutch settlement of Trincomale, in the island of Ceylon; this was taken by assault on the 11th of January. The English fleet then, being in want of stores and provisions, returned to Madras road. On the 15th of February, De Suffrein appeared in the offing with twelve sail of the line. The English admiral had only nine two-decked ships, one of which carried but fifty guns; he, however, prepared for an engagement, by placing his ships in the most advantageous position, with springs on their cables, so that they, and the numerous shipping which lay further in the road, might be defended with the greatest prospect of success. De Suffrein, however, did not think proper to attack them, but stood out of the bay; he was immediately pursued by Sir Edward, with the hope of being able to cut off some of the numerous transports which were under the protection of the enemy's fleet. He succeeded in capturing several of them, and the French admiral, apprehensive that more would be taken, bore down with all the sail he could carry. No action, however, took place on the 16th; but on the subsequent day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, De Suffrein was enabled, by a favourable squall of wind, to bring his whole force against the centre and rear of the British, which were nearly becalmed, and at some distance from their van. Thus five ships of our squadron were exposed to the attack of the whole French fleet. This unequal contest was maintained with great spirit and vigour, till about six o'clock, when a favourable breeze reached the

other part of the British fleet, and enabled them to come up to the assistance of the centre and the rear. The enemy, now that the battle was put upon a more equal footing, did not long continue it; but having suffered severely, stood off. De Suffrein, in this engagement had directed his principal attack against two of the British fleet, the *Superb* and the *Exeter*. The latter at one time stood singly the fire of five ships. At the close of the action, when she had been severely cut up, two fresh vessels of the enemy's squadron bore down upon her. The master asked commodore King what he should do with her, under these circumstances, his reply was, "There is nothing to be done, but to fight her till she sinks."

Sir Edward Hughes having repaired his ships, and being reinforced by the arrival of the *Sultan*, of seventy-four, and the *Magnanime*, of sixty-four guns, from England, proceeded again to sea. His principal object was to protect a valuable convoy which was coming from England, and part of which had been put into Morebat Bay some time before. De Suffrein was apprised of the approach and the importance of this convoy, and he determined to use his utmost endeavours to intercept it, before its union with the English fleet. On the 8th of April, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other, and they continued in sight at nearly the same distance asunder, and in the same relative position for three days, when Sir Edward Hughes being within fifteen leagues of Trincomale, stood directly for that port. On the 12th, a desperate encounter took place between the two fleets, but without any decisive results. Both squadrons having suffered very severely, the English more particularly in their masts and rigging, continued at anchor within a few miles of each other, for several days. Sir Edward Hughes at first was apprehensive that the French would renew the attack; but when he observed the confused and disabled state they were in, he was freed from this apprehension. As soon as the *Monmouth* was fitted with jury-masts, so as to be able to keep up with the rest of the fleet, the British admiral weighed anchor, and proceeded to Trincomale Bay; the French repairing to Batacola, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the south of the former place.

Towards the end of this year, negotiations for a general peace were brought to a successful conclusion, and it was finally concluded early in 1783.

ADMIRAL BARRINGTON. — Samuel Barrington was the fifth son of John, first lord viscount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland. Being intended for the naval service, he was entered in 1740, being then scarcely eleven years old, on board the *Lark*, a fifth-rate, of forty guns, commanded by lord George Graham.

In 1746, he was raised to the rank of commander, and appointed to the *Weazel* sloop, and in 1747, he became a post-captain, and was commissioned to the *Bellona*, a fifth-rate, of thirty guns. As soon as captain Barrington had entered upon his command, being then scarcely more than eighteen years old, he was ordered out on a cruise off Ushant, and distinguished himself exceedingly in a very smart action which took place on the 18th of August following, between the *Bellona* and the duke de Chartres, a French East India ship of considerable force, which he captured. He next removed into the *Romney*, a large fifth-rate, mounting forty-four guns, in which ship he continued till the conclusion of the war; but, unfortunately, without meeting with any second opportunity of distinguishing himself so conspicuously as he had before done. Not long after the cessation of hostilities, he was appointed to the *Seahorse*, of twenty guns, and ordered to the Mediterranean with admiral Keppel.

On his return from this station, he was appointed to the *Crown*, a fifth-rate, of forty-four guns, and ordered to the coast of Guinea. Immediately on his return to England, he was promoted to the *Norwich*, a fourth-rate, of fifty guns, one of the ships ordered to be put into commission and equipped for immediate service, in consequence of the various encroachments made by the French on the British settlements in North America.

Captain Barrington, after having remained for a short time, subsequent to his return to Europe, without holding any commission, was, in 1757, appointed to the *Achilles*, a new ship of sixty guns, one of the fleet destined for the home or channel service. He continued occupied in the same line of active service till the year 1760, when he was ordered to Louisbourg, which fortress had not long before been captured from the enemy. Previously, however, to his quitting the station, he fell in with a French ship of war called the *St. Florentine*, which was of equal force with the *Achilles*. After a short chase, he got up with his antagonist, whom he brought to action, which was closed

after a continued contest of two hours, by the surrender of the enemy.

After the return of captain Barrington from Louisbourg, at the close of the year 1760, the Achilles was taken into dock for repair. He was then ordered to put himself under the command of Keppel, with whom he accordingly proceeded on the expedition undertaken against Belleisle. Here he again signalized himself, particularly in the attack of one of the forts situated near the shore, which, had it not been previously silenced, would very materially have incommoded the troops during their debarkation.

In 1777, he was commissioned to the Prince of Wales, a third-rate, of seventy-four guns, ordered to be fitted for immediate service. Being promoted on the 23d of January, 1778, to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, he hoisted his flag on board the same ship, and was ordered to the West Indies, having been invested with the chief command of the naval forces employed in that quarter. The rupture with France, the event which had been so long meditated by that country, and considered as inevitable by Britain, having commenced, the force under the orders of the vice-admiral became totally inadequate to the protection of such valuable possessions as the West India Islands. Admiral Hotham was accordingly detached to reinforce him from North America, with two ships of sixty-four guns each, three of fifty, and a bomb-ketch. This squadron also served to convoy to the West Indies, which were then very ill-garrisoned and provided with troops, a fleet consisting of fifty hired transports, having on board a considerable land-force, intended not merely for the protection of the British possessions, but for the annoyance and attack of any colonies, the property of the enemy, which should be considered as vulnerable. He remained for some time on this station, and ably sustained the reputation of his flag.

On the return of peace, Barrington struck his flag, and held no farther naval appointment till 1790, when, on the apprehension of a rupture with Spain, he rehoisted it on board the Royal George, on being appointed to the station of second in command in the main or channel fleet, then under the orders of earl Howe.

During the preceding interval of peace, he was, in 1785, appointed one of the board of land and sea-officers convened for the purpose of inquiring into a system of national defence, brought forward under the auspices of the master-

general of the ordnance; and, on the 24th of September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue.

Far more important, however, to the character of this good man, than any honours of this kind, well merited as they certainly were, was his attention to the interests and promotion of a society instituted for the relief of indigent naval officers, their widows, and their children. Unprotected by any public aid, the promoters, among the first and most active of whom was admiral Barrington, had to contend with those difficulties which all societies, however benevolent their tendency, scarcely ever fail to meet with on their first proposal. Nevertheless, such was the assiduity of this friend to distress, and of his no less amiable associates, that in a short time, they had the satisfaction of beholding the philanthropic plant thriving under their hands, and diffusing its comforts, as far as its means permitted, to all who sought its shelter and support.

The dispute with Spain having been amicably concluded, without the necessity of even sending the armament to sea, Barrington struck his flag, and, owing to his infirm state of health, never took upon him any subsequent command. On the 22d of April, 1794, he was, in consequence of a promotion of flag-officers which then took place, raised to the rank of admiral of the white, and, at the time of his death, was senior in that class of officers, the admiral of the fleet being the only officer in the service who preceded him. In the month of October, 1770, he received the honourable appointment of colonel of marines; and in 1789 was made general of the same corps. He died in 1800.

ADMIRAL KEPPEL. — Augustus Keppel was the second son of William, second earl of Albemarle. He began his career under Anson, and did no discredit to his master. Most of his exploits have already come under our notice. He sat in parliament for Chichester, Windsor, and latterly for Surrey. He was first lord of the admiralty, from 1782 to 1784, at which time he was created a viscount. He died in 1786.

LORD RODNEY. — George Brydges Rodney, was the second son of Henry Rodney, a naval officer, and was born in the month of December, 1718. He entered the navy at a very early age; and having passed his probationary years of service with reputation, embarked for the Mediterranean

in the *Namur*, as one of the lieutenants to admiral Matthews, in 1742. On the 9th of November, in the same year, he was promoted by him to be captain of the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns, which commission was confirmed by the admiralty. On returning home, captain Rodney removed into the *Sheerness*, a small frigate, and, about the middle of the year 1744, was appointed to the command of the *Ludlow Castle*, of forty-four guns. During the spring of the year 1746, he had the command of the *Eagle* of sixty guns, with orders to cruise on the Irish station. In the month of October he captured two privateers, one of them a French ship, called the *Shoreham*, which had been a frigate in our navy. In the succeeding year, 1747, he formed one of the squadron under commodore Fox, in the *Kent*, that was sent to intercept a large fleet of French merchantmen, homeward bound from *St. Domingo*. Of the prizes then made, six were taken by captain Rodney, in the *Eagle*.

The war terminated on the 17th of October, 1748, but Rodney continued to be employed; and, in March, 1749, was appointed to the *Rainbow*, a fourth-rate. On the 9th of May, he was made governor and commander-in-chief of the island of *Newfoundland*. In May, 1751, he was chosen member for the borough of *Saltash*.

He formed one of the fleet which sailed on the 8th of September, 1757, under the command of admirals *Hawke* and *Boscawen*, to attempt a descent on the coast of France. In this expedition, Rodney commanded the *Dublin*, of seventy-four guns; and being the oldest captain in the fleet, was one of the members of the council of war. When admiral *Boscawen* sailed for *Louisbourg* in the spring of 1758, captain Rodney was appointed to supply the place of captain *Bentley*, whose ship, the *Invincible*, was lost in going out by running on a shoal. During the passage to north America, the *Dublin* took the *Mount Martin*, a French East India ship, homeward bound, of great value. With this service, closed his duty as a post-captain, and in the month of June, 1759, he was advanced rear-admiral of the blue.

The year 1759 was glorious to Great Britain in every point of view, nor was lord Rodney without enjoying his share in the successes of that period. Having been stationed for some time in the channel, with a considerable force, to watch the ports of Normandy, he was sent to bombard *Havre De Grace*, whence the enemy had planned to transport an armament for the purpose of invading this

country, in flat-bottomed boats of a particular construction, called praams. These boats were about one hundred feet long, twenty-four broad, and ten deep; had one mast, with a deck, and were intended to carry two pieces of cannon. They were so constructed as to use sails, or oars, as occasion might require. Some were able to carry three hundred men with their baggage; others fifty cavalry, with every thing complete. A great many were already built, with a considerable number on the stocks.

Rear-admiral Rodney sailed with his squadron from St. Helen's, on the morning of the 2d of June, and with a favourable wind and moderate weather, anchored the day following in the great road of Havre.

About seven next morning, two of the bombs were stationed, as were all the rest early the following morning, and continued to bombard for fifty-two hours, without intermission, and with such success, that the town was several times in flames, and the magazine of stores for the flat-bottomed boats, burned with great fury upwards of six hours, notwithstanding the greatest exertions used to extinguish it. "Thus," as Mr. Collins observes, "had admiral Rodney the happiness of totally frustrating the designs of the French court, and so completely ruined, not only the preparations, but the port itself, as a naval arsenal, that it was no longer in a state to annoy Great Britain during the continuance of the war."

In the year 1760, admiral Rodney still hovered near the mouth of the Seine, and in the month of July had an opportunity of rendering a most essential service to his country, by destroying a fleet of praams, laden with warlike stores.

During the month of November in this year, the admiral, who continued to give great annoyance to the French coast, scoured the shore as far as Dieppe with his cutters.

It had been determined by government, before the expiration of the year 1761, to attack the French commerce in the West Indies: as, although their trade to the Leeward Islands was much distressed, it still continued a resource to them. The naval and military force sent for this purpose was great, and together formed such an armament as had never before been seen in that part of the world. General Monckton commanded the land forces, and the marine was under rear-admiral Rodney.

On the 18th of October, 1761, Rodney had sailed from

Spithead in the Marlborough, with four ships, three bomb-ketches, and a sloop, to join those under Sir James Douglas, who, with the troops under lord Rollo, had taken the Island of Dominica in June.

The attack on Martinico succeeded in every quarter. On the 4th of February, the citadel was delivered up to his majesty's forces; and, on the 12th, deputies arrived to surrender the whole island. This was soon followed by the capture of Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; when the whole of the Caribbees came into possession of the English.

In 1764, Rodney was raised to the rank of baronet; and in the ensuing year, was made governor of Greenwich Hospital.

In 1768, Sir George carried on an expensive contest for the borough of Northampton, which he gained by a poll of six hundred and eleven to five hundred and thirty-eight; by this means his fortune became much deranged. In 1771, he resigned the post of governor of Greenwich Hospital, and was appointed commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, with his flag on board the *Amelia*, of eighty-guns. On returning from his station at Jamaica, after the usual period of service had elapsed, his pecuniary embarrassments forced him to go into exile amid a people whose government had trembled at his name. During his absence in France, Sir George was advanced to be admiral of the white. The poverty, for so it may be denominated, under which he had now so long laboured, and which must have reduced him to many painful difficulties, could not in the smallest degree affect the firmness of his mind, or alienate his affections from his country. A very powerful temptation, the force of which he instantly baffled with patriotic ardour, is alone sufficient to show the noble and elevated character he possessed.

The distress of this brave officer had at length so much increased, as to become a subject of public notoriety. It had been long suspected by the keen observation of Monsieur de Sartine, who was no stranger to Sir George's merit; he accordingly communicated his ideas to the duke de Biron, and persuaded him to make the admiral an offer of the command of the French fleet in the West Indies; and also to proffer a very liberal supply for the immediate arrangement of his finances.

In order to accomplish this infamous design with the greater ease, the duke immediately sent a very civil invita-

tion to Sir George to spend some weeks at his house. When one morning, during a walk in the gardens, the duke with great caution sounded the admiral on the subject; but so far was the ingenuous mind of Sir George from being able to discover what this strange preamble could lead to, that he at length imagined his grace must be deranged, and in consequence began to eye him with some degree of consideration for what might happen. The duke, who had not been accustomed to such unyielding principles, now came at once to the point, and openly declared, "that as the king, his royal master, intended the West Indies should become the theatre of the present war, he was commissioned to make the most unbounded offers to Sir George, if he would quit the English service, and accept the command of a French squadron." Rodney, with an indignant air, made this memorable reply:—"My distresses, Sir, it is true, have driven me from the bosom of my country, but no temptation whatever can estrange me from her service. Had this offer been a voluntary one of your own, I should have deemed it an insult; but I am glad to learn it proceeds from a source that *can do no wrong!*"—The duke was struck with the patriotic virtue of the British tar, and from that time became his sincere friend.

Towards the close of 1779, the chief command at the Leeward Islands was given him: upon which he hoisted his flag on board the Sandwich.

On the 25th of December 1779, the admiral sailed from Spithead in the Sandwich of ninety guns. He was attended by rear-admiral Digby in the Prince George of ninety-eight guns, and by rear-admiral Sir John Ross, in the Royal George of one hundred guns. The late king William IV., then Prince William Henry, accompanied him on board the Prince George, as a midshipman. The whole fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, eight frigates, and a cutter: having under their convoy a considerable number of store ships for Gibraltar, and the trade for the Mediterranean and the West Indies. The garrison of Gibraltar had been blockaded, both by sea and land, from the very first commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain. Of the subsequent events we have already given an account.

In the debate which subsequently took place in the house of commons, on the motion of thanks to Sir George Rodney, lord North declared, that the nation at large was indebted to Sir George Rodney, and that the public suffrages

were all in his favour: he wished, therefore, to collect them, and to have them transmitted to that gallant officer, in the form of a vote of thanks from that house. Sir George's services, his lordship said, were singular and important; for he had taken a convoy of stores, the loss of which would be very sensibly felt by the Spaniards, as they stood in the greatest need of them to fit out their fleets. In the late action his victory had produced the most salutary effects. It had freed from danger the important fortress of Gibraltar, and, together with the first success, it had taken from the enemy some of their best ships, and had added five to our own fleet.

But the battle which, of all others, immortalised the name of Rodney, was that in which he gained his celebrated victory over the French under De Grasse.

The battle commenced about seven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April, 1782. It was fought in a large basin of water, lying among the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante. Both on the windward and leeward of this basin, lay very dangerous shores. As soon as day broke, admiral Rodney made the signal for close action, and every vessel in his fleet obeyed it scrupulously. The British line, instead of being as usual, at two cables' length distance between every ship, was formed at the distance of only one. As each came up, she ranged close alongside her opponent, passing along the enemy for that purpose, giving and receiving, while thus taking her station, a most dreadful and tremendous fire. The action continued in this manner till noon, when admiral Rodney resolved to carry into execution a manœuvre, which, if successful, he expected, would gain him a complete and decisive victory; for this purpose, in his own ship, the *Formidable*, supported by the *Namur*, the *Duke* and *Canada*, he bore down with all sail set on the enemy's line, within three ships of the centre, and succeeded in breaking completely through it. As soon as he had accomplished this, the other ships of his division followed him, and they all wore round, doubled upon the enemy, and thus placed between two fires those vessels, which by the first part of the manœuvre they had cut off from the rest of the fleet. As soon as admiral Rodney and the vessels which followed him wore, he made the signal for the van to tack, by which means they gained the windward of the French, and completed the disorder into which the breaking of their line had thrown them.

The enemy, however, still continued to fight with great courage and firmness, and made an attempt to reform their broken line, by their van bearing away to leeward. This, however, they could not accomplish. During the whole of this time, Sir Samuel Hood's division had been becalmed, and of course unable to take any part in the action; but at this critical moment a breeze sprung up, which brought forward most of his ships, and thus served to render the victory more decisive.

One consequence of the breaking of the French line was, that opportunities were given for desperate actions between single ships, the most splendid and striking of which have been thus told:—"The Canada of seventy-four guns, captain Cornwallis, took the French Hector of the same force, single-hand. Captain Inglefield in the Centaur of seventy-four guns, came up from the rear to the attack of the Cæsar of seventy-four also. Both ships were yet fresh and unhurt, and a most gallant action took place, but though the French captain had evidently much the worse of the combat, he still disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively, and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible. He is said to have nailed his colours to the mast, and his death could only put an end to the contest. When she struck, her masts went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvass without a shot hole. The Glorieux likewise fought nobly, and did not strike till her masts, bowsprit, and ensign were shot away. The English Ardent of sixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken. The Diadem, a French seventy-four gun ship, went down by a single broadside. De Grasse was nobly supported, even after the line was broken, and till the disorder and confusion became irremediable towards evening, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly distinguished, and the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being already much battered, was closely laid alongside by the Canada; and in a desperate action of nearly two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French admiral, that, without taking possession of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the Ville de Paris. It seemed as if De Grasse was determined to sink, rather than

strike to any thing under a flag; but he likewise undoubtedly considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the rest of his fleet. Other ships came up in the heat of the action with the *Canada*, but he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood came up in the *Barfleur*, at sunset, and poured in a most destructive fire, which is said to have killed sixty men on the spot; but M. De Grasse wishing to signalise as much as possible the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, and surrendered himself to Sir Samuel Hood. It was said, at the time the *Ville de Paris* struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the Count De Grasse was one of the three."

Long before the French admiral struck his flag, his fleet had sought safety in flight, and that they might divide the attention of the English, and thus more easily accomplish their object, they went off before the wind in small squadrons and single ships. They were at first closely pursued, but on the approach of night, admiral Rodney made the signal for his vessels to collect for the purpose of securing his prizes, and removing the men from on board of them.

While our fleet were obliged to lye under Guadaloupe for three days to repair their damages, the French seized the favourable opportunity to escape. As, however, many of their ships were very much crippled, admiral Rodney entertained hopes that he should be still able to overtake and capture some of them. On the 17th, therefore, he detached Sir Samuel Hood with those vessels of his division which had suffered the least; and on the 19th, five sail of the enemy were perceived endeavouring to effect their escape through the *Mona* passage. The signal for chase was immediately given, and before the French could enter the passage they were becalmed and overtaken. The *Valiant*, captain Goodall was the first who came up with them; he laid his ship alongside the *Caton*, of sixty-four guns, which struck at the first broadside; captain Goodall, however, did not stop to take possession of her, but pushing on, he came up with and attacked the *Jason*, a vessel of the same force as the former. She held out about twenty minutes, and then struck. A frigate of thirty-two guns, and a sloop of sixteen were also taken.

The whole loss of the enemy amounted to eight ships:

one had been sunk; one, the Cæsar, blew up after she was taken. By this accident a lieutenant and fifty English seamen perished with about four hundred prisoners, and six ships remained in the possession of the conquerors. On board the *Ville de Paris* were found thirty-six chests of money, with which the troops that were intended for the invasion were to have been paid; and the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon that were to have been employed on the same enterprise, were captured in the prizes.

The loss of the French in killed and wounded, was very great; the amount of the former is supposed to have been three thousand; and of the latter at least double that number. The *Ville de Paris* was fought so long and so gallantly, that on board of her alone four hundred perished.

On board of the British fleet, the loss was also great, but not nearly in the same proportion, nor so great as might have been anticipated, when the length and the obstinacy of the contest are taken into consideration. Including the loss of both actions, on the 9th and 12th, the number of the killed amounted to two hundred and thirty-seven, and of wounded to seven hundred and sixty-six. Several officers of great repute for skill and bravery were among both. Captain Blair of the *Anson*, who had distinguished himself the preceding year, in the action off the Dogger Bank with the Dutch, was slain; and lord Robert Manners, son of the great marquis of Granby, was so dangerously wounded, that he died on his passage to England.

Thus closed the professional career of this distinguished officer, who, on June 19, 1782, after receiving the thanks of both houses, was advanced to the rank of a peer of Great Britain, by the title of baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke, in the county of Somerset; and, on the first of July following, received a pension of £2000 per annum, to descend to his heirs. These rewards his long services and merit certainly claimed, nor was his country slow in proffering them.

One who knew him well has declared, "That as an officer of nautical abilities, none were his superiors, and but few his equals," and he possessed a bold original genius, which always carried him directly to the object he had in view. In private life he displayed the manners of an accomplished gentleman; and he, who when called by his country, could hurl its thunders against the foe, and lead its navies unto victory, was, in peace, the ornament of domes-

tic society, and a pattern of that elegant and polished behaviour which distinguishes the higher orders among us.

Lord Rodney died in London on the 24th of May, 1792.

ADMIRAL KEMPENFELT.—Richard Kempenfelt, of Swedish lineage, was born at Westminster, in 1718. Having risen, by his bravery and good conduct, to the rank of admiral, he terminated his life by the following accident, long and well remembered in British naval story.

His ship, the Royal George being leaky, he was ordered to Spithead to get her repaired; and, with a view to get that done expeditiously, it was directed that the ship should be careened, and have her seams caulked as she lay at anchor, without going into harbour. On the 29th of August, at six in the morning, the weather being fine, and the wind moderate, it was thought a favourable opportunity to heel her, and orders for that purpose were accordingly given. By ten o'clock she was heeled sufficiently to enable the workmen to get to the part that leaked; but, in order to repair it as effectually as possible, the ship was heeled another streak, or about two feet more. After this was done, the ship's crew were allowed to go to dinner, but the carpenters and caulkers continued at their work, and had almost finished it, when a sudden squall took the ship on the raised side, and the lower-deck ports to leeward having been unaccountably left open, the water rushed in: in less than eight minutes the ship filled, and sunk so rapidly, that the officers in their confusion made no signal of distress: nor, indeed, if they had, could any assistance have availed, for, after her lower ports were in the water, no power nor any exertion could have prevented her from going to the bottom. When the Royal George went down, there were upwards of one thousand two hundred persons on board, including three hundred women.

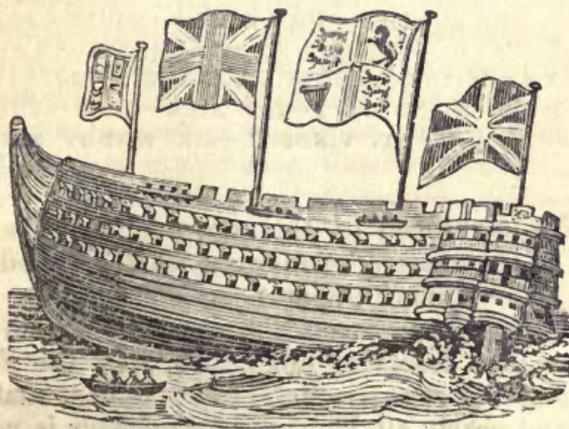
The watch on deck, to the number of two hundred and upwards, were saved by going out on the top-sail yards, which remained above water after the ship reached the bottom. About seventy more were picked up by the boats from the other ships at Spithead. Among these were four lieutenants and eleven women. Admiral Kempenfelt, the rest of the officers, and nine hundred people were drowned. The masts of the Royal George remained standing for a considerable time afterwards; and, until she was covered with sand, parts of the hull were visible at low water. Repeated attempts were made to weigh her, but in vain. Very

recently considerable portions of the wreck have been removed, by means of blasting with gunpowder, and the operations are not yet abandoned.

Thus prematurely perished this experienced officer, whose knowledge, abilities, and bravery, did much honour to the British navy, and promised to contribute largely to its improvement and its glory.

Many others were highly distinguished, most of whose exploits have found a place in our pages. Of these are Sir John Moore, a name rendered of still greater fame in after times; Maurice Suckling, the uncle and tutor of the immortal Nelson; Sir Charles Hardy, a name of hereditary renown; Sir Edward Hughes; and Sir Hyde Parker.

Paul Jones, whom we have had occasion already to mention, performed several daring exploits in the service of America. His original name was John Paul, and he was a native of Scotland, having been born, in 1747, in the parish of Arbegland, Kirkcudbrightshire, where his father was a gardener. His enterprising and courageous spirit are undeniable; and, in more favourable circumstances, he might have made a gallant admiral. He died in 1792, at Paris.





CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE III. 1783 TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1802—FIRST WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—SIDNEY SMITH AT TOULON—PELLEW—SAUMAREZ—COURTNEY—HOWE'S VICTORY OF THE 1ST OF JUNE—LORD HOOD AT CORSICA—HORATIO NELSON—LORD BRIDPORT AT L'ORIENT—THE BLANCHE AND LA PIQUE—SIDNEY SMITH TAKEN PRISONER—NELSON AT ELBA—KEITH ELPHINSTONE AT THE CAPE—MUTINY AT SPITHEAD AND THE NORE—ST. VINCENT—CAMPERDOWN—CADIZ—SANTA CRUZ—THE NILE—ACRE—THE BALTIC—LORD HOWE—LORD ST. VINCENT—SIR SIDNEY SMITH—LORD DUNCAN.

THE period embraced in this chapter extends from the year 1783 to the peace of Amiens in 1802, a period of nearly twenty years. During the first ten years of this, however, Great Britain enjoyed peace, and consequently no maritime exploits occurred deserving our notice. Of the French revolution, and the causes which armed against that country England and nearly all Europe, the memory is yet too recent, and men's opinions regarding them too much under the influence of party spirit, to permit us, in a work of this kind, to enter into detail. Nor indeed, although we were so inclined, would our limits permit us to do justice to the dis-

cussion of a subject so extensive and complicated. Our brave sailors defended their native shores, and supported the honour of England's flag, without troubling themselves as to the minute grounds of quarrel; and in recording a history of their exploits, we shall in that respect follow their example. Suffice it to state, that in February, 1793, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France. The other two great maritime powers, Spain and Holland, were, at the beginning of the contest, also opposed to France; but the land forces of the young and vigorous republic having overrun the territories or intimidated the rulers of these countries, the whole of their power, we shall find, was in the course of the war, wielded against England: not willingly, indeed, either by the rulers or the people; but the effect was the same, and we shall shortly find that our navy had to contend against the combined fleets of all Europe. The French king, Louis XVI., had been put to death, and that country was now under a republican government, fluctuating, however, in its form. The government of Great Britain was guided by William Pitt, who had at his command a large majority in both houses of parliament. As soon as war was declared, the following supplies were granted for the sea-service:—For forty-five thousand men, including five thousand marines, £2,340,000; for the ordinary, including half-pay, £669,205; extraordinaries, £387,710; ordnance, not provided for in 1791, £32,068; towards paying off the navy debt, £575,000, making a total of £4,003,984. The total supplies granted for the year were £16,698,553. The number of flag-officers was sixty-four; of post-captains, four hundred and thirty-one; of masters and commanders, one hundred and sixty-three; and of lieutenants, one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine. Twenty-one sail of the line, and several frigates, besides those which were already in commission, were ordered to be got ready for sea with the utmost expedition.

At the same period the navy of France is stated to have consisted of 246 vessels; of which 86, including 27 in commission, and 13 building, were of the line.

The first employment of the English fleet was to take possession of Toulon, in order to afford protection and assistance to the French royalists, who were in arms in that neighbourhood. This service was successfully performed under the command of lord Hood: but the royalist party not proving so strong as had been anticipated, and the repub-

licans exerting themselves with increasing activity and numbers to recover the place, it became evident the English could no longer hold it. It was, therefore, resolved to adopt immediate measures for the evacuation of the town and arsenal, and for the destruction of the ships of war. On the evening of the day on which this resolution was come to, the artillery, stores, troops, and several thousand French royalists were embarked, without loss. The most difficult and dangerous measure remained to be accomplished; and the execution of it was committed to Sir Sidney Smith, a hero, whom, now for the first time, but not for the last, we have occasion to mention.

Sir Sidney had under his command three English and three Spanish gun-boats, and a tender: he first proceeded to the arsenal, and made preparations for burning the ships and stores which were in it. The people belonging to the dock yard, had already substituted the tri-coloured cockade for the white one, but they were not sufficiently numerous to oppose any resistance. The republican party, however, increased in force every hour, and prepared to repel the English and the royalists.

Soon after it grew dark, the Vulcan fire-ship was towed in under the direction of lieutenant Gore; she was placed across the tier of the men-of-war, in such a manner and position, that she was certain to do effectual execution. As soon as the signal was made, for setting fire to the trains, the flames were seen to rise in all directions; the magazine, filled with pitch, tar, tallow, oil, and hemp, was soon in a complete blaze, the fire spread among the deals and other timber, by means of two hundred and fifty barrels of tar, placed among them. The blaze, occasioned by this conflagration, enabled the enemy to take more certain and effectual aim; while the destruction that was going on roused their fury, and caused them to redouble their fire. In order to extend and increase the flames, lieutenant Middleton of the *Britannia*, went into the midst of them, which exposed him at the same time to the fire of the enemy. His undaunted bravery, and the danger to which he exposed himself, excited the admiration, while it roused the fears, even of Sir Sidney Smith, who called him off from his perilous post.

The enemy in the mean time were advancing, rending the air with their shouts and republican songs. But Sir Sidney had opposed an obstacle to their progress, in the very means he took to destroy their arsenal and shipping; for he had

placed the fire ships in such a manner, that as their guns went off, a direction was given them towards those quarters from whence he had most reason to apprehend the enemy. The horror of this scene was increased by an unexpected circumstance, which, for a moment, put a stop both to the operations of the English, and to the advance and shouts and songs of the republicans. On board of the *Iris* frigate, which lay in the inner road, there were some thousand barrels of gunpowder, and directions had been given to the Spaniards to take these out of the frigate and sink them. Instead of doing this, they had foolishly and rashly set fire to the frigate with the gunpowder on board. By the explosion, the air shook on all sides, masses of burning timber fell in all directions, the British were appalled for the moment, and justly apprehensive that they should all be destroyed by the effects of the explosion. The boat of the *Terrible* was blown to pieces, but the lieutenant and men who were in her, were picked up alive, though dreadfully hurt. One of the gunboats lay near the *Iris* at the time of the explosion: it was shaken to pieces, and four men lost their lives.

The Spanish officers who were engaged in this enterprise along with Sir Sidney Smith, had undertaken to set fire to the ships in the basin before the town; but they scarcely attempted to perform their task. They returned, reporting that the obstacles were so great and numerous, that it was totally impracticable. In fact, the business was much above their pitch of courage; they could not have preserved their coolness, presence of mind, and intrepidity, in the midst of such accumulated horrors and dangers. As soon as Sir Sidney Smith had destroyed the arsenal, he went along with the Spaniards to renew the attempt on the ships in the basin; but, in the meantime, the enemy had manned the flag-ship, and the wall of one of the batteries, from which they poured such repeated and well-directed volleys of musketry, that the British commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise.

There were still two seventy-four gun ships in the inner road; an attempt had already been made on them, but it had been given up in consequence of the crews manifesting a determination to resist. As soon, however, as the conflagration spread around them, they were apprehensive for their safety, and gladly accepted of Sir Sidney Smith's offer of landing them in safety, provided they would make no opposition to the burning of the ships. The destruction of

these two ships had scarcely been effected, when another powder-vessel exploded; and Sir Sidney and his brave companions were a second time exposed to the most imminent danger. Around them on all sides the burning timber fell, so that whether they remained where they were, or attempted to escape, they were equally exposed; fortunately, however, not a single piece touched either the Swallow, or any of the gun-boats which accompanied her.

By this time, the strength of the men was so completely exhausted, that many of them dropped on their oars. It was still, however, necessary to extricate themselves from the situation in which they were. Every thing had, indeed, been destroyed, which lay within the compass of their power; but while they had been thus employed, the enemy had occupied the forts, which commanded the passage out of the harbour. From these, had the fire been well supported and directed, they must have suffered very much; but only a few ill-directed shots were fired, so that without any loss, they reached the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many of them as the vessels could hold.

An occurrence which displayed great coolness and presence of mind, took place in the harbour of Toulon, soon after that town was evacuated by the British. Captain Hood, in the Juno, being ignorant of that event, and having on board upwards of one hundred and fifty supernumeraries, who were intended for lord Hood's fleet, and whom he was anxious to get rid of as soon as possible, ventured, without making the signal for a pilot, to stand in late in the evening, towards the harbour of Toulon. Soon after he entered the inner harbour, the ship grounded, when a boat came on board from the shore. Still captain Hood had no suspicion that the place was in the possession of the enemy, till, by the light of the moon, one of his midshipmen discovered that the officer who had come in the boat, wore the tri-coloured cockade. The ship was still aground; but every effort was instantaneously made to save her. The Frenchmen were ordered below; in an instant every officer and man was at his duty, and in three minutes, every sail in the ship was set. Fortunately, at this most critical period, a breeze of wind came down the harbour, the cable was cut, the ship started from the shore, the head-sails filled, and she was soon under way. Still, however, the forts were to be

passed; and they were already apprized of what was going on. As soon as captain Hood was assured that his ship would keep the way she had got, he ordered the guns to be got ready; as he passed close along shore, the batteries fired on him, but they did no injury; nor did he deem it necessary to return the fire, except against one battery, which he soon silenced. In less than an hour, from the time captain Hood discovered his mistake, the *Juno* was out of all danger.

This was the principal naval event of the year. Of detached actions of interest, may be mentioned the following:—Capt. Edward Pellew, afterwards lord Exmouth, was cruising off the Start, in the *La Nymphe* of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and twenty men, when he fell in with the French frigate *La Cleopatre*, of forty guns and three hundred and twenty men, when a severe and well-contested action immediately commenced. It was soon evident that the French seamen had rather gained an accession of courage by the infusion of republican principles, as they fought not only with great bravery, but with more steady resolution than they in general had done before the commencement of the revolution. The action continued with unabated fury for fifty-five minutes, when the French frigate, her mizen-mast and tiller having been shot away, and having lost her captain, three of her lieutenants, and nearly one hundred of her people, fell on board the *La Nymphe*, when captain Pellew immediately gave orders to board. This was executed with the greatest promptness and bravery, and the colours of the French frigate were hauled down.

Captain James Saumarez, since lord de Saumarez, who commanded the *Crescent* of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and sixty men, being on a cruise off Cape Barfleur, fell in with the French frigate *La Reunion*, mounting the same number of guns as the *Crescent*, and carrying three hundred and twenty men. This action was obstinately fought for two hours and twenty minutes, when the French frigate struck her colours. The comparative skill with which the respective ships were manœuvred in the course of the engagement, and with which the guns were managed, was clearly seen in the loss which each vessel sustained. On board of *La Reunion*, one hundred and twenty men were either killed or wounded, while the English frigate did not lose a single man. As these were the first naval actions that had taken place since the commencement of the war, it was

thought proper to reward the captains of the British frigates, by conferring on them the honour of knighthood.

The following supplies were granted by parliament for the sea service of the year 1794. For eighty-five thousand men, including twelve thousand one hundred and fifteen marines, £4,420,000; for the ordinary, including half-pay, £558,021; extraordinaries, £547,310. The ordnance supplies were now for the first time granted separately. The total for the navy, exclusive of them, amounted to £5,525,331. The total supplies granted for the year were £20,228,119.

The crowning event of this year was lord Howe's celebrated victory of the 1st of June.

The French, soon after the commencement of hostilities, had ready for sea a large and well equipped fleet, and earl Howe sailed from Spithead, in order to watch their motions, in July 1793. His force at first consisted only of fifteen sail of the line, but in October it was augmented to twenty-four sail of the line. With these he cruised in the channel, but though he twice discovered a small squadron of the enemy, he was not able to bring them to action.

The circumstance which induced the French government to depart from the system of naval hostilities, which they had hitherto pursued with safety to themselves, and with so much injury to our commerce, was the extreme scarcity of grain in the kingdom. To relieve this scarcity, a great number of vessels had been sent to America; and these, together with a large fleet of merchantmen, conveying home the principal produce of their West India Islands, were daily expected off the coast of France.

Lord Howe had gained information of the expected convoy, and knowing how important its protection and safe arrival would be to France, he naturally concluded that the Brest fleet would be ordered out for that purpose. He therefore put to sea, his force consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, but he expected to be joined by admiral Montague, who was cruising in the channel. In this, however, he was disappointed, and did not deem it proper to wait for them, having, on the 21st of the month, received intelligence, that the French were but a few leagues to the westward. Towards this point he therefore directed his course, and on the 28th, the enemy were descried at a great distance on the weather-bow of the English admiral. It appeared at first, from the unconnected order in which the French were sailing, that they were not aware of the vicinity of the British

fleet. As soon as they descried them, they began to form in order of battle; this, however, they did not completely effect till after several hours. Lord Howe took advantage of this delay, to place one division of his fleet, commanded by rear-admiral Pasley, in such a situation that it could manœuvre and act with effect on the rear of the French, while the whole English fleet was gradually making a nearer approach to the enemy.

At this time there was a strong south-west wind, which occasioned a rough sea. The French possessed and continued to retain the weather-gage, their line of battle being formed on the starboard tack. Very soon after the admiral brought them to battle, one of the French ships, *Le Revolutionnaire*, of one hundred and ten guns, slackened her sails, and admiral Pasley, taking advantage of this circumstance, led on his division and attacked this vessel. The French fought the ship with uncommon bravery. In the conflict, the British rear-admiral had his top-mast disabled; this being perceived, the *Leviathan* pushed forward and joined in the attack, in which she was supported by the *Audacious*. Notwithstanding this great superiority of force, the *Revolutionnaire* still defended herself; her captain was killed early in the engagement. According to the English accounts, she at last struck her colours to the *Audacious*. This, the French accounts of the battle positively deny. Night put an end to the conflict; and on the subsequent morning, the *Revolutionnaire*, a complete wreck, was towed into Rochefort.

The hostile fleets lay to, in sight of each other during the whole night. On the morning of the 29th, lord Howe threw out the signal for tacking, in order to endeavour to make a further impression on the rear of the enemy. Aware, however, of the effect of this manœuvre, they immediately wore from van to rear, and moved down slowly in a slanting direction, in order to engage the van of the British fleet. When lord Howe perceived this, he changed his plan, and made the signal to cross and pass through the enemy's line. This would have been done immediately and most effectually, had not the *Cæsar* fallen to leeward, by which circumstance it was rendered necessary to tack the *Queen Charlotte*, the admiral's own ship. As soon as she had tacked, being supported by the *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan*, she broke through the enemy's line between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear division. As soon as lord Howe

had reached this position, he again put about, in which manœuvre he was followed by the two ships who had also broken the line; but as the rest of the British fleet were still a considerable distance to leeward beyond the sternmost ships of the French line, the latter wore in succession to the eastward, for the purpose of succouring their disabled vessels. As soon as they had accomplished this, they again wore round, standing away from the British in order of battle on the larboard tack, while our fleet followed them in the same order.

Thus terminated the second day's engagement, which was equally partial and indecisive with that of the 28th. One important advantage, however, resulted to the British. From the manœuvres which preceded and accompanied it, they gained the weather-gage of the enemy, and of course had it now in their power to force on a more general battle. This could not be done during the two last days of May, owing to a thick fog which almost concealed the hostile squadrons from each other, though they were but a few miles distant. During the continuance of this fog, the French sent away three of their crippled ships, and received an equal reinforcement. The enemy's fleet, therefore, still consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, four of which, however, were not in good condition either for sailing or fighting, having been out on a long cruise under rear-admiral Neuilly. The English fleet, which at first consisted of the same number of ships of the line, was now reduced to twenty-five: the *Audacious* having, during her engagement with the *Revolutionnaire* on the 28th, suffered so severely, that it was judged necessary to send her back to England.

The fog cleared up on the 1st of June; and lord Howe finding the enemy waiting the attack, determined to bring them to close action; and made the signal for that purpose. His object was again to break the French line; and this was effectually done in several parts. As soon as the British ships had succeeded in this, the enemy were attacked, to leeward and to windward, at the same time. Lord Howe ordered the *Queen Charlotte* to be laid close alongside the French commander-in-chief; which was done in a most masterly style by his master, Bowen. A dreadful cannonade commenced. The French admiral remained firm, returning the fire of the *Queen Charlotte*, though not with much effect, for nearly an hour; when he crowded all the sail he could carry, and made off, followed by such of the

ships in his van as were in condition to carry sail; leaving the remainder, which were disabled and dismasted, at the mercy of the British. When the smoke cleared away, seven of these were taken possession of. *Le Vengeur*, a seventy-four gun ship, went down during the action. Most of the British fleet were so much crippled that they were in no condition to pursue the enemy, otherwise a greater number must have fallen into our possession. The killed on board of the enemy's ships which were taken, amounted to six hundred and ninety men; five hundred and eighty were wounded, and it was computed that three hundred and twenty perished in *Le Vengeur*. On board of *La Montagne* alone, nearly three hundred men were killed and wounded. The return on board of the English fleet was two hundred and eighty-one killed, and seven hundred and eighty-eight wounded. In consequence of the crippled state of many of his ships, lord Howe, immediately after the battle, returned to port with his prizes. The French were in some measure consoled for their defeat, by the safe arrival of their American convoy, amounting to one hundred and sixty sail, and valued at five millions sterling.

Every mark of distinction and honour was bestowed on lord Howe, his officers, and men: gold medals, emblematical of the victory, were struck, and bestowed on such officers as the admiral had particularly named in his public dispatches. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted; and, on the 26th of June, the king and queen arrived at Portsmouth, and went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, which was lying at Spithead, when the king presented earl Howe with a diamond-hilted sword, valued at three thousand guineas, and a gold chain with a medal suspended from it.

Nor were the wounded officers and seamen, or the widows and children of those who had fallen, neglected, in the midst of these rewards bestowed on lord Howe and his brave companions; a subscription was opened, and it was liberally carried out. The city of London gave £500; the corporation of the Trinity House, 200 guineas; and the latter at the same time resolved, that such widows as had families, should be admitted to the monthly pension, in preference to all other claimants.

In the Mediterranean, lord Hood, after leaving Toulon, cruised for some time off the Bay of Hieres; but receiving information that the royalist party in the island of Corsica had revolted against the republican government, and only waited

for the presence and assistance of the English to deliver the island into their hands, he proceeded thither in the month of February. The tower of Martillo was first attacked; this surrendered after a short and slight resistance. The efforts of the English were next directed against the tower of Tornelli, which was abandoned by the republicans on the 17th of Feb. That they abandoned it, though strong both by nature and art, is justly attributed to a daring enterprise of a few British seamen, in the planning and execution of which they displayed in a conspicuous light, the distinguishing features of their character. There was only one point which commanded this tower; this was a rocky elevation, which, being deemed inaccessible, had not been fortified or occupied by the enemy. The approach to it was almost perpendicular: and when the top was gained, it was necessary to creep along a narrow path, which would admit in most places, only one person at a time. On the right of this path, the descent was perpendicular for many thousand feet; and on the left were stupendous rocks, which overhung it. These difficulties, however, did not discourage the seamen: they succeeded after great labour and fatigue, in dragging up this rock three eighteen pounders, with their carriages, occasionally fixing the tackle which they used for this purpose, to the overhanging rocks. As soon as the cannon were planted on the eminence, the enemy, astonished and confounded at the execution of an enterprise, of the practicability of which they did not even venture to entertain an idea, abandoned the tower.

The republican party having also evacuated St. Fiorenza, retreated to Bastia, whither they were followed by lord Hood. The fortifications of this place were in a bad state; but, notwithstanding, the commandant resisted with great resolution, from the 11th of April to the 22d of May; when honourable terms being offered him, Bastia was surrendered. No part of the island now remained in possession of the republicans, except the tower of Calvi, which held out till the 10th of August, when it surrendered, after a gallant defence of fifty-one days. In the attack on Bastia and Calvi, captain Horatio Nelson, a name destined to immortal renown, was conspicuous for his intrepidity and usefulness. While directing and superintending the landing of the guns, mortars, and stores, at the former place, he was severely wounded in the head and lost the sight of his right eye.

Nothing farther, requiring record in this place, occurred during the year.

The following year was remarkable for the improvement and extended introduction of telegraphic signals, and also for the erection of signal towers along the coast.

For the year 1795, there was granted for the sea service, £5,200,000; the total supplies being, £29,000,000.

Lord Bridport having the command of the channel fleet, sailed from St. Helens on the 12th of June. On the 22d of that month, his look-out frigates made the signal for the enemy's fleet. As it was evidently not their intention to fight, he directed the fastest sailing ships of his fleet to give chase, while he followed with the remainder. As there was very little wind, the van of the British did not come up with the enemy till the morning of the 23d. The action began a little before six o'clock, and continued till near nine, when the *Alexandre*, *Le Tigre*, and *Le Formidable*, struck. At this time the British squadron was near some batteries, and in the face of Port L'Orient, under the protection of which the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their escape. The British had thirty-one killed, and one hundred and thirteen wounded. On board of the enemy's ships which were captured, between four and five hundred men were killed and wounded.

The French fleet, which lord Bridport had engaged, consisted of twelve sail of the line besides frigates. A few days before, they had surrounded a British squadron, commanded by admiral Cornwallis, consisting of five ships of the line and two frigates. In this predicament, the British admiral displayed much skill and bravery, and fought his way through the French fleet, without the loss of a single man: only twelve were wounded, and the damage sustained by the ships was inconsiderable. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the admiral, his officers and men.

The *Blanche* frigate, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, commanded by captain Robert Faulkner, discovered a large French frigate coming out of Point-a-Petre, in the island of Guadaloupe. In order to entice her to battle, captain Faulkner stood as near the enemy's fort as he prudently could. Though the French frigate had come out of Guadaloupe for the express purpose of fighting the *Blanche*, yet her captain seems to have wavered when he came closer to the British frigate.— Captain Faulkner, determined not to be baulked, first tried to provoke his opponent, by taking possession of a schooner

which came out of Guadaloupe. Finding the enemy not disposed to prevent him from making this capture, and despairing of his leaving the protection of the fort, while he continued in sight, he stood off towards the island of Marigalante. When the day began to close, he stretched towards Dominica; and between these two islands, he perceived the French frigate, about two leagues astern: he immediately made sail towards her: the *Blanche* was at this time on the starboard tack, and the enemy on the larboard. As they passed each other on these different tacks, they exchanged broadsides. In half an hour afterwards, the *Blanche* having got within musket shot, the enemy wore, with an intention to rake her. Captain Faulkner, however, aware of his design, by wearing his ship at the same time, not only prevented it from taking effect, but succeeded in bringing the *Blanche* close alongside the frigate. The action now commenced with vigour on both sides. Captain Faulkner, determined that the enemy should not escape, ordered the *Blanche* to be laid across her opponent's bows, and when in this situation, he himself lashed the bowsprit to the capstern. While on the bowsprit, he was much exposed to the musketry from the deck of the French frigate, but escaped unhurt. As the two vessels were so close to each other, very few guns could be used by either: the engagement was, therefore, principally kept up by musketry from the tops and by the quarter-deck guns. The enemy perceiving that the deck of the *Blanche* was much encumbered by the fall of her masts and rigging, attempted to board: in this attempt they were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Soon afterwards, the enemy's frigate got clear of the *Blanche* and dropped astern. As the latter was in no condition to pursue, captain Faulkner again had recourse to the plan of lashing them together; and in order that it might be done this time more effectually, he ordered a hawser to be got up, with which he fastened the French frigate to the quarter of the *Blanche*. While superintending and assisting in this, he was shot dead. The officers and crew, instead of being daunted by his loss, were only stimulated to greater feats of bravery. His place in the command of the ship was nobly filled by lieutenant Watkins. The fight continued with great obstinacy, as from the relative situation of the two frigates the great guns of the *Blanche* were of no service, part of her stern frame was blown out; and, by means of this, the two aftermost guns on the main deck were

brought to bear so directly and with so much effect against the enemy, that they raked her fore and aft: all her masts soon went by the board, and her head was entirely shot away. She was still fastened to the *Blanche*, who continued to tow her along, all the while raking her. The engagement lasted in this manner till five o'clock, when the enemy hailed that she had struck. As neither of the frigates had a single boat but what was shattered to pieces, the second lieutenant of the *Blanche* and ten men jumped overboard, swam to the enemy, and took possession of her. She was *La Pique*, of forty guns, and four hundred and sixty men; her loss amounted to seventy-six killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. The loss of the *Blanche* was small compared with that of the enemy, and considering the length and obstinacy of the engagement. Besides captain Faulkner, seven were killed, and twenty-one wounded.

The following supplies were granted for the sea service and ordnance for the year 1796. For one hundred and ten thousand men, including eighteen thousand marines, £5,720,000; for the ordinary, including half-pay, £624,152; for extraordinaries, £708,400; for ordnance, £61,000; towards discharging the navy debt, £500,000; making the total for the navy, £7,613,552. The total supplies granted for the year were £37,558,502.

Admiral Cornwallis was this year censured by a court-martial for neglect and disobedience of orders. He was a brave, but somewhat unmanageable commander, and seems to have thought, and probably not without some reason, that he knew better than the lords of the admiralty what he ought to do.

Sir Sidney Smith added to his fame by another exploit, in attacking, in a daring manner, and destroying a convoy of the enemy which had taken shelter in the port of Herqui near Cape Frehel.

The termination of his next enterprise was not so fortunate. A large lugger privateer was lying in the outer road of Havre de Grace. Sir Sidney, when he discovered her, ordered the boats of his squadron to be manned, and proceeded in one of them himself, on the night of the 18th of April, against the enemy. He succeeded in boarding and taking possession of her. Her anchor was immediately weighed, and he stood out of the harbour; but the flood tide setting in, and the wind being at the same time unfavourable, he was compelled to come to anchor again. It

is not known whether the cable parted, or whether it was cut by some of the prisoners; the lugger, however, drifted up the Seine, by the force of the flood-tide, and in a short time, came abreast of the forts. Sir Sidney Smith and his brave companions used every exertion to extricate themselves from their perilous situation, but in vain; they could not make way against the tide; the forts and gun-boats attacked the lugger on all sides; so that after a gallant resistance, he was compelled to surrender.

The naval transactions in the Mediterranean this year were not very important. Genoa and Leghorn had been compelled to shut their ports against the English, in consequence of the decisive and important victories which Buonaparte had obtained in Italy. As it was necessary to possess some place where the British fleet could rendezvous and be repaired, commodore Nelson was sent against the Isle of Elba, which was thought suitable for these purposes. This small island was defended by a strong bastion; the cannon of which, it was necessary, in the first instance, to silence. To effect this, Nelson run his own ship within half pistol-shot of it, on which the governor surrendered.

In the West Indies, the navy co-operated with the army in the reduction of the Dutch settlements of Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice, which fell without resistance; and of the island of St. Lucia, where the enemy capitulated, after having been successfully attacked in their strong post, at Morne Chabot, by general Moore. St. Vincent and Grenada were also reconquered at this period.

In the East Indies, the Dutch settlements fell into our hands, offering little resistance, and producing a large booty. captain Gardner reduced Negombo and Columbo; while admiral Rainier was equally successful in his attack on the valuable islands of Amboyna and Banda.

The loss of the Cape of Good Hope gave the greatest uneasiness to the Dutch, and they resolved to make a vigorous effort to reconquer it. Accordingly, admiral Lucas was dispatched with a fleet, consisting of one ship of sixty-six, one of fifty-four, one of forty-four, and one of forty guns, and two small frigates. In order to avoid the dangers to which they would be exposed from the British fleet in the English channel, the Dutch squadron proceeded north-about, round the Orkney Islands. But the inconveniences attending this long and circuitous voyage more than compensated the risk to which the regular and common

course might have been exposed; and the very object which they had in view, by taking this route, was in some measure defeated, by the circumstance of some of our cruisers discovering their squadron. As the destination of it was readily divined, a reinforcement was sent out to the Cape, which arrived there before the enemy.

Sir George Keith Elphinstone commanded the British squadron on this station; and having been apprized of the sailing and probable destination of the Dutch fleet, and at the same time considerably reinforced, in order to frustrate and defeat their object, he continued in St. Simon's Bay, without any uneasiness with respect to the result. His squadron was superior to that of the enemy, as it consisted of two seventy-four gun ships, five sixty-four gun ships, a fifty gun ship, and six smaller vessels. In the beginning of August, he received information that the enemy's fleet had arrived in Saldhana Bay; when he and Sir James Craig, who commanded the land forces, took their measures so effectually, that the whole Dutch fleet surrendered without striking a blow.

Among other individual encounters, those fought by captain Trollope in the *Glatton*, and by captain Bowen in the *Terpsichore*, were much praised.

MUTINY AT THE NORE.—The year 1797, was an important era in British naval history. The sovereignty of the seas was maintained with a degree of energy and splendour which had never been surpassed; but a spirit of dissatisfaction among our sailors broke out into open mutiny, and for a time, the country trembled on the verge of destruction.

In the month of February, letters were sent from all the line of battle ships at Portsmouth, to lord Howe, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining a redress of certain grievances mentioned in the letters: as these, however, were anonymous, and appeared to be all written by one person, and couched in the same language, they were considered as the production of some factious individual, and were thrown aside, as unworthy of answer. This neglect of the petition of the seamen, on their return to port, March 31st, occasioned a correspondence by letter to be kept up, and passed from ship to ship, through the whole fleet; till at length it was unanimously agreed upon, that no ship should lift an anchor, till the demands of the fleet were fully complied with. In this state matters remained, till the 14th of April, when orders were sent to Portsmouth for lord Bridport

to sail with the channel fleet. On the following day, however, when his lordship made the signal to prepare, not a ship obeyed the signal. Instead of weighing anchor, the seamen of the admiral's ship ran up the shrouds, and gave three cheers, which was the signal to the rest of the fleet, for making public their resolutions. These cheers were instantly answered by the other ships: and it was manifest in a moment that the combination was complete. The officers were thunderstruck at these dispositions, and exerted themselves by various means, to bring the men to a sense of their duty, but without effect. The petty officers had concurred with the men, in the determination not to do their duty till their pay was increased; all the different crews, however, were very orderly and peaceable in their conduct, performing every duty of the ships as usual, except that of weighing anchor. The next day a boat from each ship was demanded, and two men from the crew of each were appointed delegates to represent the whole; the admiral's cabin being fixed upon as the most proper place for their deliberations. At this time none of the officers were suffered to go on shore. Petitions were now drawn up, and presented to lord Bridport, Sir Allan Gardner, and the Port-admiral, setting forth, that "while the soldiers and marines had received additional allowances, the pay of the seamen had not been augmented, they therefore desired an increase of wages; and a hope was expressed that an answer might be given to their petition, before they were ordered to put to sea again."—This expression, however, was qualified with one exception, "unless the enemy were known to be at sea." They well knew that no enemy was at sea, or likely to put to sea, and therefore had pitched upon this as a proper time for enforcing their demands. On the 17th, every man in the fleet was sworn to support the cause in which he had embarked; the admiral's body servants not being exempted from the oath. Ropes were now raised in terrorem at the fore-yard arm of every ship, and several officers, who had behaved in a tyrannical manner, were turned ashore. The deputies consulted together every day on board the Queen Charlotte, returned at night to their respective ships, and on getting on board, giving three cheers to the admiral's ship, which were regularly returned. They were returned, at the same time, by every other ship at Spithead, as well as by the sick and convalescents in Haslar hospital, who entered heartily into the same cause, and

displayed flags, composed of a number of handkerchiefs tacked together, &c. On the 18th, a committee of the admiralty, consisting of earl Spencer, lord Arden, admiral Young, and Mr Secretary Marsden, arrived at Portsmouth, in the course of which and the two following days, several propositions were made by them to reduce the fleet to obedience, but ineffectually. On the 21st, admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the Queen Charlotte, in order to confer with the delegates, who had, in a great measure, become converts to the admirals; but could settle nothing, as two delegates from one ship, the Royal George, were on shore. On their return on board the Queen Charlotte, they informed the delegation and the admirals, that it was the determination of the Royal George, to agree to nothing that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation of pardon.

In the whole of these proceedings, the conduct of the sailors was orderly, systematic, and determined, they took possession of all the magazines, loaded all their guns, confined every officer to his respective ship, kept watch regularly the same as at sea, and put every thing into a state of defence. Intoxication or misconduct in any of the men was severely punished, and no spirituous liquors were suffered to be brought on board any ship. On the 22d, the men were somewhat pacified, and caused two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, stating the grounds of their conduct on the preceding day; and another to lord Bridport, in which they avowed no intentional offence to him, and styled him their father and friend. This had a good effect, for on the 23d, the admiral returned to his ship, hoisted his flag again, and, after a short address to the crew, informed them that he had brought with him a promise of redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation these proffers were accepted, and every man returned to his duty. It was now thought that all disputes were finally settled. The silence, however, of Mr Pitt, in omitting to explain the reasons which called for an increase of pay to be granted to the navy, when he submitted a motion for that purpose to the house of commons, was construed by the seamen into a disposition not to accede to their demands; and on Sunday morning, May 7, when lord Bridport made the signal to weigh anchor and put to sea, every ship at St. Helens refused to obey. In

the course of the afternoon, they ordered a meeting of the delegates, as before, on board the London, of 98 guns, which carried the flag of vice-admiral Colpoys. The admiral resolved to oppose their coming on board, and apprised the men of his ship of his intention. He immediately ordered the marines under arms; some of whom obeyed the order, while others refused. The delegates persisting to come on board, the admiral ordered the marines to level their pieces at them; the marines did so, and a slight skirmish took place. By the fire of the marines, five seamen were killed, and lieutenant Sims, of the marines, was wounded by the fire of one of the delegates.

The whole crew of the London now declared open hostility to the officers and marines; they turned the guns in the fore part of the ship towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water, unless they surrendered. The officers surrendered, the marines laid down their arms, and admiral Colpoys and captain Griffiths were confined several hours in their cabins. In consequence, however, of the resolution of the house of commons, passed May 8, and the king's free pardon, being communicated to the seamen on May 10, they appeared to be satisfied; the officers were generally reinstated in their commands, the red flag was struck, and the whole of the grand fleet prepared to put to sea.

The North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, appear to have had the redress of other grievances in view, besides what related to the increase of pay and provisions demanded by the grand fleet at Spithead. A more equal division of prize-money, more regular and frequent payment of wages, and certain privileges of permission to go on shore when in port, as few as might be convenient to the service, were points insisted upon by this division, before they would agree to return to their regular state of subordination. These conditions they expressed as follows:—

“ 1. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth, be granted to his majesty's subjects serving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

“ 2. That every man, upon a ship coming into harbour, shall have liberty (a certain number of men at a time, so as not to injure the ship's duty), to go and see their friends and families, a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

“ 3. That all ships, before they go to sea, shall be paid all

arrears of wages, down to six months, according to the old rules.

“ 4. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his majesty’s ships, shall be employed in the service again without consent of the ship’s company.

“ 5. That when any of his majesty’s ships shall be paid, that may have been some time in commission, if there are any pressed men on board that may not be in the regular course of payment, they shall receive two months advance, to furnish themselves with necessaries.

“ 6. That an indemnification be made any man who shall run, and may now be in his majesty’s naval service, and that they shall not be liable to be taken up as deserters.

“ R. PARKER, *President.*”

During the progress of this alarming mutiny, various opinions existed in the public mind, in regard to the conduct the most prudent to be adopted. Some persons, with the ministry, would listen to nothing short of unconditional submission, while others insisted that part of the articles, at least, might have been granted, and that by moderate and modified concession, the love and fidelity of the navy would be more effectually secured than by adopting harsh and coercive measures. Which of these opinions was the wisest, cannot now be determined.

At the commencement of the mutiny, the mutineers were suffered to go on shore without interruption, and to parade about Sheerness with music, flags, and a triumphal appearance, calculated to make converts to their cause. Their head-quarters were in a public house, from the windows of which a red flag was hoisted many days successively. The delegates and committee-men went on shore or on board as they pleased, and seemed commanders of Sheerness, as well as of the ships at the Nore. Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey, however, who had been sent down to superintend the naval and military proceedings in that quarter, put an end to this indulgence instantly on their arrival.

With a view to extort compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a free passage up and down the river to the London trade. The ships of neutral nations, however, colliers, and a few small craft, were suffered to pass, first receiving a passport signed by Richard Parker, as president of the delegates. In order to concentrate their force, all the ships which lay near Sheer-

ness, dropt down to the Great Nore. The line of battle ships were drawn up in a line, about half a mile distant from each other, and moored with their broadsides fronting each other. In the spaces between the line of battle ships, the detained merchantmen and others, were moored. The force of the mutineers, at its greatest height, consisted of eleven ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, in all twenty-four sail. Each ship was governed by a committee consisting of twelve members, together with two delegates and a secretary. To represent the whole body of seamen, every man-of-war appointed two delegates, and each gun boat one; the mode of assembling these was by beating a drum.

From the first breaking out of this mutiny, the delegates behaved respectfully to their superior officers. They also exhibited on every convenient occasion, the same interest in the welfare of their country, and the same degree of loyalty that was displayed by the seamen at Spithead.

The crew of the *Lancaster*, of sixty-four guns, which lay at Long Reach, betrayed evident dispositions to join the ships at the Nore, but were prevented from passing down the river, by the fortresses at Tilbury Fort and Gravesend, and other works which were amply defended by the military.

All communications being stopped with the shore, the mutineers supplied themselves with water and provisions from the ships they stopped, and a party of seamen landed in the Isle of Grain and carried off a number of sheep, &c. The accounts, however, of their plundering different trading vessels, were ridiculously exaggerated, the chief act which they perpetrated of this kind, was that of seizing a vessel containing 300 sacks of flour, of which they found themselves in need, and which were distributed throughout the fleet.

A deputation of the admiralty, at the head of which was earl Spencer, went down to Sheerness, but had no conference with the delegates, as they demanded unconditional submission as a necessary preliminary to any intercourse. Earl Spencer departed from Sheerness, without any attempt to compromise the dispute, after having caused it to be signified to the seamen, that they must expect no other concessions than such as had been already made by the legislature, the benefit of which they might yet enjoy on returning to their duty.

On the 30th of May, the *Clyde* frigate was carried off from the mutinous fleet, by a combination of the officers, aided by some of the seamen; as was the *St. Fiorenzo*, the

officers of which cut her cables, and got under weigh at the instant when the boatswain's whistle was piping all hands to dinner. These ships were fired at by several others, and the *St. Fiorenzo* sustained some damage in her hull and other works.

All the buoys were now removed from the mouth of the Thames and the neighbouring coast, by the order of government; a precaution which is said to have greatly perplexed the mutineers, as any large ships which might attempt to sail away were in danger of running aground. Great preparations were also made at Sheerness, against an attack from the ships, and furnaces and redhot balls were kept ready.

On Sunday, June 4, the whole fleet evinced its perfect loyal disposition by a general salute, which was fired from all the ships at the Nore, in compliment to his majesty's birth-day; and the ships were decorated in the same manner as is practised on rejoicing days; the red flag being, however, kept flying at the main of the *Sandwich*.

June 5, about nine at night, the *Serapis* frigate, of 44 guns, and the *Discovery*, attempted to desert the fleet, making for the fort at Sheerness, with a view of returning to obedience. When this was perceived, all the line of battle-ships within reach, instantly poured out broadsides at them. The frigates, however, got out of reach, although much shattered and damaged in their masts and rigging. The noise of the cannon heard in this firing, had a tremendous effect on shore.

On Tuesday, June 6, in the morning, the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis*, men-of-war, and the *Ranger* sloop, joined the mutinous ships at the Nore, having left the fleet of admiral Duncan. Lord Northesk, captain of the *Monmouth*, at the desire of the delegates, went on board of the *Sandwich*, where he received propositions for an accommodation in the form of the following letter, which he was desired to lay before his majesty:—

“ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL NORTHESK,

“ MY LORD,—You are hereby required and directed, to proceed to London, with such papers as are intrusted to your care, and to lay the same before our gracious sovereign, king George the Third, and to represent to our gracious sovereign, that the seamen at the Nore have been grossly misrepresented; at the same time, if our gracious sovereign

does not order us to be redressed in fifty-four hours, such steps will be taken, as will astonish our dear countrymen.

“By order of the delegates of the whole fleet.

“RICHARD PARKER, *President.*”

Being furnished with a passport from Richard Parker, he went up to town by water. The demands in the seamen's letter being thought improper, captain Knight of the *Inflexible*, carried down the refusal of the lords of the admiralty.

Measures were now taken by lord Keith and Sir C. Grey, to attack the fleet from the works at Sheerness, with gun-boats, &c.; the defection, however, of the *Repulse*, *Leopard*, and *Ardent*, on the night of Friday the 9th, with other symptoms of treachery among the mutineers to their own cause, rendered the use of force unnecessary.

On Saturday, June 10, several other of the ships pulled down the red flag, as a signal for the merchantmen to go up the river, and the store and victualling ships to remain behind; all of these, however, profitted by the opportunity to effect their escape, after having been fired at by the fleet. The whole Thames, at this time, appeared covered with vessels, and such a multitude of ships perhaps never before came up by one tide, to its port.

The mutineers now framed a more moderate set of articles, describing the nature of their grievances and demands, which they sent to the admiralty by captain Cobb. Ministers, however, were fully determined not to grant any demands, but to force the seamen to unconditional submission. On the 11th, the *Neptune*, of 98 guns, manned with press gangs and volunteers, Sir E. Gower, commander, fell down to Longreach, with a view to act offensively against the mutineers; the *Lancaster*, which had surrendered on the 8th, the *Agincourt*, and a number of gun-boats, were also equipped in the river for the same destination.

The firmness of the seamen was already shaken by the formidable preparations of government, and the want of fresh provisions and water; and it was evident that the combination was falling to pieces. On the 12th, most of the ships struck the red flag, and hoisted the union, to signify their desire of returning to obedience—only seven had the red flag flying.—On Tuesday morning, June 13, the *Agamemnon*, the *Standard*, the *Nassau*, the *Iris*, and the *Vestal*, ran away from the other ships, and got under the protection

of the guns at the fort, not a single shot being fired at them. The crews, however, of these vessels, were very far from being unanimous, as several men were wounded and killed in the struggles which took place on board them, between the parties of the officers, and those of the seamen. On board the *Leopard* alone, sixteen men were wounded. On the evening of the same day, not a red flag was seen flying at the Nore, and the blue was universally hoisted. On Friday, the 16th, all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased on board the ships, and the mutiny was, in effect, terminated, although some of the ships which had proceeded up the river, were not reduced to entire obedience;—the *Belliqueux*, and two or three more, held out to the last. The officers of the *Sandwich* surrendered their delegates, Parker and Davies, to a party of soldiers, sent on board by Sir C. Grey, together with Gregory, Higgins, and about thirty other delegates; these were committed to the black-hole, in the garrison, at Sheerness. On the first appearance of the soldiers, one of the delegates, Wallace, of the *Standard*, shot himself.

During the progress of the mutiny, a letter, dated June 4, which, however, is believed to have been fictitious, was sent to the delegates at the Nore, from the seamen of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron, and another from the late delegates of the ships at Plymouth, exhorting the mutineers to return to their duty. These letters, forged or otherwise, are said to have had considerable effect in creating divisions among the men.

On Thursday the 22d, the trial of Parker commenced on board the *Neptune*, off Greenhithe, before a court-martial, consisting of captains in the navy, of which Sir T. Paisley was president. Parker was charged with "making and having endeavoured to make a mutiny amongst the seamen of his majesty's ships at the Nore, and with having behaved himself contemptuously towards his superior officers." The trial was continued by adjournment, to Monday the 26th, when the president, after observing that the crime of which the prisoner was convicted, was "as unprecedented as wicked, as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and property of the country," &c. adjudged him to suffer death at such time and place as the lords of the admiralty should appoint.

The leading articles of the charges against Parker were, that he had behaved in two instances, though not generally, with insolence to admiral Buckner, (the first in not allow-

ing the admiral to appear on the quarter-deck of the Sandwich; and the second, in forcibly taking away two marines from the commissioner's house at Sheerness, in spite of the remonstrances of the admiral; that in the different conferences with the officers, he had always taken the lead, as spokesman; that he had laid one seaman in irons and ordered another to be flogged; that he had assumed "the honour of representing the whole fleet" (an honour, which, he said, "he should never forget"); that he had often proceeded from ship to ship, haranguing the respective crews, who cheered him as he passed (on which occasions, he ordered the men forwards), and that he was on board the Director when that ship opened a fire on the Repulse, where he gave his orders to fire.

The prisoner, in his defence, which was expressed with much propriety, considering his situation and circumstances, made it appear, that he had endeavoured to receive admiral Buckner with respect, by an attempt to man the yards, although this design was defeated from other causes; that, in punishing a seaman for getting beastly drunk, he had acted with the approbation of the master of the ship. That the man laid in irons was confined for disrespect to captain Moss; and that several undisputed marks of loyalty were shown by the delegates, and by Parker in particular, while the differences existed; and that he (Parker) had declared, that, were the enemy's fleet known to be at sea, they (the delegates) would take the fleet, under their direction in search of them.

After the sentence was passed, the prisoner, with a degree of undismayed composure, which excited the astonishment and admiration of every one present, spoke as follows:—"I bow to your sentence with all due submission; being convinced I have acted by the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that those brave men who have acted with me, will receive a general pardon. I am satisfied they will all return to their duty with alacrity."

His conduct, during the whole of the trial, was respectful and firm; and he remained, to the last moment, apparently unmoved. He bowed respectfully to the persons present, when he retired.

Besides Parker, some others were executed; and a considerable number remained under sentence of death, until

the victory of Camperdown, when a general pardon was granted.

BATTLE OF CAPE ST. VINCENT. — Spain and Holland were, by this time, entirely under the domination of France, and at open war with Great Britain. They might indeed be now termed, without exaggeration, vassals of France, who this year determined to make a strenuous effort to overthrow our maritime power, and ordered the Spanish and Dutch fleets to join their own, that they might make a simultaneous and combined attack. The place of rendezvous appointed was Brest.

The force of the Spanish fleet intended for this junction was great; it consisted of six vessels of one hundred and twelve guns, and one of one hundred and thirty-six, two of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four guns. The intentions of the French being known to the British ministry, they gave the command of a squadron to Sir John Jervis, which consisted of fifteen sail of the line and some frigates. This, though much inferior to the Spanish fleet, was so well provided, that no fears were entertained of the result, if they should be fortunate enough to fall in with the enemy. The British admiral, who resolved on an attempt to prevent the junction of the fleets, cruised off Cape St. Vincent, as the place where he would be most likely to intercept the fleet from Cadiz. On the 14th of February, just as day was breaking, twenty-seven sail of the line were discovered, and no doubt was entertained that they were the enemy. When the fleet was first discovered, they were sailing in a loose and irregular manner. Sir John Jervis, therefore, ordered a press of sail to be carried by his squadron, and they got up with the enemy before they had formed into a line of battle. "Such a moment," as he remarks in his official dispatches, "was not to be lost." He immediately formed his line of battle, bore down on the Spanish fleet, which were still unconnected and unsupported by any compactness of line, and cut off nearly one-third of their ships; thus virtually reducing the force of the enemy nearly to an equality with his own, and instead of being obliged to fight twenty-seven ships, he had only eighteen to oppose. The Spanish admiral was not prepared for this manœuvre, so that it was completely successful before he had time to prevent its execution. As soon, however, as he perceived the consequences of it, he did all in his power to remedy the evil; he threw out the signal

to wear round the British line, hoping thus to be able to regain the vessels that had been cut off. In this attempt, however, he was frustrated by the skilful manœuvre of commodore Nelson, who commanded the rearmost ship of the British line; and round whom, therefore, the Spanish admiral meant to proceed. But Nelson, instead of waiting till the admiral's ship came up to his vessel, stood towards her, nothing daunted by her enormous size and the weight of her metal, supported as she was by two others, each of them larger than Nelson's own ship. But the British captains in the rear of the fleet did not long suffer Nelson to sustain this unequal combat; six of them bore down to his assistance, and the Spanish admiral, perceiving that he could not execute his intention of joining the ships that had been cut off, made the signal for those which remained with him to unite for their mutual support and defence. But the consequences of not being able to execute his manœuvre were highly injurious to him, for as his own vessel, and those which followed him, when he attempted to wear round the rear of the British fleet, had, by this measure, been thrown out of the line and into confusion, Sir John Jervis gave directions for them to be vigorously attacked, before they could resume their order and again form the line. This order was obeyed with so much promptness and success, that four of the Spanish ships were captured.

While these things were going on, the vessels which had been cut off, and which were far to leeward, were using every effort to rejoin the main body of the fleet: this they had nearly accomplished, as it began to grow dark. The British admiral did not think it prudent to renew the attack against the remainder of the enemy's squadron, strengthened, as it now was, by this reinforcement; neither was he disposed to fly before them. He, therefore, drew up his fleet in compact order, to repel any attack they might make, and to preserve, if possible, the vessels which he had captured. The Spanish admiral, however, was not disposed to come again into close action, but contented himself with a distant and harmless canonade, and shortly afterwards returned to Cadiz, where he was blocked up by the victorious fleet. In this engagement, four vessels were taken, two of which carried one hundred and twelve guns each, one eighty-four, and one seventy-four. On board the British fleet the loss amounted to about three hundred, in killed and wounded: while the loss, on board of the Spanish ships that were taken,

amounted to double that number. In commemoration of this victory, Sir John Jervis was honoured with the title of earl of St. Vincent.

BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN. — Although by this defeat of the Spanish squadron, the hopes and intentions of the French government were in a great measure frustrated, yet they did not altogether abandon their design of invading Great Britain; but, instead of directing their attempts against England, they resolved to undertake the invasion of Ireland. Their own fleet, however, was not deemed strong enough to cope with that of Britain, and as their forces were mostly employed on other services, the Dutch were ordered to supply a reinforcement, both of ships and troops. The fleet which they prepared, consisted of four ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight, two of sixty-four, and four of fifty-six; the command of it was given to admiral de Winter, an officer of courage, skill, and experience; and, moreover, of tried republican principles. To watch the motions of this fleet, admiral Duncan was employed, and he guarded the mouth of the Texel so closely, that the French government began to despair of gaining the co-operation of their allies, when the British admiral was obliged to return to Yarmouth Roads, to refit his ships, having suffered from tempestuous weather. The republican government of Holland immediately ordered admiral de Winter to put to sea. At the same time, the troops were disembarked, in order that if he fell in with the English, they might not be an incumbrance to a general engagement. Admiral Duncan, when he returned to Yarmouth Roads, had left some frigates off the Texel, by whom he was immediately informed of the sailing of the Dutch fleet: this took place on the 9th of October; and, on the evening of the same day, the English squadron were not only under weigh, but had got out of sight of their own coasts. On the 11th, he made the coast of Holland, between Camperdown and Egmont, where he saw the Dutch fleet, forming a line on the larboard tack, to receive him.

The British admiral first formed his fleet in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from regaining the Texel; and having done this, at half-past eleven, he made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship taking her opponent. This was immediately done. The *Monarch*, which carried the flag of vice-admiral

Onslow, bore down in the most gallant manner on the rear of the enemy, and she was followed by the whole division. In less than an hour the line was broken, the *Monarch* passing under the Dutch vice-admiral's stern, and engaging him to leeward. While vice-admiral Onslow was thus engaged with the rear, admiral Duncan attacked the van of the Dutch fleet. The great object he had in view was, to engage De Winter's own ship; but while he was bearing down for this purpose, the *States General* shot up close alongside of the *Venerable*, admiral Duncan's ship, and he was compelled to engage her. She was soon, however, forced out of the line, and the *Venerable* then reached admiral De Winter's vessel. The battle between the two admirals was most obstinately contested, for nearly two hours and a half, nor did it terminate in favour of the *Venerable*, till the Dutch admiral's ship had lost all her masts, and half her crew were either killed or wounded. It was said, that at the close of the engagement, admiral De Winter was the only man on the quarter deck, who remained alive and unhurt. The contest between the two vice-admirals, was nearly equally bloody and obstinate, and terminated also in favour of the British. While the battle raged thus in the centre and rear of the Dutch fleet, two or three ships which were in the van made off under a crowd of sail, and escaped into the *Texel*, without having suffered the smallest injury.

Soon after the Dutch vice-admiral struck his flag, several others yielded; and about four in the afternoon the victory was decided in favour of the British. At this time, admiral Duncan found that his fleet was in nine fathom water, and only five miles from the enemy's coast. In this situation, with many of his squadron disabled and night coming on, his object was, not so much to follow up the victory, by attempting to capture more of the enemy's ships, but to get his own crippled vessels off shore, and to attend to those of the enemy which he had already taken. Had the circumstances been different, it is probable fewer of the Dutch fleet would have escaped; as it was, eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, and two frigates were taken. Of these, the *Delft*, one of the 56 gun-ships, afterwards foundered, one of the frigates was lost, and the other was driven on the coast of *Holland* and retaken. The carnage on board both fleets was dreadful; nine ships of the English lost 700 men, while on board of each of the Dutch admiral's ships that were captured, 250 were killed and wounded. The thanks

of both houses of parliament were given to the fleet, and admiral Duncan was created a peer, by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown. He has been since created earl of Camperdown.

In the battle off Cape St. Vincent, Nelson's conduct was particularly distinguished, and conduced in no small degree to the victory. He was consequently promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, still continuing with the squadron under earl St. Vincent. This squadron being engaged in blockading Cadiz, it was resolved to bombard that place. For this purpose, earl St. Vincent fixed upon admiral Nelson, persuaded that whatever could be effected by a union of presence of mind and bravery, he would undoubtedly accomplish. Accordingly, the command of the advanced squadron was given to him; and during the night of the 3d of July, he proceeded on his hazardous enterprise with the Thunder bomb, covered and protected by the launches and barges of the fleet. The Thunder advanced to within 2500 yards of the garrison of Cadiz, and every thing was prepared to commence a bombardment, which promised the most successful results, when it was discovered that the principal mortar had been so much used, as to be unfit for safe and effectual service. Under these circumstances, admiral Nelson was obliged to direct the Thunder to retire. As soon as the Spaniards perceived this, they sent out an immense number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, with the expectation of cutting her off. This admiral Nelson most effectually prevented. He had gone in his own barge, having on board only its usual complement, the coxswain and ten men, and with this small force, and in this comparatively defenceless boat, he advanced to the support and protection of the Thunder. The Spaniards, who had come out to cut her off, were not deficient in intrepidity; nor did they hesitate to try their strength with admiral Nelson. Don Miguel Tyrason commanded the Spanish flotilla, and in his boat he advanced against the barge of the British admiral. The disproportion in the comparative strength of the two boats, rendered this a contest in which Nelson delighted, and which was worthy of him. The Spanish commandant fought, till out of twenty-seven men that were on board of his barge, eighteen had been killed, and himself and all the remainder wounded; not till then did he surrender. Notwithstanding the fate of Don Miguel Tyrason, the other part of the Spanish flotilla continued to fight with great obstinacy; but not being able

with all their efforts, to succeed in the object for which they had come out, they returned, or rather were driven back into the harbour of Cadiz.

Information having been received by earl St. Vincent, that the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, was assailable, he resolved to make an effort to gain possession of it. Nelson was accordingly dispatched with four sail of the line and three frigates. About eleven at night, on the 24th of July, one thousand seamen and marines were landed under the command of captains Troubridge, Hood, Thompson, Miller, and Waller: they were in six divisions, Nelson being along with the first. The boats proceeded without being discovered, till they were within gun-shot of the mole which stretches out into the sea from the town. At this moment the alarm was given, and a dreadful fire was opened upon them. The boats pushed forward, but the night was so dark that only five of them could find the mole; in these were Nelson, Thompson, and Fremantle, who at the head of the seamen, stormed and carried it, although it was defended by five hundred men, with six 24-pounders. But they found it impossible to advance; the fire of musketry and grape shot was kept up so incessantly, and with such effect from the citadel, and the houses on the mole-head, that in a very short time nearly the whole party were either killed or wounded, Nelson losing his right arm. Nor were these the only misfortunes of the first division; the Fox cutter, with one hundred and eighty men had been sunk, by a shot between wind and water; and her commander, and more than half her crew perished; captain Bowan was killed while employed in spiking the guns at the mole; and a chosen part of his ship's company had perished in their boat, which was sunk by a cannon shot.

At first, the other divisions were more successful, they landed further to the southward, and obtained possession of the town. The citadel was the next object, against which they marched, but it was so strong, and so well protected, that the attempt was given up. Shortly afterwards, captain Troubridge who commanded, was informed that three hundred Spaniards, and one hundred French, with five field pieces, were advancing against him. As his whole force amounted only to eighty marines, the same number of pike men, and one hundred and eighty seamen, with small arms, he sent captain Hood to the governor, to propose that he should be allowed to re-embark; the governor returning for

answer that they ought to surrender prisoners of war. Captain Troubridge declared, that sooner than do so, he would set fire to the town, and force his way at the point of the bayonet, through the Spanish army. On this declaration, the Spanish governor granted the terms demanded, and captain Troubridge re-embarked in boats provided by the enemy. The Spanish governor generously ordered the British wounded to be taken care of, furnished the retreating invaders with biscuit and wine, and informed Nelson, that he was at full liberty to send on shore for any provisions or refreshments his fleet might require. Our loss on this unfortunate enterprise amounted to forty-four killed, ninety-seven drowned, one hundred and five wounded, and five amissing.

Early in the year 1798, Sir Home Popham proposed a plan for the farther protection and defence of our coasts. Sea fencibles, composed of fishermen, seamen employed in coasting vessels, and all seafaring men engaged in the different harbours, rivers, and creeks along the coast, were formed into corps. These fencibles were to be trained to the use of the pike, and when they had an opportunity, they were to be exercised with the great guns. The whole coasts were divided into districts, and over each district a post-captain and a certain number of masters and commanders were appointed. Protections were granted to all the sea fencibles, which were to continue in force, so long as they regularly attended muster and exercise; besides this privilege, one shilling was given to every man at each muster. The following is the number of men raised on those coasts which were supposed most liable to invasion:—"Sussex, eight hundred and fourteen; Hampshire, three hundred and seventy-nine; Isle of Wight, five hundred and seventy-nine; Devonshire, one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight; Dorsetshire, seven hundred and thirty-four; Kent, three hundred and eighty-nine; Essex, one thousand two hundred and five; Suffolk, one thousand one hundred and forty-two; and Cornwall, one thousand one hundred and forty-three."

As on the conquest of Holland by the French, an immense number of Dutch seamen had entered the British service, the French directory passed a decree, declaring that all persons, natives of or originally belonging to neutral countries, or countries in alliance with France, who may form a part of the crews of any British vessels, should be considered and

treated as pirates. In consequence of this decree, the commissary for French prisoners in Great Britain was officially informed, that if it should, in any instance, be carried into execution, it was the king's firm resolve to retaliate upon those subjects of the French republic, whom the chances of war might bring into his power. This determined spirit, rendered the decree of the directory a mere dead letter.

A considerable fleet which was sent with troops to invade Ireland, was intercepted and signally defeated, by an English squadron commanded by Sir J. B. Warren.

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THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT. — Among the cabinet papers, of which the French republican government gained possession, when they overturned the monarchy, it is said there was one, containing a project, drawn up by the Count de Vergennes, for the seizure and colonization of Egypt. This the directory determined to put in execution; and the year 1798 was chosen for this purpose. The Turkish government, at this time, was so much weakened and distracted by internal commotions and rebellions that no formidable opposition was to be dreaded from it.

Besides the motives which had led the French government, during the monarchy, to plan the subjugation of Egypt, there were others which, no doubt, prompted the republic to undertake that enterprise. France had been stripped of nearly all her West India colonies; and while England was mistress of the seas, there was little probability that she would be able to regain them. But Egypt offered itself as a colony, as valuable, in point of fertility, as any of the West India Islands; and much more convenient and desirable in other respects. The distance from France was comparatively short; the navigation from that, and other circumstances, not so liable to be interrupted by British cruisers; and the climate more healthy than that of the West Indies. All these considerations had their weight, viewing Egypt merely as a substitute for the French West India Islands; but it was considered by Buonaparte and the directory in another point of view. England derived a great deal of her wealth from her possessions in the East Indies; the attempts to invade and conquer her, though still held out by the government of France, as not only practicable, but easy of execution, were known by them to be hopeless and desperate; the only chance, therefore, of

humbling this haughty and mighty foe was, to cut off her wealth. If this was done, her naval power fell of course. To the East Indies, therefore, the directory looked; and the invasion of Egypt they planned as the most easy route for a nation inferior at sea, to reach those distant British possessions. Besides, whoever possessed Egypt, had the key to the Turkish dominions; and, if they were acquired, not only would the glory and the strength of France be much increased, but the resources of Great Britain would be deeply impaired, while Austria would be laid bare in an important quarter.

The ports in the south of France were chosen for the assembling of the armament; but troops and ships were collected from all quarters, from Normandy, Brittany, Venice, Genoa, and Corsica. From documents which were afterwards found on board some of the captured ships, the armament, at its sailing from Toulon, is known to have been composed of forty-two thousand land forces; ten thousand eight hundred and ten seamen, besides four thousand nine hundred and forty-eight, which were on board the vessels that were destined against Alexandria. The flotilla, which was to go up the Nile, consisted of one thousand five hundred sail, each of which contained a hundred men; and the transports which carried out the troops, were manned with three thousand and seventeen, making in all sixty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-five men. The fleet, which was to protect this army consisted of thirteen ships of the line, one of which carried one hundred and twenty guns, three eighty, and nine seventy-four; seven frigates, carrying forty guns each, besides smaller vessels, making on the whole forty-four sail. The command of the fleet was given to admiral Brueys.

On the 20th of May, this fleet sailed from Toulon; and, on the 9th of June, it arrived off the island of Malta, which by the combined use of fraud and force, fell into the power of the French.

On the 20th of July, Buonaparte sailed from Malta, leaving a sufficient force to guard it, and on the 1st of July he reached the coast of Egypt. As soon as he had effected a landing and gained possession of Alexandria, he directed admiral Brueys to enter the Old Port with his fleet, apprehensive, it would seem, of the approach of the English; but when the channel was sounded, it was ascertained that there was not sufficient depth of water for the admiral's ship, the

design, therefore, was given up, and the French squadron remained at their anchorage off Aboukir.

Although the British ministry were ignorant of the precise destination of this armament, yet they were not uninformed of its equipment, and the probable time of its sailing. Instructions were therefore sent to earl St. Vincent, to dispatch admiral Nelson in quest of the French fleet. At the time lord St. Vincent received these instructions, admiral Nelson was cruising in the Mediterranean with three sail of the line and a few frigates; but as this force was totally inadequate to the object on which he was now to be employed, lord St. Vincent resolved to send him ten sail of the line; these, however, could not be immediately spared, without endangering the blockade of Cadiz, which was still continued. The admiralty at home had taken the necessary preparations to enable lord St. Vincent to reinforce admiral Nelson, by ordering out the same number of vessels from England, as he meant to send into the Mediterranean. Of this intention of the admiralty he was informed, and he accordingly victualled ten sail of his squadron, and had them completely ready to sail the moment the ships from England came in sight. Frigates were stationed to be on the look out, and as soon as they made the signal that the reinforcement was in sight, captain Troubridge, of the Culloden, who had the command of the squadron destined to join admiral Nelson, got under weigh, and the whole were out of sight before the squadron from England had anchored off Cadiz. About sun-set on the 8th of June, they joined lord Nelson, who having previously learned that the enemy's fleet had sailed from Toulon on the 22d of May, with the wind at N. W. concluded that their course was up the Mediterranean, and accordingly directed his pursuit thither.

He first steered to Corsica, but not being able to gain any intelligence respecting the French fleet, he proceeded to Naples, where he arrived on the 16th. Here he merely gathered from vague report, that the enemy had been seen steering towards Malta. As the wind was fair, admiral Nelson resolved to proceed to that island by the nearest passage, through the Faro di Messina. As he passed between Sicily and the main land, he learned that the French had actually been at Malta, and had conquered it. When he reached this island, they had sailed a few days before, directing their course to the south-east. As their object could only be Egypt, the British admiral pressed on thither, under

all the sail that his ships could carry; but when he arrived off Alexandria, there was no appearance of the French fleet, nor could he gain any intelligence respecting them. His future course was now to be directed principally at random; he first steered for the coast of Caramania, and afterwards towards the island of Candia. Changing his route, he then returned to Sicily, whither he arrived on the 18th of July. Here it was absolutely necessary to get a supply of water; but so eager were the admiral, officers, and crew, to resume the pursuit, that in five days the fleet was ready again for sea. Admiral Nelson being still impressed with the idea, that Egypt was the object of the French expedition, he again steered towards it. When he came off the coast of the Morea, he learned that the enemy's fleet had been seen, about four weeks before, steering in a south-east direction, from the island of Candia. After them, then, in this direction he pressed forward under a crowd of sail, and it was a fortunate circumstance, that the rate of sailing of all the ships was so nearly equal, that none were delayed, and none were strained in the pursuit.

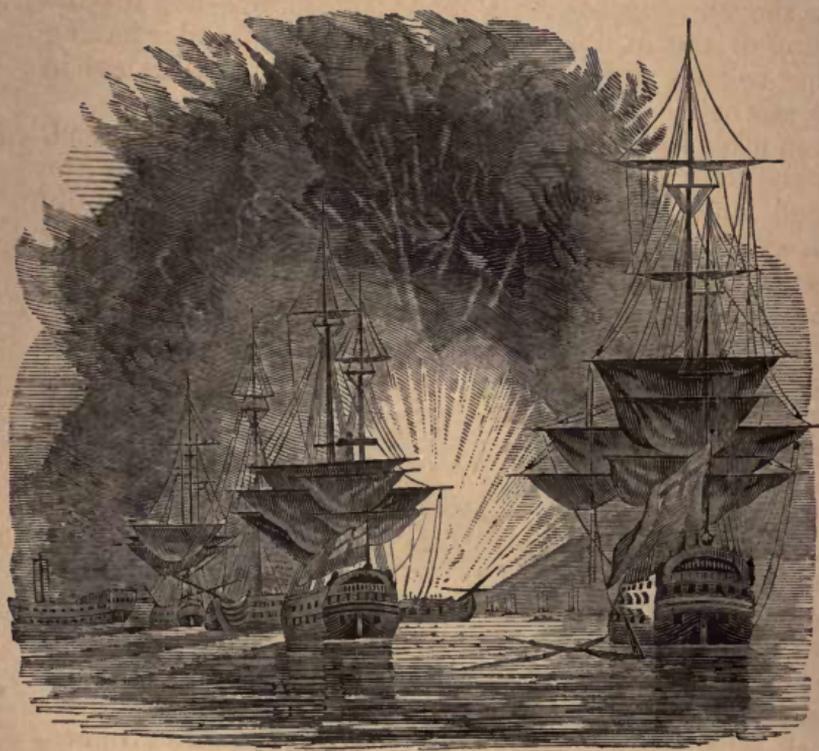
BATTLE OF THE NILE.—At length, on the 1st of August, the Pharos, of Alexandria, was descried; and very soon after, the French fleet was perceived at anchor in Aboukir Bay, drawn up in line of battle. The admiral immediately made the signal to prepare for battle. As soon as he had determined on the plan of attack, which was formed on a principle and system which he had before fully explained to all the captains of the fleet, he gave orders to prepare to anchor by the stern, and to wear at the same time. By this manœuvre, the relative position of the ships was changed; those which, while their heads were to the offing, were dropping astern to take their position in the rear, now took the lead; while those which before had composed the van, now fell into the rear. The next signal was to form the line of battle ahead; each ship to fall into its situation at the time best suited, without regard to the established order of battle. In order to be ready for anchoring, a bow or cable of each ship was got out abaft, and bent forward.

The enemy's fleet was moored in a strong and compact line of battle, close to the shore; their line described an obtuse angle, the flanks of which were defended by numerous gun-boats; while, on the island on their van, a battery of

guns and mortars was erected. To a common mind the obstacles and difficulties in the way of attacking a powerful fleet, thus situated and thus protected, would have appeared insurmountable; but admiral Nelson's was not a common mind; it rejoiced, and found its most pleasing and congenial exercise, in overcoming those difficulties from which other men would have shrunk. It immediately occurred to him, that if the enemy's ships had room to swing, there must be between them and the shore, room for the English vessels to anchor. This idea no sooner rose in his mind, than it was cherished and adopted as the main principle of the plan of his attack.

The wind was from the N. W. and N. N. W. During the day, it had blown rather fresh; but as the evening came on, it nearly died away. The honour of leading was assigned to the *Goliah* and the *Zealous*. Before the first of these ships had approached within a mile of the enemy's van, they began to fire with their starboard guns, and, at the same time, the batteries also began a cannonade. This was borne with great coolness by the British tars, as from the situation of the French fleet, and the shallowness of the water around them, it could not possibly be avoided. Captain Foley, in the *Goliah*, soon changed the appearance of the combat, by passing round the bow of the enemy's van, and thus getting on the inside of their line, in which manœuvre he was followed by the other ships in the van of the British squadron. In doing this he was compelled to go very near the edge of the bank, but having succeeded in getting round the enemy, he laid his ship alongside *Le Conquerant*, the second vessel in the line, and immediately dropped anchor. Close after the *Goliah*, followed the *Zealous*, who dropped her anchor alongside *Le Guerrier*, the ship which captain Foley had passed in order to get to *Le Conquerant*. The *Orion*, *Audacious*, and *Theseus*, also took their stations on the inside of the enemy's line, and immediately commenced a close action.

In the meantime, the *Vanguard*, admiral Nelson's ship, anchored on the outside of the enemy, within half pistol shot of *Le Spartiate*; and by her fire, not only did great damage to this vessel, but also covered and protected the advance of her own comrades, the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Swiftsure*, and *Alexander*, which came up in the order in which they are named. As all the vessels, when they took their stations, anchored by the stern,



Explosion of l'Orient, at the Battle of the Nile.

the line became inverted from van to rear. The Culloden, captain Trowbridge, was not so fortunate. In his anxiety to gain his station on the van of the enemy's line, he grounded on the tail of a shoal, which run out in a north-west direction from the island, on which the French batteries were erected; every effort was made to get the ship off, but without effect, while the engagement continued; and it was not till the morning of the 2d, that this was accomplished, after having lost her rudder, and having received considerable damage in other respects.

Soon after the battle became general, the sun set; and, as is the case in those latitudes, darkness spread over the sea and land; this darkness was, however, most awfully removed at intervals, by the fire of the hostile fleets. At those times, the hemisphere was illuminated, as if the most vivid lightning had burst through the clouds.

About nine o'clock, the enemy's van, as far as the fourth ship, had surrendered; a few minutes after, a fire was discovered on board the centre ship of the enemy, L'Orient, which spread with such rapidity, that she was soon in a complete blaze. As soon as this circumstance was made known to admiral Nelson, he immediately came from below, whither he had retired, in consequence of a severe wound he had received on the head, and gave orders that the boats of the Vanguard should be hoisted out, to endeavour to save the crew; the same humane measure was adopted by several other of the British ships, which saved the lives of upwards of seventy men. L'Orient continued burning till ten o'clock, when she blew up with a most appalling and tremendous explosion. For a few minutes afterwards, as if by common consent, all was silent as death. The masts and rigging of L'Orient, fell in all directions, and exposed the surrounding ships to great danger; fortunately, however, none of them suffered the least damage.

About ten minutes after the explosion, the cannonade was renewed, and continued at intervals, till three o'clock in the morning. When day broke, it was ascertained, that the greatest part of the French van were dismasted, and had struck, a French frigate was seen going down, and the Bellerophon was at anchor, some miles to the eastward, without a single mast standing. Part of the centre and rear of the enemy were still unconquered; and against them, such of the British ships as were least damaged proceeded; this caused the action to be partially renewed; but

it was soon terminated by the surrender of L'Heureux, and Mercure, and by the dismasting of Le Tonnant. Only two of the rear were in a condition to effect their escape; these were Le Guillaume Tell, and Genereux; Le Timoleon endeavoured to follow their example, but being badly manœuvred, she ran on shore, and was set fire to by her crew. Two frigates also escaped, La Diane and La Justice. None of the British were in a condition to pursue them but the Zealous; this she did for a short time, but finding that though she gained on them, none were coming up to support her, the admiral called her back by signal.

Only one ship of the French line of battle ships remained unconquered, Le Tonnant; she was entirely dismasted, and had driven very considerably to leeward. On her surrender being demanded, her captain promised to comply, provided his crew, which he said amounted to fifteen hundred, were sent to France. He was told that he must surrender unconditionally; and as he still kept his flag flying, on the morning of the 3d of August, the Theseus and Leander were ordered to attack him, but on the approach of the former, the flag of truce was hoisted. At the commencement of this action, the French fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, and four frigates, having on board twelve hundred guns, and between ten and eleven thousand men. Of the ships of the line, nine sail were taken, two were burned, and two effected their escape; one of the frigates was sunk, another was burned, and two escaped. Besides admiral Brueys, two other admirals and three captains were slain. The loss of the French on the whole was estimated at between seven and eight thousand men; but the wounded and prisoners were given up, on condition that they should not fight against England, till they were regularly exchanged. The British fleet consisted, at the commencement of the action, of thirteen sail of the line and a fifty-gun ship, carrying in all a thousand guns, and having on board eight thousand men; of these, the killed and wounded amounted to nine hundred. Among the former, was captain Westcott of the Majestic, who was greatly and deservedly lamented; his own merit, which had always been conspicuous, had been the sole cause of his rising to the rank which he held at the time of his death.

The battle was fought close to the shores of Egypt, which were crowded with astonished and anxious spectators. The wing of the French army at Rosetta, though at the distance of thirty miles from Aboukir, were enabled by the help of

glasses, to gain a confused and imperfect sight of what was going on; and their anxiety was great, since, if their fleet were defeated and destroyed, all hopes were cut off of reinforcements, or of being able to return to their native land, in case they should not succeed in their conquest of Egypt. When the explosion of L'Orient took place, the earth shook even to the distance of Rosetta. As the battle terminated during the darkness of the night, the French on shore would have remained for some hours ignorant of the issue, had not the shouts and the actions of the Arabs too unequivocally pointed it out to them; for these people, either sincerely and really hostile to their invaders, or disposed to take part with the conquerors, whether British or French, committed every outrage on such of the latter as fell into their hands, in their endeavours to escape on shore from their captured and burning ships.

It is impossible to describe the exultation and joy which were manifested on every British countenance, when the intelligence of this victory reached England. Nelson was raised to the peerage, and he and his officers loaded with honours and rewards.

The *Leander*, which was sent home with the despatches of the victory of the Nile, fell in with a French ship of superior force, and being in some degree damaged, and her complement of men diminished during the late action, she was compelled to surrender after a gallant resistance.

Several combats between small squadrons and between single ships, occurred in this year, in which the English superiority was fully maintained.

During the year 1799, no naval action, on a large scale, or of very important consequences, occurred. A Dutch fleet of twelve sail, intended by France to be employed against England, was taken possession of by our squadron, under admiral Mitchell, in the name of the prince of Orange, who, of course, did not acknowledge the French usurpation.

SIEGE OF ACRE BY BUONAPARTE.—This year was celebrated for the siege of Acre, a Syrian fortress under the dominion of the Sultan, and which formed an obstacle to the farther progress of Buonaparte's conquests in that quarter.

Of the romantic adventures attending Sir Sidney Smith's escape from the French prisons, we shall have occasion again to speak. On hearing of Buonaparte's preparations for the

siege of St. Jean d'Acre, he determined to oppose himself personally to the attempt. He accordingly proceeded to the coast of Syria, and on the 11th of March, arrived before Caïpha. By being very expeditious and active, he succeeded in getting the start of the enemy by two days, which he employed in making preparations for the defence of Acre. Although this place was neither by nature nor art strong, Buonaparte eager to reduce it with the least possible delay, had ordered round heavy cannon, ammunition, platforms, and other articles necessary for the siege, on board of the French flotilla. This flotilla Sir Sidney Smith took measures to intercept, and on the 16th of March he captured the whole of them, off Cape Carmel: the artillery were immediately landed, and mounted on the ramparts of Acre.

The French, however, being favoured by the nature of the ground, were enabled to carry their trenches within half a musket-shot of the ditch; and on the 30th of March, having effected a breach in the wall, they endeavoured to take the town by assault. They were repulsed with dreadful loss, the ditches being absolutely filled with their dead bodies. Nine several times did Buonaparte attempt to storm Acre, each time with increased vigour and obstinacy, and each time he was repulsed with dreadful loss. In the mean while, the garrison, instructed and encouraged by Sir Sidney Smith, made frequent sorties, which kept the French on the defensive, and impeded the construction of their covering works. No relaxation was permitted on either side, except what was unavoidably produced by excessive fatigue. Buonaparte seemed as resolutely bent on carrying the place, as Sir Sidney Smith was on preserving and defending it. There can be little doubt that, independently of all considerations of the immense importance of Acre, the rival chiefs were inflamed by personal motives of hatred and glory. On the 7th of May, after the town had been besieged fifty-one days, a reinforcement to the British appeared in sight, under the command of Hassan Bey; and nearly at the same time, Buonaparte was encouraged and strengthened by the arrival of a fleet of corvettes and transports.

As Buonaparte's reinforcement landed before Hassan Bey actually reached Acre, he resolved to make one more desperate effort to gain immediate possession of it; their success was partial and temporary. At day-light, on the morning of the 8th of May, the French colours were discovered on the outer angle of the tower. The native troops were

alarmed and discouraged: at this critical moment, Hassan Bey's troops were seen in the boats, having just begun to disembark. No time was to be lost; the safety of the place depended entirely upon the decisive courage of Sir Sidney Smith. He therefore landed the boats at the Mole, and headed the crews armed with pikes, up to the breach; he thus rallied the fugitive and terrified Turks, and supported the few brave men of that nation who were still defending the breach. The French, apprehensive that the prize would be snatched from them just as they had gained possession of it, advanced in great numbers: the ruins of the wall served as a breast-work for both parties, and so close did they approach, that the muzzles of their guns touched one another, and their spear-heads were locked together. After a most dreadful contest, in which the Turks, animated by the presence and example of the British, behaved with wonderful steadiness and courage; Sir Sidney proposed that a sally should be made; accordingly, the gates were opened and the Turks rushed out, but though they were a match for the French while behind their entrenchments, they were inferior to them without the walls, and they were driven back to the town with great loss.

At this moment, Buonaparte, surrounded by his generals and aides-de-camp, was conspicuously distinguished on a mount called Richard Cœur De Lion. His officers formed a semicircle, in the centre of which he stood. It was soon apparent, from his movements, that he had by no means abandoned the idea of gaining possession of Acre; another assault, if possible more dreadful and determined than any of the former, was anticipated and prepared for. The pacha was resolved to adopt the Turkish mode of warfare, by admitting the enemy into the breach and then cutting them off. The French mounted the breach unmolested, and conceiving that the garrison were incapable or unwilling to offer further resistance, they proceeded with too little caution. Scarcely had they descended into the pacha's garden, when a great part of them were attacked and destroyed, and the remainder compelled to seek their safety in a precipitate retreat.

Buonaparte, utterly foiled in fight, endeavoured to gain the town by a stratagem; here, however, he was again disappointed, and only reaped fresh chagrin. During the whole of this siege, he manifested more impatience than is consistent with our idea of a truly great man; and his

determination to conquer the town seemed to increase in proportion as the probability of conquest lessened. At last, his grenadiers refused to mount the breach again; and, on the night between the 20th and 21st of May, after a siege of sixty days, he was compelled to retreat. Part of his artillery were put on board the country ships, to be conveyed with the wounded men to Egypt, but Sir Sidney Smith took effectual measures to capture the whole of them. The humanity of Sir Sidney on this occasion, could only be equalled by the bravery he displayed at the defence of Acre, and drew expressions of gratitude even from the enemy.

The power of the French was now so much humbled at sea, that we may not expect to find any great naval engagements until time should have elapsed, sufficient to enable them to recruit their fleets. Accordingly, the year 1800 is nearly barren of naval events. Genoa, Toulon, Alexandria, Cadiz, Flushing, Malta, and Belleisle, were blockaded nearly at the same time by British fleets or cruisers. The whole coast of Europe, from Holland to the extremity of the Mediterranean, was thus held in check by the navy of England; and terror was inspired into our enemies by the names of St. Vincent, Nelson, Smith, and Mitchell.

Sir John Borlase Warren having been informed that a ship of war, and a large convoy of the enemy, were lying within the island of Normontier, destined for the fleet at Brest, resolved to attempt their destruction. Captain Martin was appointed to head this enterprise. As the enemy never conceived themselves free from danger, while there was a bare possibility of the British seamen getting at them, they had used every means in their power to defend and protect these vessels—they were lying within the sands in Bourneuf Bay, moored in a strong position, under the protection of six heavy batteries, besides flanking guns, on every projecting point. The boats, destined for the attack, were formed into three divisions, and the whole plan was arranged with great judgment and skill. To lieutenant Burke was entrusted the immediate command of the boats, which were sent from the Fisguard, soon after it became dark. By midnight, they reached their destination, immediately boarded, and, after experiencing a formidable resistance, succeeded in obtaining possession of the ship of war, four armed vessels, and fifteen merchantmen, but as they found it impracticable to bring them out, the whole were burned. The most

arduous and dangerous part of the enterprise was still to be performed: it has been already stated, that the enemy's vessels were lying within the island, and very near the sands; before the boats could get out into deep water, the tide fell, and they grounded; in less than ten minutes they were left completely dry. In this situation, they were exposed to a continued fire from the forts, and besides this, a body of four hundred soldiers drew up in their rear, and fired on them with great effect. In this critical state of their affairs, they resolved to make an attempt singular and daring. They resolved to make an attack on some other vessels of the enemy, for the purpose of securing one sufficiently large to carry off the whole party, as there was no chance of their succeeding in getting off all their own boats. They accordingly, deserting their boats, set out on this enterprise, and succeeded in gaining possession of a vessel suited for their purpose; but this vessel lay on the opposite side of the bay, and before she could be of service to them, it was necessary to drag her upwards of two miles over the sands; this, too, with great intrepidity, exertion, and strength, they accomplished; but, before she was afloat, they were up to their necks in the water. Having secured the vessel, they proceeded on board the *Fisguard*. On this enterprise, seven officers, eleven petty officers, one hundred and thirteen seamen, and sixty-one marines, were employed; of these, one hundred secured their retreat, and four officers and eighty-eight men were made prisoners.

Captain Milne, of the *Seine*, a frigate of forty-two guns, was cruising off *St. Domingo*, when a large ship, standing to the northward, was observed, apparently intending to pass through the *Mona* passage. Chase was instantly given; but it was near midnight before captain Milne could bring her to action, and that not closely. It was resumed, however, by break of day. The battle raged with great violence for an hour and a half; and, by that time so powerful and well-directed had been the fire of the *Seine*, that the enemy had lost her fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-top-mast, all of which falling on board, created great confusion. It was, therefore, necessary, when she had determined to surrender, for an officer to come out on the end of the bowsprit; for from no other part of the ship could he have been seen, and to declare, that she had struck to the British flag. When she was taken possession of, she was found to be the *Vengeance*, mounting twenty-eight eighteen pounders, on the

main-deck; sixteen twelve pounders, and eight forty-two pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with shifting guns on the main and quarter-decks. At the commencement of the action, she had on board four hundred and fifty-three men, of which number, when she was taken, there were found only two hundred and ninety-one. On board of the *Seine*, one officer, and twelve men were killed, and three officers and twenty-six wounded.

Early in the month of January, the *Amity*, a pilot boat, belonging to Bembridge, was on the look out for ships. The day was extremely hazy, so that a lugger privateer of the enemy, was nearly close upon them, before they perceived her. Little or no chance of escape presented itself to the master of the pilot boat, since the enemy was rowing with thirteen oars on each side, and there was little or no wind; as she was fast approaching to the *Amity*, there was no alternative, but to leave her to her fate, and endeavour to get in a small boat, which was lying alongside. The whole crew of the *Amity* consisted of the master, a man, and a boy, named James Wallis. As soon as the two former had got into the boat, they desired the boy to quit the *Amity* and follow them; but he bravely answered, he would remain by the vessel, whatever might be the consequence. So cool and determined was he, that no persuasions could induce him to alter his mind; he merely desired that they would take charge of his watch, and of the little money he had, and give them to his father; this, they promised to do, and left him to his fate. The privateer, at this time, was only a quarter of a mile distant, and was approaching very rapidly. In a few minutes after the captain and the other man had left the pilot boat, the enemy run up under her lee-quarter, with an intention to grapple her; but just as they were in the act of throwing their grappling-line, the boy, aware of their design, put the helm of the boat down and tacked; as the privateer had lowered part of her sails, while in the act of grappling the pilot boat, by this manœuvre, the boy was enabled to make head way from her, before the enemy had time to resume his course; they immediately began to fire small arms and swivels at him, but without effect. As soon as the boy perceived that they were again approaching him, he tacked again and weathered them about the length of the lugger; the privateer, on this, was also obliged to tack, sailing in the wake of the boat. The boy constantly followed the plan of tacking every time the lugger set her

sails; and this was repeated sixteen or seventeen times; the distance between them was seldom more than thirty yards; and though, at this short distance, the privateer kept up a regular and constant fire, she did not succeed, either in wounding the boy, or in damaging the rigging or hull of the pilot boat. For two hours, these manœuvres were carried on; and, about the end of that time, a fresh breeze happily sprung up; the pilot boat had then gained about a cable's length of the privateer, which, observing no chance of success, after firing all her fire-arms and swivels, bore up and left her. The coolness, firmness, and presence of mind of this boy, cannot be too much applauded; left by himself, with no person either to counsel or assist him, obliged alone to manage the helm and the sails, while, at the same time, his attention was necessarily called off, almost every minute, to watch the motions of the enemy, he succeeded in saving the pilot boat, and in baffling all the manœuvres of a fast sailing vessel, fully manned, and seriously bent on his capture.

Another exploit which we have to record, possesses the character of heroism, in a very uncommon degree. The *Viper* cutter, commanded by lieutenant Coghlan, was employed to watch Port Louis; while engaged on this service, several of the enemy's vessels were observed in the harbour; these, lieutenant Coghlan thought he could succeed in boarding. The enterprise was not only one of a most arduous, but also of a most dangerous nature; but, having obtained permission of Sir Edward Pellew, the commanding officer, and being joined by twenty men, who volunteered their services, in two boats, he set out, resolved to capture a gun-brig, mounting three long twenty-four pounders and four six pounders; she was full of men, and lying at anchor with springs on her cables. The harbour of Port-Louis was extremely difficult of access, on account of the intricacy of the navigation; three batteries were within pistol-shot of the gun-brig, and a seventy-four gun ship and two frigates were scarcely a mile distant from her. The enemy were soon apprised of the object of the attack; this, however, did not discourage lieutenant Coghlan; nor yet the circumstance of the boat in which he was, having gained greatly the start of the other, and being in fact, almost close alongside of the gun-brig, while their companion was at a considerable distance. Lieutenant Coghlan well knew how much depended upon instant and firm action; but, unfortunately, as it was still dark, in attempting to board, he got

entangled in a net, which was hung up to dry, and being pierced through the thigh with a pike, he, and several of his men were knocked back into the boat. Their ardour, however, was not to be checked; hauling the boat further ahead, they again boarded; their opponents consisted of eighty-seven men, sixteen of whom were soldiers. The contest was obstinate and bloody, rather than long. Nothing could withstand lieutenant Coghlan; he succeeded in bringing off his prize, notwithstanding the fire of the batteries, and several vessels which lay around her. Only one man was killed and eight wounded on this occasion; among the latter, were lieutenant Coghlan, and a midshipman.

The year 1801, was the era of the legislative union with Ireland. The first imperial parliament met on the 1st of January, and a sum of about sixteen millions was voted for the supplies of the navy.

Partly by force and partly by persuasion, Buonaparte had influenced the northern powers to form what was termed the armed neutrality. It had become impossible for the French to keep the seas, and their only means of obtaining supplies were by means of neutral vessels, who made use of their flags to cover provisions and ammunition intended for our enemies. This was resisted by Great Britain, who insisted on a right to intercept the enemy's supplies wherever they could fall in with them. An open rupture was the consequence.

At this time, the Danish navy consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, many of them, however, not in good repair. They had also fourteen frigates and cutter-brigs, mounting from twenty to forty guns; seventeen gun-boats, each carrying twenty-four guns, together with guard-ships. The whole fleet was indifferently manned, in respect to numbers, though the sailors which they had on board were excellent.

Sweden had eighteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, sloops, and other vessels of war; and seventy-four gallies and flat-bottom boats, besides gun-boats, they were all well and fully manned, and most of them in good order and repair.

The maritime force of Russia consisted of eighty-two sail of the line, and nearly forty frigates, besides gallies and small craft. Several of the ships of the line were totally unfit for service, and some of them being at Archangel, could not be immediately made use of. In this port, and in Cronstadt, Revel, and Petersburg, there were forty-seven sail of the

line. In respect to the officers and men, they were all very ill off; and, as the British who commanded many of them, would not act in this war, the Russian fleet, on the whole, though numerically much greater than those of Sweden and Denmark, could hardly be regarded as efficiently equal to them.

As it was supposed that Copenhagen would be the first object of British attack, every precaution was taken to strengthen it, and the whole island of Zealand and the Sound were fortified, both on the Swedish and Danish sides. Batteries were erected on the island of Amack, and on the Sproe in the Belt, in case the British fleet should venture to take that passage. Guns for redhot shot were prepared, and artillery-men were stationed in all the batteries for the purpose of firing them.

The fleet which was destined to act against this formidable confederacy, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, four frigates, and a great number of bomb-vessels and gun-boats, the whole amounting to fifty-two sail. It had on board several regiments of marines and of riflemen. Admiral Sir Hyde Parker commanded it, and he had under him lord Nelson, as second in command.

As soon as this fleet arrived in the Cattegat, the admiral sent a letter to the governor of Cronenburgh, in which he demanded to be explicitly informed whether he would permit the fleet to pass that fortress in a peaceable manner: he added, that he should deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. In reply to this letter, the governor stated that, as a soldier, he could not meddle with politics; but that he was not at liberty to permit a fleet, the intentions of which were not known, to approach the guns of the castle, which he had the honour to command. Sir Hyde Parker immediately entered the Sound, keeping near the Swedish coast, from which he received no hostile indications, while the fire from the fortress of Cronenburgh was distant and harmless. The fleet were nearly four hours in passing the Sound; after which, having come to an anchor within a short distance of the city of Copenhagen, the admiral, in company with lord Nelson and admiral Graves, reconnoitred the formidable preparations which were made for defending it. These consisted principally of an extensive and very strong line of ships, pontons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, all of which were ranged in the road of Copenhagen. Near the entrance to this road, are two small

islands called the Crowns; on these were erected strong and formidable batteries, which flanked and supported the line of ships; on the largest of these batteries, were mounted nearly fifty pieces of cannon. In the inner road of Copenhagen, two ships of seventy guns and a large frigate lay; while on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal, two sixty-four gun-ships, without masts, were moored. After two days spent in examining these preparations for defence, the British admirals formed their plan, and came to the resolution of commencing the attack from the southward.

Lord Nelson volunteered his services to lead the attack. On the morning of the 2d of April, he threw out the signal; the fleet immediately weighed anchor and made sail. As the navigation was intricate, the *Bellona* and *Russel*, two of Nelson's fleet, unfortunately took the ground, where they were, however, of some service in the attack. The *Agamemnon* not being able to weather the shoal, which lay in the middle of the entrance, was obliged to anchor. As these vessels were more particularly meant to have acted against the crown batteries, the British line opposed to them was necessarily inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended; not stretching out so far as to be opposed to the whole range of these batteries. The result of this misfortune was, that the *Defiance* and the *Monarch*, suffered a very heavy loss of men, and exposed captain Riou, to whom lord Nelson had assigned the command and direction of a small squadron of frigates, to a most galling fire, in which he lost his life.

Lord Nelson had hoisted his flag on board of the *Elephant*, and abreast of her were stationed the bomb-vessels; the gun-boats, in the meantime, though every exertion was made to bring them up, were unable to stem the strong current; and their services were of course, in a great measure lost.

A few minutes after ten o'clock, the action commenced. The *Edgar*, commanded by captain George Murray, led the van in a very gallant style; for upwards of four hours and a half, the battle raged in a most dreadful manner. The Danes fought for the defence of their native land, in the view of their prince, and of their wives and children. Their native courage was roused by the situation in which they were placed. The British fought, animated by the example and presence of Nelson; and he was able to call from the British heart all the courage and bravery which it contained. When such were the respective opponents, it may well

be conceived what was the nature of the engagement. At the expiration of four hours and a half, the Danish fire slackened, and it was apparent that victory must declare in favour of the British.

As soon as lord Nelson perceived that he had gained a clear and decided advantage, that the Danish fire was dying away, and that most of their ships and batteries were in his power, he desired pen, ink, and paper, to be brought up on the quarter deck, and wrote a short note to the Danish authorities, the result of which was an armistice, and the secession of Denmark from the northern league.

Buonaparte's favourite object at this period was an invasion of Britain, for which he made preparations upon a very formidable scale. His ports, however, were still blockaded by our fleets; and although lord Nelson failed in his attempts to destroy a large flotilla of gun-boats collected at Boulogne, the "wooden walls of old England" continued efficiently to "guard her native shores" from invaders.

In the Mediterranean, two very severe actions were fought. Admiral Sir James Saumarez, while he was cruising off Cadiz, received intelligence that three French line of battle ships and a frigate were at anchor off Algeiras; he immediately made sail for that place, determined to attack them if it were practicable. As soon as he came in sight of the Bay of Algeiras, the enemy warped their ships close under the batteries. No time was to be lost: the Venerable, captain Hood led into the bay, and was directed to pass the enemy's ships without coming to an anchor; the Pompée and Audacious had, at the same time, been directed to anchor abreast of the inner ship; the Cæsar, Spencer, and Hannibal, abreast of the other ships and the batteries. These directions could not be strictly complied with, captain Hood being obliged to come to anchor, in consequence of the wind failing him. The Pompée reached the position which she had been ordered to occupy, and opened a well-directed and tremendous fire on the French admiral; the Cæsar and Audacious also began the action. In a short time it became general on both sides, the batteries not only protecting the French ships, but also acting with great effect against ours. The Hannibal, which had been under the necessity of coming to an anchor, at some distance from the scene of action, took advantage of a slight breeze; and her commander, captain Ferris, determined to pass between the enemy's ships and the batteries; unfortunately the depth of water was not sufficient, and she

grounded close under one of the batteries. Every effort was made to get her afloat again, but it was impossible to succeed: in this state she made a most gallant and determined resistance; but as she fought to great disadvantage, captain Ferris was at length reluctantly compelled to strike his colours. While the engagement was going on, the enemy had been continually employed in warping their ships nearer the shore. Sir James Saumarez, on perceiving this, ordered the cables to be cut, being determined, if possible, either to destroy or bring them off. The wind, however, failing him, and a strong current opposing the attempt, he found all his endeavours ineffectual. In this unfortunate enterprise, the loss of the British was very severe, one hundred and twenty-one being killed, two hundred and forty wounded, and fourteen missing. The enemy acknowledged that they had three hundred and six killed, and one hundred and eighty-four wounded.

As soon as the British admiral returned to Gibraltar, every exertion was made to repair the damages that the ships had sustained, and to prepare them again for sea. On the 8th of July, the admiral received intelligence that a Spanish squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and three frigates, had stood in and anchored off Algesiras, where they were soon afterwards joined by a French ship of the line. On the 12th, the governor of Gibraltar informed the admiral that he had heard it was the enemy's intention to put to sea that evening. Upon this, Sir James Saumarez redoubled his exertions to get his fleet out of the Mole; and, within a few hours after, the enemy were observed under sail, with a strong easterly wind, the whole British fleet was under weigh, except the *Pompée*, which had not time to take in her masts. At this critical juncture, the genuine spirit of British seamen broke forth in a most conspicuous manner; several of the *Pompée's* men concealed themselves on board the other ships, in order that they might partake in the battle; and even many of those who had been wounded in the former engagement, and were still in the hospital on shore, hired a boat, went off, and requested to be taken on board the *Cæsar*.

The *Superb*, captain Keats, formed the van; he was directed to attack the sternmost ships of the enemy, and, if possible, to keep between them and the shore, in order that there might be no possibility of their running for their own harbours. Captain Keats obeyed these instructions with

great alacrity and skill. About eleven o'clock at night, the *Superb* was abreast of a Spanish three-decker, about three cables' length from her; a tremendous fire was immediately commenced; the shot of the *Superb* actually went over the enemy, and struck two other of their ships, which were in a line abreast of her. Owing to the darkness of the night, these ships, when the shots struck them, began to fire on each other. The *Superb* soon vanquished her opponent; for, in a quarter of an hour, she was on fire; and shortly afterwards, drifting down, she ran foul of another ship to leeward, and communicated the flames to her. As the wind was blowing very fresh at this time, it was impossible to afford any assistance to the miserable crews of these vessels; in the course of half an hour they both blew up; each ship mounted one hundred and twelve guns, and had on board upwards of twelve hundred men, all of whom perished.

Among the young naval officers who distinguished themselves this year, was lord Cochrane. While cruising off Oropeso, in the *Speedy*, in company with captain Pulling in the *Kangaroo* sloop of war, they perceived a Spanish convoy, consisting of twelve vessels, at anchor in the bay; they were protected by a strong battery; but this circumstance only incited the British seamen and their commanders to the attack; for in the course of this war, having decisively proved their superiority to their enemies at sea, they extended their ambition to conquering them, under still more arduous and difficult circumstances. Besides the battery, mounting twelve guns, that protected these vessels, there was a xebec, of twenty guns, and three gun-boats. The mode of attack was soon planned; the two brigs anchored within half gun-shot of the enemy, against whom they opened a brisk fire. In a few hours, the fire of the Spaniards slackened; it feebly and partially recommenced, on the approach and assistance of a felucca of twelve guns; but about half-past three in the afternoon, the xebec, and two of the gun-boats sunk. The battery still continued its fire till nearly six o'clock, when it also was silenced. As soon as this was perceived, the *Kangaroo* cut her cables, and made close to it, upon which the remaining gun-boats fled. No obstacle was now in the way of destroying or capturing part at least of the convoy; for this purpose, the boats were manned, and they succeeded in cutting out such as were afloat; the remainder were either sunk or driven ashore. The loss on the side of the British, in this affair, was very trifling.

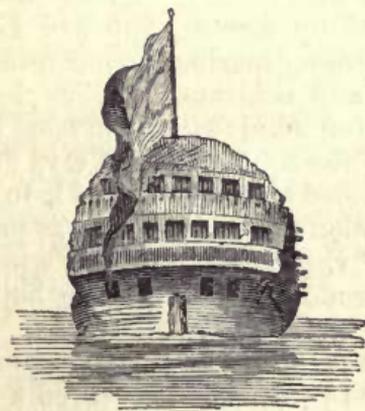
The following anecdote should not be omitted, as it displays a singular instance of bravery and presence of mind. On board the *Immortalité*, one of the squadron which was appointed to watch Brest harbour, was a pilot, who spoke French extremely well. He frequently requested the captain of the *Immortalité* to permit him to go ashore on the coast of France, that he might learn some particulars respecting the fleet in Brest. The captain was at length prevailed upon to give his consent. He accordingly went ashore, it having been previously agreed upon that, in a few hours, a boat should be sent to bring him back. For five successive nights the boat was sent to the place appointed, but he was not there. Three days more passed away, when he came alongside the *Immortalité*, in a French boat rowed by two men. The following is his narrative:—"As I was apprehensive that I should be taken and treated as a spy, I gave up all idea of attempting to get on board in the manner and at the time agreed upon, and came to the resolution of hiring a boat to go into Camaret Bay. I accordingly hired a boat, but when we came near Camaret Bay, I told the men I did not mean that bay, but Bertheaume Bay, which was much nearer the ship: the men rowed me towards this place, and when we came near it, I again told them I wished to go to Point St. Matthew's, only within two gun shots of the frigate; upon hearing this, the men flew into a violent passion, telling me that they would take me back to Brest. I immediately took a brace of pistols from my pocket, and pointing one at each of them, exclaimed, 'I am an Englishman: if you do not put me on board of my ship without delay, I will blow your brains out.' The Frenchmen judged it best to comply with my request." This man had actually been on board several of the French ships of war, and gave a particular and accurate account of their force and condition.

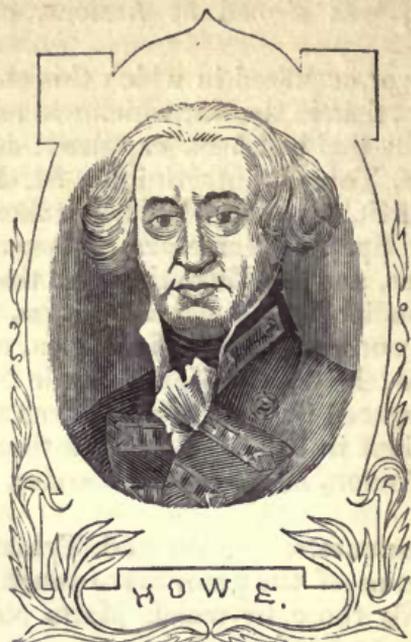
Soon after Mr Addington became prime minister, it was rumoured, that he was much more disposed to peace than Mr Pitt had been; and it was soon known, that negotiations were actually on foot between Great Britain and France. From the length of the war, the great changes which had been produced in the relative situation and power of the two countries, since its commencement; and the jealousy which subsisted between them, the negotiations were long protracted, and met with many obstacles. The

treaty, however, was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802.

No war had ever occurred in which this country had won more glory by sea, than in the war which was now terminated. Eighty sail of the line had been captured: in America and the West Indies, Tobago, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, and part of St. Domingo, had been taken from France: Trinidad from Spain: Demerara, Essequibo, Surinam, Curacoa, Berbice, and St. Eustatia, from the Dutch: in the East Indies, Pondicherry, Malacca, Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, fell into our possession. In Africa, we had subdued the Cape of Good Hope and Malta; while Egypt had been liberated and restored to the Turks. Even the French and Spanish possessions in Europe had for a time confessed our superiority, as Toulon, Minorca, and Corsica, had been taken possession of.

Of all our conquests, Ceylon and Trinidad alone were retained; the terms of the peace were much canvassed and blamed, especially those by which Malta and the Cape of Good Hope were to be given up.





EARL HOWE.—Richard Howe, was born in 1725, and was the second son of viscount Howe. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to sea. The South Sea opened a scene adapted to his daring and enterprising spirit; and he embarked, for the first time, on board the *Severn*, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Edward Legge. His first voyage gave the young mariner no inconsiderable idea of the various dangers and continued fatigue both of body and mind, which were annexed to the profession he had embraced. On the arrival of the squadron off Terra del Fuego, a most violent and continued tempest reduced it to the greatest distress. The situation of the *Severn* was particularly desperate; the fury of raging and contrary winds, formed a sea sufficiently tremendous to strike the boldest hearts with terror.

Captain Legge returned to Europe as soon as his weakened and dispirited people had recovered a sufficient degree of strength at Rio Janeiro, to navigate the ship. The next officer under whom our young sailor was placed, appears to have been Sir Charles Knowles, then commodore of a squadron detached in the month of February, 1743, from admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle's fleet, to attempt the town of La Guira on the coast of Caraccas. Howe, who was at this time about eighteen years of age, served on board the Bur-

ford, commanded by captain Franklin Lushington, one of the officers concerned in the capture of the well-known prize, the San Josef. The squadron arrived on the Curacoa coast on the 18th of February. The Burford suffered considerably in the action. Captain Lushington, having lost his thigh by a chain-shot, died in two hours after he was landed at Curacoa, on the 23d of February, 1742-3.

During a cruise off the coast of Scotland in 1746, an action took place, which stamped the character of Howe, as an able and intrepid officer. The Baltimore, which he commanded, in company with another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates, of thirty guns, crowded with troops and ammunition for the Pretender. Captain Howe immediately ran the Baltimore between them, and almost close on board one of the ships. A desperate and bloody action commenced. After fighting with singular coolness and resolution, he was at length severely wounded by a musket ball in the head, and carried off the deck, to all appearance dead. The anxiety of the crew for their young hero, was, however, but of short duration. With medical assistance he soon discovered signs of life; and, during the painful dressing of his wound, cheered and encouraged the ardour of his men. Scarcely was the operation finished, when he flew again to his post, and was received with shouts of joy by the sailors. The action was now continued with redoubled spirit, until the French ships sheered off, leaving the Baltimore in so shattered a state, that she in vain attempted to pursue them.

In 1752, he was ordered to the Straits, in the Dolphin frigate, and employed in many difficult services, which he executed with his usual spirit. In the course of the year 1754, he returned to England; and at the beginning of the ensuing one, obtained the command of the Dunkirk, of sixty guns, one of the ships that was commissioned, in consequence of the apprehended rupture with France.

The government of Great Britain, roused by the intelligence that a powerful armament was preparing in the ports of Rochefort and Brest, which was destined for America, ordered a squadron to be immediately equipped. In the meantime the French fleet set sail for its place of destination, and towards the end of April, 1755, admiral Boscawen sailed in pursuit of it with eleven ships of the line and one frigate. The French fleet was soon overtaken and attacked. In this action Howe, in command of the Dunkirk, came first

alongside the sternmost ship, the Alcide, at twelve o'clock, and, hailing the captain, delivered his orders, that he should go immediately under the English admiral's stern. Monsieur Hoquart quaintly asked "whether it was peace or war?" Captain Howe repeated his orders, and generously exclaimed, "Prepare for the worst, as I expect every moment a signal from the flag ship to fire upon you, for not bringing to." The ships being now close together, captain Howe had an opportunity of seeing the officers, soldiers, and ladies, who were assembled on the deck. He on this took off his hat, and told them in French, that as he presumed they could have no personal concern in the contest, he begged they would leave the deck; adding, that he only waited for their retiring to begin the action. Captain Howe then, for the last time, demanded that the Frenchman should go under the English admiral's stern. Monsieur Hoquart, still vehemently refusing, was informed that the signal was out to engage. He replied with the civility and *sang froid* of his nation, *Commencez, S'il vous plait!* to which captain Howe answered, *S'il vous plait, Monsieur, de commencer!* Orders to begin the action were given by both nearly at the same instant. After the first broadside, the most dreadful groans and screams were heard from the Alcide; every shot of the Dunkirk went through, all her guns being double-shot with round shot. In about half an hour the Alcide struck to the Dunkirk, her inferior in rate, guns, and men. Captain Howe, perceiving this, generously exclaimed, "My lads! they have behaved like men, treat them like men!" Thus did Howe strike the first blow of that memorable war. The Alcide had on board nine hundred men, chiefly land forces. The general was killed. The governor of Louisbourg, and four officers of note, were taken prisoners, with £30,000 sterling.

It was about this period that captain Howe was hastily awakened in the middle of the night by the lieutenant of the watch, who informed him, in great agitation, that the ship was on fire near the gun-room. "If that be the case," said this resolute officer, rising leisurely to put on his clothes, "we shall soon know it." The lieutenant flew back to the scene of danger, and instantly returned, exclaiming—"You need not be afraid, Sir, the fire is extinguished!" "Afraid!" exclaimed captain Howe, "what do you mean by that, Sir?" "I never was afraid in my life;" and looking the lieutenant full in the face, he added; "how does a man feel, Sir, when

he is afraid? I need not ask how he looks." He succeeded, on the death of his brother, to the Irish title of lord Howe, and on the 23d of August, 1763, he was appointed to the board of admiralty, a station which he continued to hold through two commissions, until the 30th of August, 1765. He was then made treasurer of the navy; and, on the 18th of October, 1770, when he resigned this post, as well as his colonelship of marines, was promoted rear-admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He experienced no farther advancement until the 31st of March, 1775, when he was appointed rear-admiral of the white; and, on the general election, which took place in the same year, was chosen member for the borough of Dartmouth. On the 7th of December, 1775, he was made vice-admiral of the blue. He was nominated commander-in-chief of the fleet to be employed on the American station, soon after his promotion of vice-admiral of the blue. Having hoisted his flag on board the *Eagle*, of sixty-four guns, equipped for him, he arrived off Halifax on the 1st of July, 1776. Every enterprise in which the fleet was concerned, was uniformly successful; every undertaking that was proposed by the general on shore, was warmly supported by the fleet. The conquest of New-York, of Rhode Island, of Philadelphia, of every settlement within the power or reach of a naval force, are irrefragable proofs of his abilities and attention.

On the change of ministry, in the spring of the year 1782, lord Howe was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Howe of Langar, in the county of Nottingham; his patent bearing date the 20th of April. On the 8th of the same month, he had been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. He now accepted the command of the fleet equipping for the relief of Gibraltar, in which, as we have already shown, he succeeded.

Lord Howe returned from this expedition in November, 1782. The corporation of London, in common council assembled, ordered an historical picture of the siege and relief of Gibraltar, to be executed by Mr Copley, as a testimonial of respect to lord Heathfield, the governor, and earl Howe, commander of the fleet, as well as the soldiers and sailors, for their gallant conduct.

Peace was concluded almost immediately after lord Howe's return. In January 1783, he was nominated first

lord of the admiralty, which office he resigned to lord viscount Keppel in April following, but again succeeded to it in December. In September 1787, he was advanced to be admiral of the white. In July 1788, he finally quitted his station at the admiralty; and, on the 19th of August following, was created an earl of Great Britain, by the title of earl Howe.

On the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, he accepted the arduous command of the western squadron. Powers, such as have been seldom delegated to any commander-in-chief, were wisely entrusted to his prudence. By the short cruises which he made, the fleet was never obliged to remain long in harbour to refit, but was constantly ready to engage the enemy. He entirely altered the signals, then in use, for others more simple and perfect; and, by the system he adopted throughout, prepared the way for the glorious successes which have followed. On the 19th of May 1794, he received the news, off Ushant, that the French fleet, under command of rear-admiral Villaret, with the representative of the people, Jean Bon St. Andrè, on board the admiral's ship, *La Montague*, had left Brest. It was not till the 29th of May that he discovered the enemy, and from that time till the 31st, at noon, a fog prevented any thing decisive from taking place. The glorious victory of the 1st of June soon followed. The fleet, which was one of the most powerful that France had ever equipped for sea, was totally vanquished, and seven ships of the enemy's line were in possession of the conqueror.

Lord Howe resigned the command of the western squadron in April 1797. His conduct during the mutiny in 1797, was as commendable as it was arduous. The kingdom contemplated, with a degree of unusual anxiety, this venerable character, whose head was silvered over with age and long service, struggling, at the close of life with a difficulty that required the strength and energy of youth. He felt humanely for those who were infected by its noxious poison, and strove with parental tenderness in their behalf. He stood like the guardian genius of his country, between the dead and the living, and stayed the plague. His lordship did not long survive this business, which concluded as much to his own honour as to the advantage of the navy and country. He died August 5, 1799, in the seventy-third year of his age; and in the following October, a monument to his memory was erected in St. Paul's.

EARL OF ST. VINCENT.—John Jervis was born in 1734. His father was auditor of Greenwich Hospital. He went to sea, as a midshipman, at the age of 14, and served in the expedition against Quebec. He was made a captain in 1760, and distinguished himself highly in the command of the *Foudroyant*, in the battle between Keppel and D'Orvilliers. In 1794, he was commander of a squadron in the West Indies, and contributed materially in the reduction of several of the French settlements there.

His great and crowning victory, and one which places him in the first class of Naval Heroes, was that obtained off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February, 1797. For this he received an earldom.

In 1801, he joined the Addington ministry, as first lord of the admiralty, and proved himself to be equally wise in council as he had been brave in battle. He is entitled to be called a great man as well as a gallant sailor. He died in 1823.

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH.—The subject of this memoir, entered into the navy at the early age of thirteen years. He was born about the year 1764; and received the first rudiments of his education at Tunbridge school. In 1773, he was removed to Bath, where he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Morgan; and in 1777, having commenced his maritime career, he, not long afterwards, removed into the Sandwich, commanded by captain Young. Previous to his embarkation, he had gone through a course of maritime studies, and had, accordingly, been rated for some time as belonging to the service, in conformity with the indulgencies and allowances then made, which permitted them. In 1780, he was promoted to the rank of fifth lieutenant on board the *Alcide*, a ship of seventy-four guns, at that time under orders for the West Indies, whither she was to accompany lord Rodney. The *Alcide* was commanded by Sir Charles Thompson, but Mr. Smith did not remain in the rank of lieutenant more than two years, and being advanced to that of commander, was appointed to the *Fury* sloop, of eighteen guns, on the Jamaica station. Without removing from that quarter of the world, he was again promoted on the 7th of May, 1783, to the higher station of post-captain, by commission appointing him to the *Nemesis* frigate, of twenty-eight guns.

Peace having at this time taken place between all the belligerent powers, the *Nemesis*, after a short interval, was ordered to England, where she was immediately put out of commission and dismantled. After an irksome inactivity of nearly five years, on the prospect of a rupture between Sweden and Russia, captain Smith, in 1788, with the permission of his own government, entered into the service of the former.

His conduct during the period of that northern war, was of such a nature as to bring his character into general notice, and even procure his admission into an order of knighthood of the court which he had served; and on his return home, he had the additional honour of receiving the insignia of his knighthood from his own sovereign at St. James's.

During a short period which intervened between the conclusion of the Swedish war and that which agitated, and which, with a very short interval, still continued to agitate all Europe, Sir Sidney, following the bent of that enterprising mind with which nature had endowed him, became a volunteer in the marine of Turkey. Toward the conclusion of the siege of Toulon, he came from Smyrna for the express purpose of offering his services to lord Hood, and acquired considerable reputation by the bold and spirited manner in which he burned the arsenals and dock-yards, together with the several vessels in the basin, as we have already described.

We have also mentioned his having been taken prisoner in 1796. The particulars of his captivity and escape, he has himself well told.

“ When I was taken at sea, I was accompanied by my secretary, and Mr. Tr——, a French gentleman, who had emigrated from his country; and who, it had been agreed, was to pass for my servant, in the hope of saving his life by that disguise; nor were our expectations frustrated, for John, as I called him, was lucky enough to escape all suspicion.

“ On my arrival in France, I was treated at first with unexampled rigour; and was told I ought to be tried under a military commission and shot as a spy. The government, however, gave orders for my removal to Paris, where I was sent to the Abbaye, and together with my two companions in misfortune, was kept a close prisoner. Meanwhile, the means of escape were the constant object on which we employed our minds. The window of our prison was towards

the street; and from this circumstance we derived a hope sooner or later to effect our object. We already contrived to carry on a tacit and regular correspondence, by means of signs, with some women, who could see us from their apartments, and who seemed to take the most lively interest in our fate. They proposed themselves to assist in facilitating my liberation; an offer which I accepted with pleasure; and it is my duty to confess, notwithstanding the enormous expences occasioned by their fruitless attempts, they have not less claim to my gratitude.

“Till the time of my departure, in which, however, they had no share, their whole employment was endeavouring to save me: and they had the address at all times to deceive the vigilance of my keepers. On both sides we used borrowed names, under which we corresponded, theirs being taken from the ancient mythology, so that I had now a direct communication with Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio. At length I was removed to the Temple, where my three muses soon contrived means of intelligence, and every day offered me new schemes for effecting my escape. At first I eagerly accepted them all; but reflection soon destroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty had given birth. I was also resolved not to leave my secretary in prison, and still less poor John, whose safety was more dear to me than my own emancipation. In the Temple, John was allowed to enjoy a considerable degree of liberty; he was highly dressed like an English jockey, and knew how to assume the manners that corresponded with that character. Every one was fond of John, who drank and fraternized with the turnkeys, and made love to the keeper's daughter, who was persuaded he would marry her; and as the little English jockey was not supposed to have received a very brilliant education, he had learned, by means of study, sufficiently to mutilate his native tongue.

“John appeared very attentive and eager in my service, and always spoke to his master in a very respectful manner. I scolded him from time to time with much gravity; and he played his part so well, that I frequently surprised myself, forgetting my friend, and seriously giving orders to the valet. At length John's wife, Madame de Tr——, a very interesting lady, arrived at Paris, and made the most uncommon exertions to liberate us from our captivity. She dared not come, however, to the Temple, through fear of discovery; but from a neighbouring house she daily beheld

her husband, who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike in secret the pleasure of contemplating the friend of his bosom. Madame de Tr—— now communicated a plan for delivering us from prison, to a sensible and courageous young man of her acquaintance, who immediately acceded to it without hesitation. This Frenchman, who was sincerely attached to his country, said to Madame de Tr——, ‘I will serve Sir Sidney Smith with pleasure, because I believe the English government intend to restore Louis the XVIII. to the throne; but if the commodore is to fight against France, and not for the king of France, heaven forbid I should assist.’

“ Charles L’Oiseau (for that was the name our young friend assumed) was connected with the agents of the king when confined in the Temple, and for whom he was also contriving the means of escape. It was intended we should all get off together. M. la Vilheurnois being condemned only to a year’s imprisonment, was resolved not to quit his present situation; but Brothiere and Duverne de Presle, were to follow our example.

“ Every thing was now prepared for the execution of our project: the means proposed by L’Oiseau appeared practicable, and we resolved to adopt them. A hole, twelve feet long, was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the prison; and the apartments to which the cellar belonged were at our disposal, Mademoiselle D—— rejected every prudential consideration, generously came to reside there for a week, and being young, the other lodgers attributed to her alone the frequent visits of L’Oiseau. Thus every thing seemed to favour our wishes. No one in the house in question had any suspicions; and the amiable little child which Mademoiselle D—— had with her, and who was only seven years old, was so far from betraying our secret, that she always beat a little drum, and made a noise while the work was going on in the cellar. Meanwhile L’Oiseau had continued his labour a considerable time without any appearance of daylight, and he was apprehensive he had attempted the opening considerably too low, it was necessary, therefore, that the wall should be sounded, and for this purpose a mason was required. Madame de Tr—— recommended one, and L’Oiseau undertook to bring him, and to detain him in the cellar until we had escaped, which was to take place that very day. The worthy man perceived the object was to serve some of the victims of misfortune, and came without

hesitation. He only said, 'If I am arrested, take care of my poor children.'

"But what a misfortune now frustrated all our hopes! Though the wall was sounded with the greatest precaution, the last stone fell out and rolled into the garden of the Temple; the sentinel perceived it, the alarm was given, the guard arrived, and all was discovered. Fortunately, however, our friends had time to make their escape, and none of them were taken.

"They had indeed taken their measures with the greatest care; and when the commissaries of the Bureau Central came to examine the cellar and apartment, they found only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and hay, and the hats with tri-coloured cockades provided for our flight, as those we wore were black.

"This first attempt, though extremely well conducted, having failed, I wrote to Madame de Tr——, both to console her and our young friend, who was miserable at having foundered just as he was going into port. We were so far, however, from suffering ourselves to be discouraged, that we still continued to form new schemes for our deliverance; the keeper perceived it, and I was frequently so open as to acknowledge the fact. 'Commodore,' said he, 'your friends are desirous of liberating you, and they only do their duty; I also am doing mine in watching you still more narrowly.' Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled severity, yet he never departed from the rules of civility and politeness. He treated all the prisoners with kindness, and even piqued himself on his generosity. Various proposals were made to him, but he rejected them all, watched us more closely, and preserved the profoundest silence. One day when I dined with him, he perceived that I fixed my attention on a window, then partly open, and which looked upon the street. I saw his uneasiness and it amused me: however, to put an end to it, I said to him, laughing, 'I know what you are thinking of; but fear not, it is now three o'clock, I will make a truce with you till midnight; and I give you my word of honour until that time, even were the doors open, I would not escape; when that hour is passed, my promise is at an end, and we are enemies again.' 'Sir,' replied he, 'your word is a safer bond than my bars or bolts; till midnight, therefore, I am perfectly easy.'

"When we rose from table, the keeper took me aside, and said, 'Commodore, the Boulevard is not far off; if you are

inclined to take the air there, I will conduct you.' My astonishment was extreme; nor could I conceive how this man, who appeared so severe and so uneasy, should thus suddenly persuade himself to make me such a proposal. I accepted it, however, and in the evening we went out. From that time forward this confidence always continued. Whenever I was desirous to enjoy perfect liberty, I offered him a suspension of arms till a certain hour; this my generous enemy never refused; but when the armistice was at an end, his vigilance was unbounded; every post was examined, and if the government ordered that I should be kept close, the order was enforced with the greatest care. Thus I was again free to contrive and prepare for my escape, and he to treat me with the utmost rigour. This man had a very accurate idea of the obligations of honour. He often said to me, 'If you were under sentence of death, I would permit you to go out on your parole, because I should be certain of your return. Many very honest prisoners, and I myself among the rest, would not return in the like case; but an officer, and especially an officer of distinction, holds his honour dearer than his life. I know it to be a fact, commodore, and therefore I should be the less uneasy if you desired the gates to be always open.'

"My keeper was right. While I enjoyed my liberty, I endeavoured to lose sight of the idea of my escape, and I should have been averse to employ, for that object, means that had occurred to my imagination during my hours of liberty. One day I received a letter containing matter of great importance, which I had the strongest desire immediately to read; but as the contents related to my intended deliverance, I asked leave to return to my room and break off the truce. The keeper, however, refused, saying, with a laugh, that he wanted to take some sleep; accordingly, he lay down, and I postponed the perusal of my letter to the evening.

"Meanwhile no opportunity of flight offered; but on the contrary, the directory ordered me to be treated with rigour. The keeper punctually obeyed all the orders he received; and he, who the preceding evening had granted me the greatest liberty, now doubled my guard, in order to exercise a more perfect vigilance.

"Among the prisoners, was a man condemned for certain political offences to ten years' confinement, and whom all the other prisoners suspected of acting in the detestable

capacity of a spy on his companions. Their suspicions, indeed, appeared to have some foundation, and I felt the greatest anxiety on account of my friend John. I was, however, fortunate enough soon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange of prisoners being about to take place, I applied to have my servant included in the cartel; and though this request might easily have been refused, fortunately no difficulty arose, and it was granted. When the day of his departure arrived, my kind and affectionate friend could scarcely be prevailed upon to leave me, till at length he yielded to my most earnest entreaties. We parted with tears in our eyes, which to me were the tears of pleasure, because my friend was leaving a situation of the greatest danger.

“The amiable jockey was regretted by every one; our turnkeys drank a good journey to him; nor could the girl he had courted, help weeping for his departure, while her mother, who thought John a very good youth, hoped she should one day call him her son-in-law. I was soon informed of his arrival in London, and this circumstance rendered my own captivity less painful. I should have been happy also to have exchanged my secretary; but as he had no other dangers to encounter than those which were common to us both, he always rejected the idea, considering it as a violation of that friendship of which he has given me so many proofs. On the 4th of September (18th Fructidor) the rigour of my confinement was still further increased. The keeper, whose name was Lasme, was displaced, I was again kept close prisoner, and, together with my liberty, lost the hopes of a peace which I had thought approaching, and which this event must contribute to postpone.

“At this time a proposal was made to me for my escape, which I adopted as my last resource. The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up for my removal to another prison, and then to carry me off. A French gentleman, M. de Phelipeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and generosity, offered to execute this enterprise.* The order then being accurately imitated, and, by means of a bribe, the real stamp of the minister's signature procured, nothing remained but to find men bold enough to put the plan in execution. Phelipeaux and L'Oiseau would have eagerly undertaken

* He afterwards accompanied Sir Sidney Smith to Syria, and died at the siege of Acre.

it, but both being known, and even notorious at the Temple, it was absolutely necessary to employ others. Messrs. B—— and L——, therefore, both men of tried courage, accepted the offer with pleasure and alacrity.

“With this order then they came to the Temple, Mr B—— in the dress of an adjutant, and Mr L—— as an officer. The keeper having perused the order, and attentively examined the minister’s signature, went into another room, leaving my two deliverers for some time in the cruellest uncertainty and suspense; at length he returned, accompanied by the register (or greffier) of the prison, and ordered me to be called. When the register informed me of the orders of the Directory, I pretended to be very much concerned at it, but the adjutant assured me in the most serious manner, ‘that the government were very far from intending to aggravate my misfortunes, and that I should be very comfortable at the place whither he was ordered to conduct me.’ I expressed my gratitude to all the servants employed about the prison; and, as you may imagine, was not very long in packing up my clothes.

“At my return, the register observed, that at least six men from the guard must accompany me; and the adjutant, without being in the least confounded, acquiesced in the justice of the remark, and gave orders for them to be called out. But on reflection, and remembering, as it were, the laws of chivalry and of honour, he addressed me saying, ‘Commodore, you are an officer, I am an officer also; your parole will be enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an escort.’ ‘Sir,’ replied I, ‘if that is sufficient, I swear on the faith of an officer, to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me.’ Every one applauded this noble action, while I confess I had myself great difficulty to avoid smiling. The keeper now asked for a discharge, and the register gave the book to Mr B——, who boldly signed it with a proper flourish, L. Oger, adjutant-general. Meanwhile I employed the attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with favours to prevent them from having time to reflect, nor indeed did they seem to have any other thought than their own advantage. The register and keeper accompanied us as far as the second court, and at length the last gate was opened, and we left them after a long interchange of ceremony and politeness.

“We instantly entered an hackney coach, and the adjutant ordered the coachman to drive to the suburb of St. Germain.

But the stupid fellow had not gone a hundred paces before he broke his wheel against a post, and hurt an unfortunate passenger. This unlucky accident brought a crowd about us, who were very angry at the injury the poor fellow had sustained; we quitted the coach, took our portmanteaus in our hands, and went off in an instant. Though the people observed us much, they did not say a word to us, only abusing the coachman. And when our driver demanded his fare, Mr ———, through an inadvertency that might have caused us to be arrested, gave him a double louis d'or. Having separated when we quitted the carriage, I arrived at the appointed rendezvous with only my secretary and M. de Phelipeaux, who had joined us near the prison, and though I was very desirous of waiting for my two friends to thank and take my leave of them, M. de Phelipeaux observed there was not a moment to be lost. I therefore postponed till another opportunity my expression of gratitude to my deliverers, and we immediately set off for Rouen, where Mr R ———, had made every preparation for our reception.

“At Rouen we were obliged to stay several days, and as our passports were perfectly regular, we did not take much care to conceal ourselves, but in the evening we walked about the town or took the air upon the banks of the Seine. At length, every thing being ready for us to cross the channel, we quitted Rouen, and without encountering any further dangers, I arrived in London, together with my secretary and my friend M. Phelipeaux, who could not prevail on himself to leave us.”

In the month of June, 1798, he was appointed to the command of the *Tigre*, of eighty guns; and in November sailed for the Mediterranean, where he had a command as commodore on the coast of Egypt.

Sir Sidney repaired to Constantinople, where he was received with the most heartfelt satisfaction by the Turks, to whom he was already known. In the month of March, 1799, having received intelligence from Ghezzar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incursion made by Buonaparte's army into that province, and its approach to Acre, its capital, Sir Sidney hastened with a part of the naval force under his orders to its relief, and had the satisfaction of arriving there two days before the French. In the defence of Acre, Sir Sidney immortalised his name. Its result has been already stated.

The exploits which attach renown to Sir Sidney Smith's

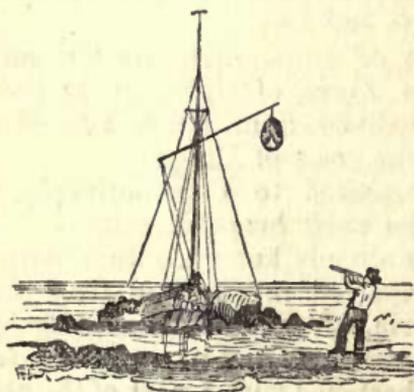
name, having been chiefly performed during the period included in this chapter, we have given his personal memoirs a place here. His career, however, was not yet closed. He materially aided in the struggles which ended in the expulsion of the French from Egypt, and was wounded at Aboukir, when the gallant Abercromby lost his life.

In 1804, he was made a rear-admiral and a colonel of marines.

In 1806, he commanded, with distinguished success, the English squadron at Sicily, and the year following, was one of Duckworth's expedition to the Dardanelles against our former allies the Turks.

Sir Sidney does not appear to have been much in favour at head-quarters, and was not employed in important enterprises so much as from his unequalled bravery it might have been expected. It has been rumoured that his preferment was impeded by his having incurred the jealousy of George IV., by his attentions to the princess of Wales, afterwards queen Caroline.

He attained the rank of admiral in 1821, by rotation, and having spent an extended old age in retirement, chiefly in Paris, he died there in 1840.





LORD DUNCAN.—Adam Duncan was of a Scottish family (Duncan of Lundie); and there is a well authenticated heraldic tradition relative to it, which accounts particularly for its crest, a dismasted ship, now borne over the arms of Camperdown. A person belonging to the family, being supercargo on board a vessel bound from Norway to his native place Dundee, was overtaken by a tremendous storm, in which the ship was reduced almost to a wreck, and the crew experienced great hardship and distress. Contrary, however, to all human expectation, the crew were providentially enabled to navigate their crippled vessel safe into port, and the parents of their fortunately rescued son immediately adopted the crest alluded to, in commemoration of the dangers which he had escaped.

Our hero was born in the month of July, 1731, and received the first rudiments of education at Dundee. His debut, as a naval officer, was made in the year 1746, when he was put under the command of captain Robert Haldane, who then commanded the Shoreham frigate, and with whom he continued two or three years.

In 1755, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, immediately after which he was appointed to the Norwich, a fourth-rate, commanded by captain Barrington, and intended as one of the squadron which was to accompany

admiral Keppel to America. After the arrival of the armament in Virginia, two of the lieutenants on board the commodore's ship, the *Centurion*, being advanced to the rank of captains, Duncan was removed into the *Centurion*, where he continued till that ship returned to England, and captain Keppel, after having for a short time commanded the *Swiftsure*, being appointed to the *Torbay*, of seventy-four guns, procured his pupil to be appointed second lieutenant of that ship. After remaining on the home station, and, owing to the extreme caution of the enemy, very uninterestingly employed for the space of nearly three years, he proceeded on the expedition sent against the French settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa, where he was slightly wounded at the attack of the fort. Soon afterwards he rose to the rank of first lieutenant of the *Torbay*, in which capacity he returned to England.

On the 21st of September, 1759, he was advanced to the rank of commander, but does not appear to have been fortunate enough to have met with any opportunity in his new station of adding to that reputation which he had already so deservedly acquired. He did not, however, long continue in so inactive a state; for having been advanced to the rank of post-captain, in 1761, and appointed to the *Valiant* of seventy-four guns, he again became materially connected, in respect to service, with his original friend and patron, admiral Keppel. An expedition against the French island of Belleisle having been determined on in the British cabinet, Keppel, who was pitched upon to command the naval part of the intended enterprise, hoisted his broad pendant on that occasion on board the *Valiant*; and not long after, Duncan formed part of the expedition against Havannah.

After the surrender of the Havannah, he accompanied Keppel, who was appointed to command on the Jamaica station, in the same capacity he had before held, and continued with him there till the conclusion of the war.

At the conclusion of the year 1799, the *Monarch*, captain Duncan's ship, was one of the ships put under the orders of Sir George Rodney, who was instructed to force his way to Gibraltar through all impediments, and relieve that fortress, which was then closely blockaded by a Spanish army on the land side, and a flotilla by sea, sufficiently strong to oppose the entrance of any trivial succour. Captain Duncan accordingly hailed with transport, the opportunity

of acquiring fame; and fortune was propitious enough not to permit his expectations and hopes to be disappointed on this occasion.

On the 16th of January, 1780, the British fleet, being then off Cape St. Vincent, fell in with a Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Juan de Langara, who was purposely stationed there to intercept Sir George, who, according to misinformation received by the court of Spain, was supposed to be on his passage towards the besieged fortress, with a squadron consisting of no more than four ships of the line, having a fleet of victuallers and transports under their protection. The Monarch had not the advantage of being sheathed with copper; but, notwithstanding this inconvenience, added to the additional circumstance of her being by no means remarkable as a swift sailer, captain Duncan was fortunate enough to get into action before any other ship in the fleet.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which it has been stated the ship he commanded laboured, she was pressed ahead of the fleet, under all the sail that could, with any degree of propriety, be set upon her; and it is reported, that when captain Duncan was warned, by some coppered ships which he passed, of the danger he incurred, by dashing so hastily amidst three of the enemy's squadron, which were just ahead, without some support, he replied, with the utmost coolness, and in no other terms than, "*I wish to be among them.*" The strength of the wind, the agitation of the sea, and the swiftness with which the Monarch passed through it, united to put an end to any further conversation, and captain Duncan had his wishes complied with, by speedily finding himself well up within engaging distance of his antagonists. He found himself alongside one of the Spanish ships of equal force, though of much larger dimensions than the Monarch, while two others of the like rate and magnitude lay within musket shot to the leeward of him. He accordingly directed his best efforts against his opponents, and after a short though animated resistance, had the satisfaction of seeing the colours of San Augustin, of seventy guns strike, in token of her submission to the Monarch. The rigging of the victor had by this time received too much damage to render it possible for captain Duncan to hoist out a boat for the purpose of boarding his prize, particularly as it then blew so hard, and the whole fleet was on a lee shore, he was, therefore, compelled to resign the honour of taking posses-

sion of the vanquished enemy, to a fresh ship, which was then coming up astern.

In 1789, captain Duncan was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue, and to the same rank in the white squadron, on a second advancement of flag-officers, which took place in 1790. He was raised to be vice-admiral of the blue, in 1793; of the white, in 1794; to be admiral of the blue, 1795; and lastly, to be admiral of the white, in 1799. During all these periods, except the two last, singular as it may appear to posterity, the high merit admiral Duncan possessed, continued either unknown, or to give the treatment he received what may perhaps be a more proper term, unregarded. Frequently did he solicit a command, and as often did his request pass uncomplished. At length, he received, in the month of February 1795, an appointment, constituting him commander-in-chief in the North Seas. He hoisted his flag on board the *Venerable*, of 74 guns, and proceeded to carry into execution the trust confided in him.

When the patience and unwearied constancy with which this brave officer continued to watch a cautious and prudent enemy, during the whole time he held the command, a period of five years, are considered, it becomes a matter of difficulty to decide whether those invaluable qualities just mentioned, or the gallantry and judgment he displayed on the only opportunity the enemy afforded him of contesting with them the palm of victory, ought to be most admired.

Admiral Duncan's conduct, which was firm and temperate on the occasion of the famous mutiny which broke out in several of our fleets, is well known; we need not revert to that subject, nor need we again detail the events of the great victory at Camperdown, the brevity of his despatch on that occasion renders it worthy of notice:—

“ *Venerable*, off the coast of Holland, the 12th of October.
Camperdown, E.S.E. eight miles.

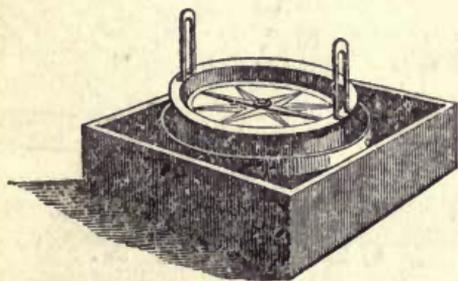
“ SIR,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that at nine o'clock this morning I got sight of the Dutch fleet; at half-past twelve I passed through their line, and the action commenced, which has been very severe. The admiral's ship is dismasted, and has struck, as have several others, and one on fire. I shall send captain Fairfax with the particulars, the moment I can spare him.—I am, &c.

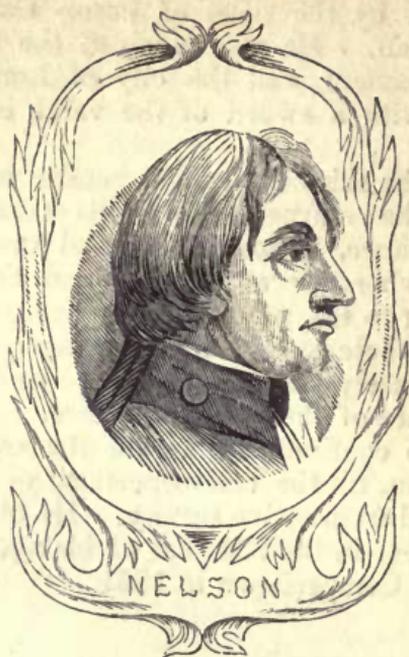
“ ADAM DUNCAN.”

In consequence of the victory of Camperdown, the admiral was raised to the dignity of a baron and viscount of Great Britain, by the titles of baron Camperdown and viscount Duncan. He also received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and the city of London voted him the freedom, with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas.

As soon as the ships destined to remain under his orders were refitted, he returned again to his station; and, by his continued vigilance, almost annihilated the Dutch trade: their vessels, whenever any were found hardy enough to attempt putting to sea, were captured in sight of their own ports; for the whole coast was so completely blockaded, that instances very rarely occurred of their being able to elude the extreme vigilance of the British cruisers.

His lordship continued to retain the command on the north-sea station, till the commencement of the year, 1801, when he retired from active service. He died on the fourth of August, 1804, in the 73d year of his age. His son was created earl of Camperdown in 1831.





Horatio Nelson

CHAPTER X.

MEMOIR OF LORD NELSON.

A VERY young and delicate-looking little boy had strayed, enticed by the flower and the butterfly to a distance from his home, and his prolonged absence exciting the alarm of his friends, they set out in search of him. The little fellow was found sitting composedly by the side of a little stream, planning how most easily to get over it. An anxious relative fondly reproached him,—“ I wonder child, that fear did not

drive you home." "Fear, grandmamma," he replied, "I never saw fear; what is it?" This boy was the future hero, the Nelson of the Nile, the conqueror at Trafalgar.

Horatio Nelson, the fourth son of the Rev. Edward Nelson, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, was born in the parsonage-house of that parish, September 29, 1758. His father's progenitors were originally settled at Hillsborough, where, in addition to a small hereditary estate, they possessed the patronage of the living, which one of them enjoyed for several years. By his mother's side he was related to the Walpoles, and was named Horatio for Horatio Walpole, earl of Orford, and to two great Norfolk families, the Cholmondeleys and the Townshends.

He was placed, while yet of a tender age, at the high-school of Norwich, whence he was removed to North-Walsham, both within the precincts of his native county. But he did not long remain there; for being the younger son of a numerous family, an opportunity was eagerly seized of obtaining some professional employment for him early in life. This occurred when he was only twelve years old.

Some disputes having taken place between the courts of St. James's and Madrid, relative to the possession of the Falkland Islands, an armament was immediately ordered, and captain Suckling, his maternal uncle, having obtained a ship, he was placed on his quarter-deck as a midshipman, on board the *Raisonné*, of sixty-four guns. But after his family had been at the expense of his outfit, negotiations were entered into, in consequence of which hostilities were suspended. On this, the ships in commission were laid up in ordinary, and the officers dismissed. But instead of returning home, young Nelson, who felt no abatement of his ardour, entered on board a merchantman, in which he made a voyage to the West Indies.

On this occasion, although he obtained considerable nautical knowledge, so far as bare practice extended, yet having no field for his ambition, he became disgusted, and would have willingly embraced any other profession. On his return, however, finding that his uncle had obtained the *Triumph*, he repaired on board of her in his former capacity, and soon became reconciled to the service; but as he possessed an inherent ardour, coupled with an unabating spirit of enterprise, and utter scorn of danger, he was ever active to participate in those scenes where knowledge was to be obtained or glory earned.

An opportunity of this kind soon presented itself, and appeared admirably calculated to satiate that romantic taste for adventure which, from the earliest periods of his life, seemed to fill and to agitate the bosom of our youthful hero. One of the most brilliant circumstances of the reign of George III. consisted in that spirit of discovery which constantly prevailed from the accession of his majesty to the throne. It was in pursuance of this plan, which was afterwards extended under captain Cook to another hemisphere, that captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave, sailed June 2, 1773, towards the North Pole. He himself was on board the *Racehorse*, while captain Lutwidge commanded another bomb-vessel called the *Carcass*, both of which had been fitted out on purpose to ascertain to what degree of latitude it was possible to penetrate. On board the latter of these vessels, Nelson was admitted with great difficulty, and in consequence of his own pressing solicitation, in the humble capacity of a coxwain; for, in consequence of an order from the admiralty, boys were not permitted to be received on board.

After passing Shetland, they came in sight of Spitsbergen, and afterwards proceeded to Moffen Island, beyond which they discovered seven other isles, situate in 81 deg. 21 min. When they had sailed a little further north, they became suddenly fast wedged in the ice, on the 31st of July, so that the passage by which the ships had entered was suddenly and completely blocked up, while a strong current set in to the eastward. In this critical situation they remained five whole days, during which period their destruction appeared inevitable; but the young hero, instead of being depressed, actuated by that passion for enterprise, which were ever uppermost in his breast, ventured on the ice during a fine moon-light night, and had nearly lost his life by a rash pursuit of a bear. Being reprimanded for his conduct, he poutingly observed, "That he wished to obtain the skin for his father."

Soon after his return, instead of being appalled by the dangers recently encountered, young Nelson applied for and was appointed to a berth in the *Seahorse*, a twenty-gun ship, in which he repaired to the East Indies, and, by visiting every part of the coast from the Bay of Bengal to Bussorah, was exposed to an extreme of heat in the course of this voyage, nearly equal to the degree of cold he had experienced in the former. These sudden changes could not but prove

very injurious, and his health accordingly yielded to the pressure, so that he was obliged to return home on purpose to breathe his native air.

Having recovered his health, he passed, on the 8th of April, 1777, the usual examination before the Board for the rank of lieutenant, and on the subsequent day received his commission as second lieutenant of the *Lowestoffe*, of thirty-two guns. In this vessel he cruized against the Americans, and the *Lowestoffe* happening to capture a letter of marque belonging to the colonies, then in a state of insurrection, the first-lieutenant proved unable to take possession of her, in consequence of a tremendous sea, that seemed to interdict all approach. The captain, piqued at this circumstance, and desirous of effecting the object of his wishes, inquired "whether he had not an officer capable of boarding the prize?" On hearing this, lieutenant Nelson immediately jumped into the boat, and told the master, who wished to have anticipated him, "that if he came back without success, it would be his turn."

In 1778, he was appointed to the *Bristol*, and rose by seniority to be first-lieutenant. In the course of the succeeding year (June 11, 1779) he obtained the rank of post-captain, on which occasion he was appointed to the command of the *Hinchinbroke*. Having sailed in this vessel for the West Indies, he repaired to Port-Royal in the island of Jamaica, and an expedition against one of the Spanish settlements being then in contemplation, he had an opportunity, for the first time, of distinguishing himself as a commanding-officer. The enterprize to which we allude was planned by Sir John Dalling, the then governor, for the purpose of seizing on fort St. Juan, in the Gulph of Mexico. On this occasion the commander of the *Hinchinbroke* conveyed the troops, which were few in point of number, and were destitute of a field officer. Edward Marcus Despard, who afterwards suffered for high treason, acted as chief engineer, while captain Polson commanded the land forces; but the place would never have been taken had not the first of these officers landed, directed the assault, and even pointed the guns with his own hand.

His ship being paid off on his return to England, he retired to the place of his nativity, the parsonage-house of Burnham Thorpe. But he did not remain there long, for he was nominated to the command of the *Boreas*, in which he repaired to the Leeward Islands, and had under him

Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., who then commanded the *Pegasus*. While on this station, he changed his condition in life, on the 11th of March, 1787, by a marriage with Frances Woodward, daughter of William Woodward, Esq., senior judge of the island of Nevis, and widow of Dr. Nisbet, a surgeon of that island.

On his return from the West Indies, captain Nelson repaired with his wife to the parsonage-house of his father; and there, at a distance from bustle and strife, he passed a quiet and happy life, until again called into action by the concurrence of unforeseen events. He appeared, indeed, during the "piping times of peace," to affect a taste for rural affairs, to be addicted to quiet, and even to solitude, and to abhor any event that could tear him from his dear home. But no sooner did the British ministers indicate a determination to interpose in the domestic concerns of France, and a war appeared unavoidable, than he eagerly repaired to town, and offered his services to the admiralty.

Fortunately for his country these services were accepted, and he was appointed to the *Agamemnon*, of 64 guns.

That able and gallant officer, lord Hood, being at that period appointed to command in the Mediterranean, he accompanied him thither, and was present at the time his lordship occupied Toulon, which he garrisoned with English, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops. Captain Nelson was also present at the siege of Bastia, having landed at the head of a body of seamen, with whom he served in the batteries until the capture of that city, which surrendered May 22, 1795. He afterwards repaired to Calvia, and while busily employed before it, lost an eye. His conduct on both these occasions excited the highest eulogiums on the part of the admiral who commanded.

On the 25th of April, 1805, being accompanied by the *Meleager*, *Diadem*, and *Petterell*, he performed a brilliant exploit at Laona, having boarded and cut out four French store ships, by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire of the batteries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musketry. Several vessels laden with cannon, destined for the siege of Mantua, were also captured in the neighbourhood of Onegha; so that his name became a terror to the foe.

Vice-admiral Hotham having succeeded lord Hood in the command, captain Nelson was present at the action with the French fleet, March 15, 1795, on which occasion he served

in the centre division. The English fleet consisted of fourteen sail of the line, and that of the enemy of fifteen, with an admiral's flag flying on board the *Sans-Culottes*, of 120 guns and 2000 men. After a sharp and bloody conflict, two ships were captured; and the *Agamemnon* was twice called off by signal, on account of his eagerness for a close action.

Soon after this he was detached with a small squadron from the Mediterranean fleet, by means of which he swept the adjacent coasts of the enemy, and cut out nine ships belonging to the French from the bays of Alassio and Anguelia, in the neighbourhood of Vado.

When the Viceroy of Corsica, (Sir Gilbert Elliot, lord Minto,) foreseeing the approaching evacuation of that island, thought fit to seize on the isle of Elba, he was employed for this purpose; and having first effected a landing, and then placed the *Captain*, of 74 guns, within half a pistol shot of the grand bastion, the governor consented to a capitulation, and accordingly the town of Porto Ferrajo, with one hundred pieces of cannon, was immediately surrendered.

In December 1796, captain Nelson was gratified for his services by the permission of hoisting a broad pendant as commodore on board *La Minerve*, in which frigate he captured *La Sabina*, a forty-gun ship. Of the enemy one hundred and sixty-four were killed and wounded, while the loss was only forty-one on board his own vessel. Soon after this he descried the Spanish fleet, and immediately steered with the intelligence to the squadron commanded by Sir John Jervis, who by his conduct on that day (February 14, 1797,) merited and acquired the title of earl of St. Vincent.

Commodore Nelson, having communicated the particulars relative to the force and state of the enemy, shifted his pendant on board the *Captain*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by captain Miller. The commander-in-chief, who had relinquished the blockade of Cadiz in order to pursue the fleet under Don Joseph de Cordova, no sooner received the joyful tidings, than he prepared for action, although he had only fifteen, to oppose twenty-seven sail of the line. He did not, however, upon this occasion disdain to make use of the advantages arising out of superior seamanship; for, by sailing down in a close and compact order, he contrived to begin the engagement before the Spanish admiral was able to complete his line of battle, as a number of the ships had been separated from the main body. Seizing, therefore, the critical moment when they were still

in disorder, by carrying a press of sail, the English suddenly passed through the Spanish squadron, after which they tacked in so judicious a manner, as to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. About eleven o'clock the signal was made from the *Victory* for close fight, and after a severe cannonade, four ships were captured.

The following account of the conduct of lord Nelson, upon this occasion, was drawn up by colonel Drinkwater, who happened to be on board at the time:—

“When Sir John Jervis had accomplished his bold intention of breaking the enemy's line, the Spanish admiral, who had been separated to windward with his main body, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, from nine ships that were cut off to leeward, appeared to make a movement, as if with a view to join the latter. This design was completely frustrated by the timely opposition of commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre. His ship, the *Captain*, had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy's ships that were to windward, than he ordered her to wear, and stood on the other tack towards the enemy.

“In executing this bold and decisive manœuvre, the commodore reached the sixth ship from the enemy's rear, which bore the Spanish admiral's flag, the *Santissima Trinidad*, of 136 guns, a ship of four decks, reported to be the largest in the world. Notwithstanding the inequality of force, the commodore instantly engaged this colossal opponent, and for a considerable time had to contend, not only with her, but with her second ahead and astern, each of three decks. While he maintained this unequal combat, which was viewed with admiration mixed with anxiety, his friends were flying to his support; the enemy's attention was soon directed to the *Culloden*, captain Troubridge, and in a short time after to the *Blenheim*, of 90 guns, captain Frederick, who opportunely came to his assistance.

“The intrepid conduct of the commodore staggered the Spanish admiral, who already appeared to waver in pursuing his intention of joining the ships cut off by the British fleet, when the *Culloden*'s timely arrival, and captain Troubridge's spirited support of the commodore, together with the approach of the *Blenheim*, followed by rear-admiral Parker, with the *Prince George*, *Orion*, *Irresistible*, and *Diadem*, not far distant, determined the Spanish admiral to change his design altogether, and to throw out the signal for the

ships of his main body to haul their wind, and make sail on the larboard tack.

“ Not a moment was lost in improving the advantage now apparent in favour of the British squadron. As the ships of rear-admiral Parker’s division approached the enemy’s ships, in support of the Captain, commodore Nelson’s ship, and her gallant seconds, the *Blenheim* and *Culloden*, the cannonade became more animated and impressive. In this manner did commodore Nelson engage a Spanish three-decker, until he had nearly expended all the ammunition in his ship, which had suffered the loss of her fore top-mast, and received such considerable damage in her sails and rigging, that she was almost rendered *hors de combat*. At this critical period the Spanish three-decker, having lost her mizen mast, fell on board a Spanish two-decker, of 84 guns, that was her second, this latter ship consequently now became the commodore’s opponent, and a most vigorous fire was kept up for some time by both ships within pistol-shot.

“ It was now that the commodore’s ship lost many men, and that the damages already sustained, through the long and arduous conflict which she had maintained, appeared to render a continuance of the contest in the usual way precarious, or perhaps impossible. At this critical moment the commodore, from a sudden impulse, instantly resolved on a bold and decisive measure, and determined, whatever might be the event, to attempt his opponent sword in hand; the boarders were summoned, and orders given to lay his ship on board the enemy.

“ Fortune favours the brave! Nor on this occasion was she unmindful of her favourite. Ralph Willet Miller, the commodore’s captain, so judiciously directed the course of the ship that he laid her aboard the starboard-quarter of the Spanish eighty-four, her sprit-sail-yard passing over the enemy’s poop, and hooking in her mizen-shrouds; when the word to board being given, the officers and seamen destined for this perilous duty, headed by lieutenant Berry, together with the detachment of the sixty-ninth regiment, commanded by lieutenant Pearson, then doing duty as marines on board the *Captain*, passed with rapidity on board the enemy’s ship, and in a short time the *San Nicholas* was in possession of her intrepid assailants. The commodore’s ardour would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of this scene. He was aware the attempt was hazardous, and he thought his presence might animate his brave com-

panions, and contribute to the success of this bold enterprise, he therefore, as if by magic impulse, accompanied the party in this attack; passing from the fore-chains of his own ship into the enemy's quarter-gallery, and thence through the cabin to the quarter-deck, where he arrived in time to receive the sword of the dying commander, who had been mortally wounded by the boarders.

“He had not been long employed in taking the necessary measures to secure this hard-earned conquest, when he found himself engaged in a more arduous task. The stern of the three-decker, his former opponent, was placed directly amidships of the weather-beam of the prize, *San Nicholas*, and from her poop and galleries the enemy sorely annoyed with musketry the British who had boarded the *San Nicholas*. The commodore was not long in resolving on the conduct to be adopted upon this momentous occasion; the two alternatives that presented themselves to his unshaken mind were, to quite the prize, or instantly board the three-decker. Confident in the bravery of his seamen, he determined on the latter. Directing therefore an additional number of men to be sent from the captain on board the *San Nicholas*, the undaunted commodore, whom no danger ever appalled, headed himself the assailants in this new attack, exclaiming, ‘*Westminster Abbey, or glorious victory!*’

“Success in a few minutes, and with little loss, crowned the enterprise. Such, indeed, was the panic occasioned by his preceding conduct, that the British no sooner appeared on the quarter-deck of their new opponent, than the commandant advanced, and, asking for the British commanding officer, dropped on one knee, and presented his sword, apologising at the same time for the Spanish admiral's not appearing, as he was dangerously wounded. For a moment commodore Nelson could scarcely persuade himself of this second instance of good fortune; he therefore ordered the Spanish commandant, who had the rank of a brigadier, to assemble the officers on the quarter-deck, and direct means to be taken instantly for communicating to the crew the surrender of the ship. All the officers immediately appeared, and the commodore had the surrender of the *San Josef* duly confirmed by each of them delivering his sword.

“The coxswain of the commodore's barge, *William Fearney*, had attended close by his side throughout this perilous attempt. To him the commodore gave in charge the swords of the Spanish officers as he received them; and

the undaunted tar, as they were delivered to him, tucked these honourable trophies under his arm with all the coolness imaginable. It was at this moment also that a British sailor, who had long fought under the commodore, came up in the fulness of his heart, and excusing the liberty he was taking, asked to shake him by the hand, to congratulate him upon seeing him safe on the quarter deck of a Spanish three-decker.

“ This new conquest had scarcely submitted, and the commodore returned on board the *San Nicholas*, when the latter ship was discovered to be on fire in two places. At the first moment appearances were alarming, but the presence of mind and resources of the commodore and his officers in this emergency soon got the fire under.

“ A signal was immediately made by the captain for boats to assist in disentangling her from the two prizes; and as she was incapable of further service until refitted, the commodore again hoisted his pendant for the moment on board *La Minerve* frigate, and in the evening shifted it to the *Irresistible*, captain Martin; but as soon as the Captain was refitted, he rehoisted his pendant on board the latter ship.”

In consequence of a promotion in the navy, Nelson hoisted his flag as a rear-admiral of the blue in April 1797, and was detached soon after to bring away the garrison of Porto Ferrajo. After performing this service, on the 27th of May he changed to the *Theseus*, and was appointed to command the inner squadron then blockading Cadiz.

An attempt was made by him, during the night of the 3d of July, to bombard this city, and he conducted this enterprise with his usual spirit and resolution, the *Thunderer* bomb having been stationed, under his management, within two thousand five hundred yards of the walls. On this the Spaniards, anxious to prevent the consequences, sent out all their armed craft, consisting of mortars, gun-boats, and launches. The conflict was long and obstinate; both sides exhibited great valour; and a singular event ensued, scarcely to be paralleled in the history of modern warfare. The brave Don Miguel Terrason, who commanded the armament, in a barge rowed by twenty-six oars and thirty men, made a most desperate effort to overpower Sir Horatio Nelson and his boat's crew. They fought with their swords, hand to hand, and the conflict was long and doubtful.— At length, however, eighteen of his crew having been killed, and himself together with the remainder wounded, the

Spanish rear-admiral sheered off. Nor was the British commander exempt from danger; for captain Freemantle, who accompanied him, was hurt, and his coxswain Sykes, who, by well-timed alacrity, had saved his commander from a mortal blow, was, together with several sailors, disabled.

Two nights after, another bombardment was attempted, and effected with more success; for ten sail of the line, including the flag-ships of the admirals Mazzaredo and Gravina, were obliged to warp out of the range of the shells. Lord St. Vincent, no indifferent judge of bravery and good conduct, concludes an account of these achievements, in a letter addressed to the admiralty, with emphatically observing, "That any praise of his would fall far short of admiral Nelson's merits."

The next exploit in which we find him engaged was an attempt to obtain possession of Teneriffe. Earl St. Vincent having received intelligence, while stationed off Cadiz, that this island was utterly destitute of the means of defence, and that a considerable quantity of treasure had been landed there, determined to detach a squadron against it, commanded by an enterprising officer. Rear-admiral Nelson being accordingly selected for this purpose, was invested with the command of the following ships:—Theseus, 74 guns, rear-admiral Nelson, captain R. W. Miller; Culloden, 74 guns, captain Troubridge; Zealous, 74 guns, captain Samuel Hood; Leander, 50 guns, captain Thompson; Emerald, 44 guns, captain Waller; Seahorse, 32 guns, captain Freemantle; Terpsichore, 36 guns, captain Bowen; Fox cutter, 14 guns, captain Gibson; and a Bomb-ketch.

This armament arrived before Santa Cruz on the 22d of July, 1797, and as it was intended to take the place by surprise, the undertaking was deferred until night, but the morning was far advanced, in consequence of unforeseen delays. A body of men, including one thousand marines, then landed under the direction of captain Troubridge of the Culloden, assisted by captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, all of whom volunteered their services upon this occasion.

The enemy, however, appear to have been far better prepared than had been imagined, for a very sharp fire was kept up from their batteries; one boat was stove in, several were damaged, and the Fox cutter lost.

Admiral Nelson, who had gone on shore with the first division, accompanied it nearly to the spot which was des-

tined for the assault; but lost his right arm by a cannon-shot. His son-in-law, lieutenant Nisbitt, carried him to a boat, which conveyed him on board the *Theseus*, under a tremendous fire from the enemy's batteries.

While their commander lay in this deplorable state, the storming-party advanced, scaled the walls, and penetrated into the great square of the town, where, having formed to the number of about four hundred, they marched towards the citadel, but found it too strong for them to attack with any hopes of success, being unprovided with cannon.

In the meantime captain Troubridge was informed by some of his prisoners that a large body of Spaniards, assisted by some French, and supported by five field-pieces, was preparing to give them battle. On this, perceiving the utter impossibility of receiving any further aid from the ships, he dispatched captain Hood with a message to the Spanish governor, purporting, "That if he would allow him freely, and without molestation, to embark his people, and furnish him with boats for that purpose, in the place of those which had been stove in, the squadron before the town should not be permitted to molest it." On his Excellency's replying, "That they must surrender prisoners of war," the messenger observed, "That if the terms preferred by him were not instantly complied with, Santa Cruz would instantly be set fire to, and the Spaniards attacked at the point of the bayonet."

On hearing this resolute declaration, Don Juan Antonia Gutierrez thought it prudent to comply, and captain Troubridge immediately marched with his men, colours flying and drums beating, to the head of the mole, where boats being furnished by the Spaniards, they immediately embarked, their wounded men having been kindly received into the hospital, while those who had escaped unhurt received a plentiful supply of provisions of all kinds.

Sir Horatio immediately returned to England, and it was not until many months after his arm had been amputated, that he was pronounced out of danger.—On his first appearance at Court, his majesty received him in the most gracious manner, and was pleased to express regret that his state of health and wounds were likely to deprive the nation of his future services. On this the gallant and undaunted tar replied, with all that enthusiasm peculiar to his character, "I can never think that a loss which the performance of my duty has occasioned; and so long as I have a foot to stand on, I will combat for my king and country."

As it was proposed at this period to confer a pension of £1000 per annum, upon him, on account of his exploits and his losses, it became necessary, according to the custom of the navy, that he should give in a distinct statement of his claims. In consequence of this he drew up the following paper, which stands unrivalled in its kind:—

“ To the King’s most Excellent Majesty.

“ The Memorial of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B., and a Rear-Admiral in your Majesty’s fleet.

“ That during the present war your memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, viz., on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795; on the 13th of July, 1795; and on the 14th of February, 1797; in three actions with frigates; in six engagements against batteries; in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours; in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. Your memorialist has also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the sieges of Bastia and Calvia.

“ That during the war he has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes; and taken and destroyed near fifty sail of merchant vessels; and your memorialist has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times.

“ In which service your memorialist has lost his right eye and arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body. All of which services and wounds your memorialist most humbly submits to your majesty’s most gracious consideration.

“ HORATIO NELSON.

“ OCTOBER, 1797.”

He was now enabled, had he been so inclined, to have retired altogether from the service, and lived equally exempt from danger and from want, on his pension and half-pay. But his heart still panted after glory; and having rejoined lord St. Vincent’s fleet, a new scene opened for the solace of his ambition and the display of his talents.

The eyes of all Europe were at that moment fixed on Buonaparte. After conquering Italy, and effecting a peace on the continent, he had fitted out a large fleet, and embarked an army of veteran soldiers. The immediate object of

his attack was as yet unknown; and while mankind remained involved in suspense, the English ministry deemed it prudent to fit out a squadron in pursuit of him.

Sir Horatio Nelson, the officer fixed upon for the command, was despatched by earl St. Vincent into the Mediterranean, on the 7th of May, 1798, with his flag flying on board the Vanguard, of seventy-four guns, together with the Orion and Alexander, of equal force, the Emerald and Terpsichore frigates, and *La Bonne Citoyenne* sloop-of-war. Having reached the Gulph of Lyons, they were assailed by a very violent gale of wind, which carried away a topmast, as well as the foremast of the rear-admiral's ship, on the 22d, the very day on which the French fleet, with Buonaparte on board, sailed from Toulon. Having refitted in St. Pierre's road, in the island of Sardinia, the harbour of which they were not allowed to enter, the English squadron reached the place of rendezvous on the 4th of June, and were joined on the 8th, by ten sail of the line under captain Troubridge.

With this force, which he deemed sufficient to encounter any fleet of the enemy, admiral Nelson proposed to steer after them immediately, and knowing that they had sailed with the wind at N. W., he was induced to think that they were destined up the Mediterranean. Neither on the coast of Italy, nor in the port of Naples, could any intelligence be obtained of the ultimate intentions of the French; all that was learned amounted to a mere supposition that they had proceeded towards Malta. To facilitate the passage thither, it was determined to pass through the Straits of Messina, and this was accomplished on the 20th with a fair wind; and two days after, intelligence was received that the French had captured Malta, and sailed thence on the 18th with a fresh breeze at N. W.

On this Sir Horatio took an opposite direction, and was not a little mortified, on discovering Alexandria, that not a single French ship was anchored there. In this state of uncertainty, he instantly returned to Sicily, entered the port of Syracuse, took in a supply of fresh water, steered on the 25th of July for the Morea, and, in consequence of new and more correct information, determined once more to visit Alexandria, which he descried on the first of August at noon. The enemy's fleet was first discovered by captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, consisting of seventeen sail, lying at anchor in a line of battle in Aboukir bay.

This formidable fleet appeared to be moored in a compact

line of battle, supported by a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van, while their flanks were strengthened by gun-boats.

Although the wind blew fresh, and the day was far spent, yet the admiral made the signal for battle, and signified at the same time that it was his intention to attack the enemy's van and centre as it lay at anchor, according to a plan already communicated by him to the respective captains.

The British fleet, every ship of which sounded its way as it proceeded, stood in; and Sir Horatio being struck with the idea that where there was room for one ship to swing there was opportunity for another to anchor, measures were taken for carrying this idea into effect, notwithstanding the Culloden had grounded on Bequier Island. The Goliath and Zealous, together with the Orion, the Audacious, and the Theseus, led inside, and received a most tremendous fire from the van of the fleet, as well as the batteries on shore, while the Vanguard anchored on the outside of the enemy, within half a pistol shot of Le Spartiate. The Minotaur, Defence, and Bellerophon, Majestic, Swiftsure, and Alexander, came up in succession; and captain Thompson of the Leander, making up in seamanship for the deficiency of a fifty-gun ship in point of metal, dropped her anchor athwart the hawse of Le Franklin, an eighty-gun ship, in such a masterly manner, as to annoy both her and L'Orient.

Notwithstanding the darkness that soon ensued, Le Guerrier was dismasted in the course of a few minutes, while the twilight yet remained; Le Conquerant and Le Spartiate were also soon reduced to a similar state; three more, L'Aquilon, Le Souverain Peuple, and Le Spartiate, surrendered; soon after which the admiral's ship, L'Orient, was discovered to be on fire, and the flames burst forth with such rapidity, that great apprehensions were entertained not only for her safety, but also that of such ships of the British fleet as were in her immediate vicinity.

Sir Horatio Nelson, who had retired below in consequence of a wound received during the action, no sooner received intelligence of this alarming event, than he came upon deck, and, with that inborn humanity which is the best characteristic of a hero, bethought him of the most likely means to save the lives of as many of the enemy as possible. The only boat in a condition to swim was therefore immediately despatched from the admiral's ship, and the commanders of others following the example, about seventy lives were saved;

and many more would have been rescued from death, had not the vessel alluded to blown up suddenly with a most tremendous explosion.

This silenced the guns in the other vessels for a short time, after which the firing continued, until the victory was secured in the van. Such ships as were not disabled then bore down upon those of the enemy that had not been in the engagement.

When the dawn developed the scene of this terrible conflict, only two sail of the line were discovered with their colours flying, all the rest having struck. These, conscious of their danger, together with two frigates, cut their cables in the course of the morning, and stood out to sea.

After this signal victory, the victorious commander lost no time in returning thanks to the Supreme Being for his success. He accordingly issued the following notice:—

“ MEMORANDUM.

“ *To the Officers of the Squadron.*

“ Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, August 2, 1798.

“ Almighty God having blessed his majesty’s arms with victory, the admiral intends returning public thanks at two o’clock this day, and recommends every ship doing the same as soon as convenient.”

Public service was accordingly performed on the quarter-deck, the other ships following the example of the admiral.

On the same day he addressed the following circular letter to the captains under him, fully expressive of his approbation of their conduct:—

“ Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, August 2, 1798.

“ The admiral most heartily congratulates the captains, officers, seamen and marines, of the squadron he has had the honour to command, on the event of the late action; and he desires they will accept his most sincere and cordial thanks for their very gallant behaviour in this glorious battle. It must strike forcibly every British seaman how superior their conduct is, when in discipline and good order, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen.

“ The squadron may be assured the admiral will not fail, with his despatches, to represent their truly meritorious conduct in the strongest terms to the commander-in-chief.

“ *To the Captains of the Ships of the Squadron.*”

It was the fourth day after the action before the admiral could transmit intelligence of this memorable event. His dispatches upon this occasion were entrusted to captain Berry, in the *Leander*; and no sooner were they made public, than the greatest sensation was occasioned throughout Europe. The emperor of Germany immediately broke off the conferences for a peace at Rastadt; the Ottoman Porte declared war against the French; and the king of Naples marched an army to Rome, of which he for a time dispossessed them.

In England the victory of the Nile was celebrated by bonfires and illuminations; while the king, and both houses of parliament, were eager to bestow marks of favour on the triumphant fleet and its gallant leader. His majesty immediately conferred upon him the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, and he was accordingly called up to the House of Peers, as lord Nelson of the Nile. The Grand Seignior, transmitted a superb diamond cheleng, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the Imperial turbans; and the king of Naples soon after granted the title of duke of Bronté, with an estate in Sicily.

Instead of returning home to repose under his laurels, the admiral immediately sailed for Sicily, where he was received as a deliverer by the king. The subjects of that monarch, discontented at his conduct, and supported by the French, had but lately driven him from his Capital, after which they established or rather proclaimed, "The Parthenopean Republic." The zeal of cardinal Ruffo, however, who successfully mingled the character of a soldier with that of a priest, proved signally efficacious towards the restoration of the exiled monarch. Having marched to Naples at the head of a body of Calabrians, he obliged "the patriots," as they were termed, who were in possession of all the forts, to capitulate; and to this treaty the English, Turkish, and Russian commanders acceded. On the appearance of lord Nelson, however, Ferdinand publicly disavowed "the authority of cardinal Ruffo to treat with subjects in rebellion," and the capitulation was accordingly violated, with the exception of the prisoners in *Castella Mare* alone, which fortress had surrendered to the English squadron under commodore Foote. The participation of Nelson in this act of royal treachery, is the only portion of the admiral's public conduct which has ever been censured.

After having effected the blockade of Malta, procured the evacuation of Rome, and contributed greatly to the restoration

of the king of Naples to his capital and his throne, lord Nelson embarked with the English minister (Sir William Hamilton) to the court of Naples, and landed at Yarmouth, in his native county, on the 6th of November, after an absence of three years, which had been wholly occupied by a series of the most brilliant and magnanimous achievements.

The populace assembled in crowds to behold the Hero of the Nile, and harnessing themselves to his carriage, dragged him to the inn. On his arrival in London, similar honours attended him; and, at a dinner given to him by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, in the Guildhall, he was presented with a superb sword, in testimony of an action "perhaps unequalled in the history of mankind."

His lordship did not remain long inactive, for in consequence of his own pressing solicitations, he was enabled once more to hoist his flag in the service of his country; and the admiralty, with a due and appropriate regard to his glory, appointed him to the command of the *San Joseph*, of one hundred and ten guns, a ship formerly boarded and taken by himself in the action off Cape St. Vincent.

A confederacy of the Northern Powers having alarmed the nation, he was employed in the expedition sent to dissolve it. A fleet consisting of eighteen sail of the line and four frigates, together with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty four sail, having been fitted out for this purpose, proceeded from Yarmouth roads for the Baltic, March 12, 1801. The command of this expedition was entrusted to admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by vice-admiral Nelson and rear-admiral Totty. On the arrival of the English squadron in the Cattegat, Sir Hyde despatched a letter to the governor of Cronenburgh, in which, after alluding to the hostile conduct of Denmark, he demanded, "Whether he could pass that fortress freely, and without impediment?" On being answered in the negative, he anchored near to the island of Huen, and in company with vice-admiral lord Nelson and rear-admiral Graves surveyed the formidable line of ships, radeaus, galleys, fire-vessels, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns, the largest of which was mounted with from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon, and were also further strengthened by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate, in the inner road of Copenhagen; while two sixty-four gun ships, without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance of the arsenal.

Lord Nelson, who had offered his services for conducting the attack, now shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, and, notwithstanding the formidable preparations against him, fearlessly led the van, and passed the Sound, with little or no loss. On the 2d of April he weighed to engage the Danish fleet, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating-batteries, one bomb-ketch, &c. The action commenced at ten o'clock, and, after a sharp and bloody conflict, seventeen sail were either sunk, burned, or taken.

It ought not to be omitted, on the other hand, that the Danes conducted themselves with great resolution; that their principal batteries, as well as the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were still untouched, and that two of his own division had grounded, and others were in danger; while it would have been extremely difficult to have returned with the prizes under the fire of the batteries.

It was at this critical moment that lord Nelson proved that he was in full possession of all his faculties, and equally capable of acting the part of a statesman and a warrior, as the following correspondence will sufficiently attest:—

“Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have so nobly defended them.”

The Prince-Royal of Denmark sent general-adjutant Lindholm, to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce.

“Lord Nelson’s object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore; and lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince of Denmark, will consider this the greatest victory he ever gained, if it be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious Sovereign and his majesty the king of Denmark.”

Soon after this his lordship went on shore, and a confer-

ence having taken place, and an armistice having been agreed to and ratified, on the part of the Crown Prince on the one hand, and Sir Hyde Parker, commander-in-chief, on the other, he returned on board.

The entire management of the negotiation having thus devolved on admiral lord Nelson, he next addressed himself to the Swedish government, and obtained the embargo to be taken off all the English ships in the Baltic. These two grand points having been gained, his lordship, who was obliged, on account of the state of his health, to return home, left instructions to his successor, vice-admiral Pole, to complete what was still wanting on the part of Great Britain. The critical death of the Emperor Paul of Russia, the continuance of a formidable fleet in the Baltic, and, above all, the memory of the battle of Copenhagen, which in point of fierceness surpassed, and of success nearly equalled, that of the Nile, all contributed to the joyful event that speedily ensued,—a treaty of peace and amity with the Northern Powers.

An opportunity now once more occurred of his retiring to the bosom of his family, accompanied by honour, renown, and affluence. But this was never once dreamed of by our gallant commander, while his country remained at war; for “Victory or Westminster Abbey,” were always uppermost in his thoughts, words, and actions.

At the short peace, he was enabled to retire to the estate of Merton, which he had lately purchased, and enjoy the society of his friends; but no sooner was this short and ill-starred peace dissolved, than his lordship was called upon to take the command of the ships in the Mediterranean. He accordingly repaired thither, on board the *Victory*, May 20, 1803, and formed the blockade of Toulon with a powerful squadron. Notwithstanding all the vigilance employed, the French fleet escaped out of this port on the 30th of March, 1805, and shortly after formed a junction with the Cadiz squadron, the English commander, Sir John Orde, being obliged to retire before such a superiority in point of numbers.

The gallant Nelson no sooner received intelligence of this event, than he followed the enemy to the West Indies; and such was the terror of his name, that they returned without effecting anything worthy of mention, and got into port after running the gauntlet through Sir Robert Calder's squadron. The enemy having thus again eluded his pursuit, he returned almost inconsolable to England; but departed soon

after to assume the command of the fleet off Cadiz, where impatient of further delay, he had recourse to every art to induce them to put once more to sea. In this he at length proved successful; and, while he consummated his glory at Trafalgar, he lost his life in battle.

An account of this our hero's last victory, we shall abridge, along with some personal anecdotes, from the admirable narrative of Southey, and other quarters.*

About half-past nine in the morning of the 19th, the Mars, being the nearest to the fleet of the ships which formed the line of communication with the frigates in shore, repeated the signal, that the enemy were coming out of port. The wind was at this time very light, with partial breezes, mostly from the S. S. W. Nelson ordered the signal to be made for a chase in the south-east quarter. About two, the repeating ships announced, that the enemy were at sea. All night the British fleet continued under full sail, steering to the south-east. At daybreak they were in the entrance of the Straits, but the enemy were not in sight. About seven, one of the frigates made signal that the enemy were bearing north. Upon this the Victory hove to, and shortly afterwards Nelson made sail again to the northward. In the afternoon the wind blew fresh from the south-west, and the English began to fear that the foe might be forced to return to port. A little before sunset, however, Blackwood, in the Euryalus, telegraphed, that they appeared determined to go to the westward,—“And that,” said the admiral in his diary, “they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronté to prevent them.” Nelson had signified to Blackwood, that he depended upon him to keep sight of the enemy. They were observed so well, that all their motions were made known to him; and, as they wore twice, he inferred that they were aiming to keep the port of Cadiz open, and would retreat there as soon as they saw the British fleet: for this reason he was very careful not to approach near enough to be seen by them during the night. At daybreak the combined fleets were distinctly seen ahead, from the Victory's deck, formed in a close line of battle on the starboard tack, about twelve miles to leeward, and standing to the

* See “Southey's Life of Nelson,” a work delightfully composed, and which, notwithstanding its strong tincture of party prejudice, ought to be in the hands of all who relish naval biography.

south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and four frigates; theirs of thirty-three, and seven large frigates. Their superiority was greater in size, and weight of metal, than in numbers. They had four thousand troops on board; and the best riflemen that could be procured.

Soon after daylight Nelson came upon deck. The 21st of October was a festival in his family, because on that day his uncle, captain Suckling, in the Dreadnought, with two other line of battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sail of the line, and three frigates. Nelson, with that sort of superstition from which few persons are entirely exempt, had more than once expressed his persuasion that this was to be the day of *his* battle also, and he was well pleased at seeing his prediction about to be verified. The wind was now from the west, light breezes with a long heavy swell. Signal was made to bear down upon the enemy in two lines; and the fleet set all sail. Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, led the lee line of thirteen ships; the Victory led the weather line of fourteen. Having seen that all was as it should be, Nelson retired to his cabin, and wrote the following prayer:—

“May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to him that made me; and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

Blackwood went on board the Victory about six. He found him in good spirits, but very calm; not in that exhilaration which he had felt upon entering into battle at Aboukir and Copenhagen; he knew that his own life would be particularly aimed at, and he seems to have looked for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. His whole attention was fixed upon the enemy. They tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard tack; thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for themselves. This was judiciously done; and Nelson, aware of all the advantages which it gave them, made signal to prepare to anchor.

Villeneuve was a skilful seaman; worthy of serving a better master, and a better cause. His plan of defence was as well conceived, and as original, as the plan of attack. He formed the fleet in a double line; every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second, ahead and astern. Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the day, asked Blackwood what he should consider as a victory. That officer answered, that, considering the handsome way in which battle was offered by the enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the situation of the land, he thought it would be a glorious result if fourteen were captured. He replied: "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty." Soon afterwards he asked him, if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood made answer, that he thought the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken before that signal was made, which will be remembered as long as the language, or even the memory of England, shall endure;—Nelson's last signal:—"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY!" It was received throughout the fleet with a shout of answering acclamation, made sublime by the spirit which it breathed, and the feeling which it expressed. "Now," said lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

He wore that day, as usual, his admiral's frock coat, bearing on the left breast four stars, of the different orders with which he was invested. These ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy, were beheld with ominous apprehensions by his officers. It was known that there were riflemen on board the French ships, and it could not be doubted but that his life would be particularly aimed at. They communicated their fears to each other; and the surgeon, Mr Beatty, spoke to the chaplain, Dr. Scott, and to Mr Scott, the public secretary, desiring that some person would entreat the admiral to change his dress, or cover the stars; but they knew that such a request would displease him. "In honour I gained them," he had said, when such a thing had been hinted to him formerly, "and in honour I will die with them." Mr Beatty, however, would not have been deterred by any fear of exciting his displeasure, from speaking to him upon a subject, in

which the weal of England, as well as his own life was concerned,—but he was ordered from the deck before he could find an opportunity. This was a point upon which Nelson's officers knew that it was hopeless to remonstrate or reason with him; but both Blackwood, and his own captain, Hardy, represented to him how advantageous to the fleet it would be for him to keep out of action as long as possible; and he consented at last to let the *Leviathan* and the *Tèméraire*, which were sailing abreast of the *Victory*, be ordered to pass ahead. Yet even here the last infirmity of this noble mind was indulged, for these ships could not pass ahead if the *Victory* continued to carry all her sail; and so far was Nelson from shortening sail, that it was evident he took pleasure in pressing on, and rendering it impossible for them to obey his own orders.

Nelson's column was steered about two points more to the north than Collingwood's, in order to cut off the enemy's escape into Cadiz; the lee line, therefore, was first engaged. "See," cried Nelson, pointing to the *Royal Sovereign*, as she steered right for the centre of the enemy's line, cut through it astern of the *Santa Anna*, three-decker, and engaged her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; "see how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action!" Collingwood, delighted at being first in the heat of the fire, and knowing the feelings of his old friend and commander, turned to his captain, and exclaimed "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here!"

The enemy continued to fire a gun at a time at the *Victory*, till they saw that a shot had passed through her main-top-gallant sail; then they opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at her rigging, in the hope of disabling her before she could close with them. Nelson, as usual, had hoisted several flags, lest one should be shot away. The enemy showed no colours till late in the action. For this reason, the *Santissima Trinidad*, Nelson's old acquaintance, as he used to call her, was distinguishable only by her four decks; and to the bow of his opponent he ordered the *Victory* to be steered. Meantime an incessant raking fire was kept up upon the *Victory*. The admiral's secretary was one of the first who fell; he was killed by a cannon shot while conversing with Hardy. Captain Adair, of the marines, with the help of a sailor, endeavoured to remove the body from Nelson's sight, who had a great regard for Mr Scott; but he anxiously asked, "Is that poor Scott that's gone?" and

being informed that it was indeed so, exclaimed, "Poor fellow!" Presently a double-headed shot struck a party of marines, who were drawn up on the poop, and killed eight of them; upon which Nelson immediately desired captain Adair to disperse his men round the ship, that they might not suffer so much as from being together. A few minutes afterwards a shot struck the fore brace bits on the quarter deck, and passed between Nelson and Hardy, a splinter from the bit tearing off Hardy's buckle and bruising his foot. Both stopped, and looked anxiously at each other, each supposed the other to be wounded. Nelson then smiled, and said, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long."

The Victory had not yet returned a single gun; fifty of her men were by this time killed or wounded, and her main-top-mast, with all her studding sails and her booms, shot away. Nelson declared, that, in all his battles, he had seen nothing which surpassed the cool courage of his crew on this occasion. At four minutes after twelve, she opened her fire from both sides of her deck. It was not possible to break the enemy's line without running on board one of their ships: Hardy informed him of this, and asked him which he would prefer. Nelson replied: "Take your choice, Hardy, it does not signify much." The master was ordered to put the helm to port, and the Victory ran on board the Redoubtable, just as her tiller ropes were shot away. The French ship received her with a broadside; then instantly let down her lower deck ports, for fear of being boarded through them, and never afterwards fired a great gun during the action. Her tops, like those of all the enemy's ships, were filled with riflemen.

Captain Harvey, in the *Téméraire*, fell on board the Redoubtable on the other side. Another enemy was in like manner on board the *Téméraire*; so that these four ships formed as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads lying all the same way. The lieutenants of the Victory, seeing this, depressed their guns of the middle and lower decks, and fired with a diminished charge, lest the shot should pass through and injure the *Téméraire*. And as there was danger that the Redoubtable might take fire from the lower-deck guns, the muzzles of which touched her side when they were run out, the fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket of water; which as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the hole made by the shot. An incessant fire was kept up from the Victory

from both sides; her larboard guns playing upon the Bucentaure and the huge Santissima Trinidad.

It had been part of Nelson's prayer, that the British fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory which he expected. Setting an example himself, he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the Redoubtable, supposing that she had struck, because her great guns were silent, for as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top, which, in the then situation of the two vessels, was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, about a quarter after one, just in the heat of action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up.—“They have done for me at last, Hardy,” said he.—“I hope not,” cried Hardy.—“Yes!” he replied; “my back-bone is shot through.” Yet even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed, as they were carrying him down the ladder, that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately:—then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief, and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy, England, perhaps, would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men; over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in the midshipmen's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except captain Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back, and the gush of blood he felt momentarily within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful; “For,” said he, “you can do nothing for me.”—All that could be done was to fan him with paper, and frequently to give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was in great pain, and expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which now began to declare itself. As often as a ship struck, the crew of the Victory hurraed; and at every hurra, a visible

expression of joy gleamed in the eyes, and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see captain Hardy; and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause prevented him, and repeatedly cried: "Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed! He is surely dead!"—An hour and ten minutes elapsed from the time when Nelson received his wound, before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence; Hardy in vain struggling to suppress the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment. "Well, Hardy," said Nelson, "how goes the day with us?"—"Very well," replied Hardy; "ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked, and show an intention to bear down upon the Victory. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck?" Hardy answered "There was no fear of that." Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy," said he: "I am going fast:—it will be all over with me soon. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Captain Hardy then, once more, shook hands with him; and, with a heart almost bursting, hastened upon deck.

By this time all feeling below the breast was gone; and Nelson, having made the surgeon ascertain this, said to him: "You know I am gone, I know it. I feel something rising in my breast,"—putting his hand on his left side,— "which tells me so." And upon Dr. Beatty's inquiring whether his pain was very great? he replied, "So great, that he wished he was dead. Yet," said he in a lower voice, "one would like to live a little longer too!" Capt. Hardy, some fifty minutes after he had left the cockpit, returned; and, again taking the hand of his dying friend and commander, congratulated him on having gained a complete victory. How many of the enemy were taken he did not know, as it was impossible to perceive them distinctly; but fourteen or fifteen at least. "That's well," cried Nelson, "but I bargained for twenty." And then, in a stronger voice, he said: "Anchor, Hardy; anchor." Hardy, upon this, hinted that admiral Collingwood would take upon himself the direction of affairs. "Not while I live, Hardy," said the dying Nelson, ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed: "Do you anchor." Presently, calling Hardy back, he said to him in a low voice, "Don't throw

me overboard:" and he desired that he might be buried by his parents, unless it should please the king to order otherwise. "Kiss me, Hardy," said he. Hardy knelt down and kissed his cheek: and Nelson said, "Now I am satisfied. Thank God I have done my duty." Hardy stood over him in silence for a moment or two, then knelt again and kissed his forehead. "Who is that?" said Nelson; and being informed, he replied, "God bless you, Hardy." And Hardy then left him—for ever.

Nelson now desired to be turned upon his right side and said, "I wish I had not left the deck; for I shall soon be gone." His articulation now became difficult; but he was distinctly heard to say, "Thank God I have done my duty." These words he repeatedly pronounced; and they were the last words which he uttered. He expired at thirty minutes after four,—three hours and a quarter after he had received his wound.

Within a quarter of an hour after Nelson was wounded, above fifty of the *Victory's* men fell by the enemy's musketry. They, however, on their part, were not idle; and it was not long before there were only two Frenchmen left alive in the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*. One of them was the man who had given the fatal wound, but he did not live to boast of what he had done. An old quarter-master had seen him fire; and easily recognised him, because he wore a glazed cocked hat and a white frock. This quarter-master and two midshipmen, Mr. Collingwood and Mr. Pollard, were the only persons left in the *Victory's* poop:—the two midshipmen kept firing at the top, and he supplied them with cartridges. One of the Frenchmen, attempting to make his escape down the rigging, was shot by Mr. Pollard, and fell on the poop. But the old quarter-master, as he cried out, "That's he—that's he," and pointed at the other, who was coming forward to fire again, received a shot in his mouth, and fell dead. Both the midshipmen then fired at the same time, and the fellow dropped in the top. When they took possession of the prize, they went into the mizen-top, and found him dead; with one ball through his head, and another through his breast. The *Redoubtable* struck within twenty minutes after the fatal shot had been fired from her.

The total loss of the British in the battle of Trafalgar amounted to one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven. Twenty of the enemy struck; but it was not possible to anchor

the fleet, as Nelson had enjoined;—a gale came on from the south-west; some of the prizes went down, some went on shore; one effected its escape into Cadiz; others were destroyed; four only were saved, and those by the greatest exertions. The wounded Spaniards were sent ashore, an assurance being given that they should not serve till regularly exchanged; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling, which would not, perhaps, have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain that they should be carefully attended to. When the storm, after the action, drove some of the prizes upon the coast, they declared that the English, who were thus thrown into their hands, should not be considered as prisoners of war; and the Spanish soldiers gave up their own beds to their shipwrecked enemies. The Spanish vice-admiral, Alva, died of his wounds. Ville-neuve was sent to England, and soon after permitted to return to France.

It is almost superfluous to add, that all the honours which a grateful country could bestow were heaped upon the memory of Nelson. His brother was made an earl, with a grant of £6,000 a year; £10,000 were voted to each of his sisters: and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. A public funeral and monument were decreed. Statues and monuments also were voted by most of our principal cities. The leaden coffin in which he was brought home was cut in pieces, which were distributed as relics of Saint Nelson,—so the gunner of the *Victory* called them;—and when, at his interment, his flag was about to be lowered into the grave, the sailors, who assisted at the ceremony, with one accord rent it in pieces, that each might preserve a fragment while he lived.

ANECDOTES OF NELSON.—While on the American station, he became acquainted with our future king, William IV., and a mutual esteem and friendship resulted. The following is the prince's account of his first impression of the tar:—"I had the watch on deck," says his royal highness, "when captain Nelson came in his barge alongside, he appeared to me to be the merest boy of a captain I ever beheld. He had on a full-laced uniform; his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure, and pro-

duced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice, for I had never seen anything like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, or what he came about. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation, and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, which showed that he was no common being."

Nelson's manner to his midshipmen was extremely kind and encouraging. If he perceived that a boy was at first afraid to go aloft, he would say playfully, "Well, Sir, I am going a race to the mast head, and beg that I may meet you there." The little fellow would instantly begin to climb, and when they met on the top, Nelson would chat to him cheerfully without finding any fault, although he might have shown some little awkwardness in the ascent.

When he was wounded at the assault on Santa Cruz, his step-son, by his admirable presence of mind, in applying his handkerchief in the manner of a tourniquet to the arm, in all probability saved his life. His calmness in undergoing the amputation was great; and his subsequent suffering was caused by the error of the surgeon who performed the operation.

The severe wound which Nelson received at the battle of the Nile, was supposed to have proceeded from langridge shot or a piece of iron; the skin of his forehead being cut with it at right angles, hung down over his face. Captain Berry, who happened to stand near, caught the admiral in his arms. It was Nelson's first idea, and that of every one, that he was shot through the head. On being carried into the cockpit, where several of his gallant crew were stretched with their shattered limbs and mangled wounds, the surgeon, with great anxiety, immediately came to attend on the admiral. "No," replied the hero, "I will take my turn with my brave followers!" The agony of his wound increasing, he became convinced that the idea in which he had long indulged of dying in battle, was now about to be accomplished. He immediately, therefore, sent for his chaplain, Mr. Comyns, and begged of him to remember him to lady Nelson; and, having signed a commission appointing his friend, the brave Hardy, then commander of the Mutine brig, to the rank of post-captain in the Vanguard, took an affectionate leave of captain Louis, who had come by his desire on board, and with the utmost composure resigned himself to death.

When the surgeon came to examine the wound, it

evidently appeared that it was not mortal; this joyful intelligence quickly circulated through the ship. As soon as the painful operation of dressing was over, Nelson immediately sat down, and that very night wrote the official letter that appeared in the Gazette. He came on deck just in time to behold the conflagration of L'Orient.

Captain Benjamin Hallowell, of the Swiftsure, who had ever been on terms of the most intimate friendship with Nelson, finding his brother officers eager to outvie each other in sending various presents to the admiral, that had been made from the wreck of L'Orient, actually ordered his carpenter to make a coffin, solely from the wreck, both as to wood and iron. His orders were punctually obeyed; and, one being finished with considerable elegance from the materials of L'Orient's main-mast, it was sent with this note:—"Sir, I have taken the liberty of presenting you a coffin made from the main-mast of L'Orient, that when you have finished your career in this world, you may be buried in one of your trophies. But that that period may be far distant, is the sincere wish of your sincere friend." The coffin was kept and used.

He sometimes playfully alluded to his bodily losses. The use he made of his blind eye at Copenhagen is well known. Sir Hyde Parker, the commander-in-chief, thinking the squadron, under Nelson, was placed in circumstances unfairly dangerous, and knowing that the hero would never voluntarily retreat, made the signal for leaving off action. When this was pointed out to Nelson, he turned to captain Foley, saying, "You know, Foley, I have but one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes:" and then, putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind which sports with bitterness, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal." Presently he added, "Damn the signal! keep mine flying for closer battle! nail mine to the mast!"

The only stain on Nelson's name is connected with his marriage. He became so infatuated with the charms of lady Hamilton, wife of Sir William Hamilton, the British minister at Naples, that he forsook lady Nelson, in order to attach himself to lady Hamilton, even while her husband was alive. Her influence led him to actions, while in command at Naples, which admit of no apology. Let a tear, however, be dropped over the only fault of so great a man.

When the news of the battle of Camperdown reached London, he was lying there ill. His rooms were not illumi-

nated, and consequently attracted the notice of the people, who forthwith began to make a disturbance; but when they were told that Nelson was disturbed by their shouting, they went off at once, and stationed guards to prevent other parties from annoying him.

He went, on one occasion, to receive a year's pay, as smart-money, on account of the loss of his eye, but could not obtain payment, because he had neglected to bring a certificate from a surgeon that the sight was actually destroyed. A little irritated that this form should be insisted on, because he thought it was sufficiently notorious, he procured a certificate at the same time for the loss of his arm, saying, they might just as well doubt the one as the other. This put him in good humour with himself and with the clerk who had offended him. On his return, the clerk finding it was only the year's pay of a captain, said, he thought it had been more. "Oh!" replied Nelson, "this is only for an eye. In a few days I shall come for an arm, and probably in a little longer for a leg." Accordingly, he soon afterwards went, and with perfect good humour exhibited the certificate for the loss of his arm.





CHAPTER XI.

GEORGE III. FROM 1806 TO THE END OF HIS REIGN 1820—GEORGE IV. 1820 TO 1830—WILLIAM IV. 1830 TO 1837—VICTORIA, 1841—THE FRENCH STILL HUMBLER AT SEA—BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN—DETACHED ACTIONS—WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES—CRITICISM ON THE AMERICAN ACCOUNTS—PEACE—COLLINGWOOD—COCHRANE—TROUBRIDGE—HOOD—BRIDPORT—EXMOUTH—CODRINGTON—STOPFORD—NAPIER.

THE splendour of Lord Nelson's glory, throws that of every exploit in which he was not more or less engaged during his epoch, completely into the shade. Two actions, the one of which preceded, and the other followed Trafalgar, require however a brief notice.

Admiral Villeneuve, when driven from the West Indies by the very terror of Nelson's name, proceeded, uninterrupted in his retreat, until he reached Cape Finisterre, where he encountered an English squadron consisting of fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, under the command of Sir Robert Calder. Villeneuve had twenty sail of the line, five frigates, and several brigs. The battle continued four hours, and ended in the defeat of the French, with the loss of two of their best ships.

The country, in these times, however, was not to be satisfied with so incomplete a victory even over a superior fleet, and Sir Robert Calder was censured by a court-martial for not having done enough; a censure, considering all the circumstances, more harsh than reasonable.

Towards the close of the battle of Trafalgar, the French vice-admiral Dumanoir, with four sail of the line, bore away to the south. On the 2d of November he was met by Sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, with four sail of the line and three frigates. Sir Richard immediately gave chase, which he continued the whole of the 2d and the next day. Two British frigates, the Santa Margarita and Phœnix, having outsailed the ships of the line, got up with the enemy by day-break on the morning of the 4th, and immediately commenced the action in the most gallant style. By firing on the rear of the enemy, they retarded their flight so much, that the main body of Sir Richard Strachan's fleet was able to come up. The French admiral, about noon, perceiving that a general action was unavoidable, made his disposition accordingly. The battle lasted nearly three hours and a half, during the whole of which time the enemy fought remarkably well. At last, their ships being completely unmanageable, struck their colours, namely, the Formidable, of eighty guns, admiral Dumanoir, and the Duguai Trouin, Mont Blanc, and Scipion, of seventy-four guns each. The slaughter on board these ships was very great; the admiral himself was wounded, and one of the captains killed. The loss of the English was trifling. Sir Richard Strachan immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, where he arrived safe with his prizes.

The combined fleet originally consisted of thirty-five sail of the line; of these, two were taken by Sir Robert Calder; four captured at Trafalgar were carried into Gibraltar; four captured by Sir Richard Strachan, were carried into the same port; fifteen were burned, sunk, or wrecked; three escaped into Cadiz, serviceable; and seven escaped into the same port, complete wrecks; thus accounting for the whole original number, thirty-five sail of the line.

The events which we have narrated in the two previous chapters, completely broke the French power at sea, and were no inefficient causes of the ultimate destruction of the gigantic power of Napoleon by land. He found all attempts to resuscitate his navy in vain. No sooner were a few ships

made ready for sea, than they were blockaded by the vigilance of British squadrons, or even destroyed in harbour, while, in other instances, where they either escaped or were permitted to leave port, they only did so to fall a prey to our fleets, now indisputably supreme at sea.

The enemy's operations were thus completely impeded, their attempts to transport troops by sea rendered impossible, and their supplies of warlike stores, provisions, and colonial produce, rendered precarious or altogether cut off.

The first attempt made by Buonaparte after the blow he had received, was to secure what remained to France of her colonies. Accordingly, a fleet of eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates, in two squadrons, escaped the vigilance of the English, and, early in 1806, arrived in the West Indies.

Admiral Duckworth, with seven sail, fell in with and completely defeated the first of these squadrons, of five ships, two frigates, and a corvette. All the five line of battle ships were either taken or destroyed. The other division of the French fleet was lost in a violent storm, with the exception of one ship. Sir Sidney Smith and lord Cochrane were both conspicuous for gallantry about this period, as we have more particularly stated elsewhere.

About the close of the year, another attempt was made to send reinforcements to the West Indies. Accordingly a squadron of five frigates and two corvettes, having on board two thousand troops, was despatched on this service, were engaged by Sir Samuel Hood, and four frigates captured, with a great number of men, and a large quantity of stores.

In the year 1807, it being pretty well ascertained that the French emperor was resolved to replace the loss of his own fleets by taking possession of that of Denmark; and as it was equally well known that Denmark, even if willing, was quite unable to resist him, the British Government resolved, by a questionable policy, to frustrate, by anticipating his intentions. Upon this service were sent twenty thousand troops under lord Cathcart, and forty-two ships, of which twenty-two were of the line, under admiral Gambier. To this formidable force, the Danes at first offered a determined resistance, nor did they yield until a great part of Copenhagen was in flames or laid in ruins.

In consequence of their capitulation, we were put in possession of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, which were nearly all ready for

sea; there were besides several vessels on the stocks, which we were at liberty to destroy, take to pieces, or carry away. A vast abundance of stores of all kinds necessary to equip or build a fleet, were found in the arsenals, so that it was necessary to load all the ships of the line and frigates, with masts, spars, and timber: after all, so great a quantity remained, that ninety-two transports were employed to bring the rest to England.

In an attempt to overawe Constantinople, the Sultan having now joined the French alliance, admiral Duckworth was not equally successful, and was much blamed for his inactivity and mismanagement, in having omitted the proper season of attack, and being obliged to retreat without striking a blow.

Nothing very remarkable now occurs in our naval annals for some time. The Walcheren expedition in 1809, was both in plan and execution, a disgrace to our councils and commanders, but in so far as the naval service was concerned, no blame is imputable. Even yet, the French had not been able to send to sea anything deserving the name of a fleet, and the few line of battle ships which still remained were closely watched by our vessels. This year, an opportunity occurred of destroying some of them; and it was embraced with the usual alacrity of British seamen. A French squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line and some frigates, was understood to be lying in the roads of Aix, under the protection of the forts of that island. The attempt to destroy this fleet was committed to the direction of lord Gambier, who selected lord Cochrane on the occasion: for this purpose, a number of frigates, fire-ships, and other small vessels were employed. On the 10th of April, the fire-ships joined the fleet, and the next night they were sent into Aix roads, each manned and conducted by a lieutenant and five men: there were sixteen of them, and some of them of a larger construction than usual. As soon as the fire-ships got within the roads, the French vessels cut their cables, and run on shore in the Isle of Aix; by this means, the fire-ships were enabled to effect little, and it was ascertained that the destruction of the enemy must be accomplished by other means. Great skill, however, as well as courage, was necessary for this purpose: the place where the French ships lay, was strong, both by nature and by art; they lay, apparently, almost as secure as ships would have been in Portsmouth harbour: they were under the protection of two batteries,

each of which had twenty-nine guns, all of heavy metal. The intricacy of the navigation was great, and threatened serious obstacles: in some places there was not more than four fathoms water. A little after two o'clock, lord Cochrane advanced in the *Imperieux*, to attempt the destruction of the enemy; he soon got near three sail of the line. The *Calcutta*, one of them, almost immediately struck her colours; and before five o'clock, the *Aquilon*, and *Ville de Varsovie*, had followed her example. By this time the British ships were only in five fathoms water. Admiral Gambier, however, at first thought he could accomplish the destruction of the remainder of the French squadron, and for this purpose he despatched some more fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet with Congreve rockets: but on the 13th, the *Cæsar*, and some other line of battle ships had grounded, when lord Gambier thought it prudent to abandon all further attempts against the enemy. It was also found impracticable to destroy the line of battle ships which lay near the entrance of the river Charente, from the difficulty of the navigation and the strong manner in which they were protected. The French fleet, consisted of *L'Ocean*, of one hundred and twenty guns, which was run on shore; the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns; *Cassard*, of seventy-four guns; *Tournelle*, of seventy-four guns; *Regulus*, of seventy-four guns; *Jemappe*, of seventy-four guns; and the *Indienne* frigate, which were also driven on shore; several of them were afterwards totally destroyed, and all greatly damaged, by the situation in which they lay.

As we were now at war with Russia, and as this power was carrying on her hostile designs against Swedish Finland, we had a strong fleet in the Baltic, for the purpose of chastising Russia and protecting our ally. In this sea, the Russians had a strong flotilla, which was principally employed in protecting their coasts, and in conveying troops against Finland. In the month of July this flotilla took up a position under Percola Point. The British fleet in the Baltic was under the command of admiral Saumarez; and as soon as he arrived in the Gulph of Finland, he sent captain Martin in the *Implacable*, with the *Melphomene*, to watch the motions and the operations of the Russians. As soon as captain Martin discovered the situation of the enemy's flotilla, he determined to attempt something against it, "in order," as he expressed himself, "to impress these strangers

with that sense of respect and fear which his majesty's other enemies are accustomed to show to the British flag."

The boats were accordingly manned for this enterprise, and put under the direction of lieutenant Hawkey. The enemy, when they perceived they were about to be attacked, took a position of extraordinary strength, within two rocks, from which they could pour a destructive fire upon the boats as they advanced. This, however, only served to stimulate lieutenant Hawkey and his brave companions. They did not deign to fire a gun till they actually touched the enemy, they then boarded the flotilla sword in hand, and carried all before them. Of eight gun-boats, each mounting thirty-two and twenty-four pounders, and having on board forty-six men, six were brought away, and one was sunk. They had under their protection twelve vessels laden with powder and provisions for the Russian army, which were also captured. In short, the success of the enterprise was most complete, and it was achieved in a manner which could not fail to answer the object of captain Martin, in inspiring the Russians with the same respect and awe for the British name, which our other enemies feel. Lieutenant Hawkey, who so nobly headed this enterprise, died the death of a hero, in its execution. His last words were "Huzza, push on, England for ever." "No praise," says captain Martin, "from my pen, can do justice to this lamented young man: as an officer, he was active, correct, and zealous, to the highest degree: the leader in every kind of enterprise, and regardless of danger, he delighted in whatever could tend to promote the glory of his country."

Our naval force off the coast of Spain, continued to afford every possible assistance to the cause of the patriots, who, in spite of their pusillanimous king, had taken arms against their oppressors, by harassing the operations of the enemy. About the end of October, a French squadron, consisting of three sail of the line, and four frigates, with twenty large transports, ventured to sail from Toulon for the relief of Barcelona, which was closely pressed by the Spanish army. Lord Collingwood commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and was generally employed in blockading Toulon; but as he was sometimes obliged to leave that port, the French had taken advantage of his absence, and put to sea. He, however, soon learned this circumstance and their route, and despatched a division of his fleet after them. The line of battle ships and frigates were soon

destroyed, while the transports ran for shelter to the Bay of Rosas, where they were under the protection of some armed ships and gun-boats: nevertheless, they were also attacked and destroyed.

THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812.

The French found in 1812, allies in the ships of the United States of America, with which country, after much jealousy and wrangling, war was begun in that year.

The Americans had no fleet in any way to match ours; but their small squadrons and single ships were well found in every respect, and in general bravely fought. The British ministry appear at first to have despised their new foes, as no efficient force was employed against them, our naval forces being still employed in keeping down the power of France.

The consequence of this remissness was the capture of several of our detached vessels, giving rise to no inconsiderable exultation and boasting on the part of the Americans. This spirit of boasting has not yet subsided, and it is but due to our readers to be made acquainted with the unsubstantial nature of the grounds upon which it has been raised. But for this circumstance, the American war presents few incidents worthy of being recorded alongside of our well-fought actions with the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the French.

Our readers will find an ample detail of all the facts of this war, with lengthened professional criticisms, in the excellent works of Mr James, particularly in the sixth volume of his *Naval History*. On the other side, he will find a full specimen of the American boasting in "The History of the Navy of the United States," by Cooper, the celebrated novelist, which latter character he does not appear to have been able to merge into the grave one of the historian.

In the *Edinburgh Review*, for April, 1840, is a very able review of these two works, evidently written by a person well qualified for the undertaking, and which sets the question at issue in a very clear light. We cannot better serve our present purpose than by extracting a few passages from that article, referring the reader who has lei-

sure to examine the subject more in detail, to the Review itself:—

“ We now come to the three well-known and frequently discussed actions, which terminated in the capture of British by American frigates. It will be sufficient, so far as the facts are concerned, to state generally, that, on the 19th of August, 1812, the *Guerriere*, captain Dacres, was captured by the *Constitution*, captain Hull; on the 25th of October, the *Macedonian*, captain Carden, by the United States, commodore Decatur; and on the 29th of December, the *Java*, captain Lambert, by the *Constitution*, commodore Bainbridge. The *Guerriere* and *Java* were destroyed at sea; but the *Macedonian* became an American frigate. The actions, though of course differing in details, possessed several characteristics in common. Each captured frigate made an obstinate resistance, during from one to two hours of *actual firing*, according to the British accounts; and all the three actions were decided in consequence of the British ship becoming dismasted by the heavy metal of her opponent, which enabled the latter to rake her with impunity until further resistance was impossible.

“ Our first remark upon these three celebrated actions will naturally be a comparison of the force of the combatants. The English frigates were all of the same class, and mounted from forty-six to forty-eight guns; twenty-eight long eighteen-pounders, four nine-pounders, and the rest thirty-two-pounder carronades. In size they were all below eleven hundred tons, and their regular complement was three hundred men and boys; but the *Guerriere* was nearly forty men short, and the *Java* had on board from seventy to eighty supernumeraries. As a specimen of the force of the American ships, we shall state that of the *President*, a vessel of the same class, subsequently captured by the British. This powerful frigate measured 1533 tons; her sides and bulwarks were thicker, and her spars and rigging stouter, than those of a British seventy-four gun ship, and she was an excellent sailer. She was pierced for fifty-six guns, and mounted at her capture fifty-two; thirty-two long twenty-four-pounders, and twenty forty-two-pounder carronades. Her complement was understood to be four hundred and eighty men. In these details there is no room for mistake, the *President* having been surveyed as a British frigate, and every particular respecting her being now recorded in the official archives of the British navy. The United States and Con-

stitution are acknowledged by the Americans to be precisely similar in size and force to the President, except that each, we believe, mounted fifty-four instead of fifty-two guns; and that the Constitution carried thirty-two instead of forty-two-pounder carronades. Thus the weight of broadside of the lightest of the two Americans was nearly one-half heavier than that of any one of the three British frigates. Such a superiority as this renders it needless to mention the crippled masts of the *Guerriere*, or the inexperienced crew of the *Java*. That there should have been a different result in either of the three actions, was clearly a physical impossibility.

“ We now proceed to Mr Cooper’s remarks on the subject. After mentioning the *Guerriere*’s loss and damages, he says, “ All this execution had been done between the time when the ships opened their fire a-beam, and the moment when the *Guerriere*’s masts fell; for the few shot thrown by the Constitution previously to the first event were virtually of no use, and subsequently to the last she did not discharge a gun. The whole period between the time when the *Guerriere* commenced her fire at long shot, and that when she actually hauled down her jack, something like two hours, was included in the enemy’s accounts of the duration of the combat; but it is well understood by professional men, that in truth the battle was decided in a fourth of that time.” We may here remark, that captain Dacres asserts in his official letter that the Constitution ‘returned his fire’ an hour and twenty minutes before the firing terminated, and two hours before the *Guerriere*’s surrender; and adds, that the ships continued ‘exchanging broadsides’ until they came to close action. Whether the Constitution’s long twenty-four pounders were ‘virtually of no use’ except at close quarters, we should imagine the party against whom they were directed must have been best able to decide.

“ Mr Cooper avoids any detailed comparison of the size and force of either of the American frigates with that of her opponent. He, however, states pretty correctly the force of the British party, and admits generally that their opponents were ‘larger and heavier ships.’ But he adds, ‘It is understood that the *Guerriere* was nearly as long a ship as her adversary, and it has been asserted on respectable authority, that she was actually pierced for fifty-four guns, though it is admitted that she had but forty-nine mounted in the action, one of which was a light boat carronade.’ ‘It

is stated on authority deemed worthy of credit,' he subjoins in a note, 'that the *Guerriere* was pierced for thirty guns on the gun-deck, but that she had no bridle port below. Five ports that could have been fought in broadside, are said to have been vacant when the Americans took possession.' These exaggerations are soon disposed of. The precise dimensions of the *Guerriere*, as well as those of the *President*, are to be found in the lists of the British navy, as recorded from actual measurement by responsible officers. On this authority, not less 'respectable' and worthy of 'credit' than those cited by Mr Cooper, the *President* measured, as above mentioned, 1533 tons; her length 'over all,' or from head to stern, was 204 feet, and that of her lower deck 173 feet 3 inches—being equal to that of most British seventy-fours. On the same authority, the *Guerriere* measured 1092 tons; her length over all was 180 feet 4 inches, and her length on deck 154 feet 6 inches; that is, she was 19 to 24 feet shorter than her opponent. She was pierced for only 48 broadside guns, but, as Mr Cooper states, mounted 49, having on board two standing bow-guns which could only be used in chase. And we have to add, that every one of the particulars here quoted respecting her, has been in print and uncontradicted for upwards of twenty years.

* * * * *

"We shall conclude our remarks by a suppositious case, for the original suggestion of which we are indebted to Mr James's pamphlet, and which we think calculated to put their real nature in a just and striking point of view. The largest two-decked ships belonging to the British navy during the American war, were rated of eighty, and mounted eighty-six guns each; thirty long thirty-two pounders, thirty-two long twenty-four pounders, eighteen thirty-two pounder carronades, and six twenty-four pounder carronades. Their complement was 720 men and boys, and their usual size was about 2200 tons. A simple arithmetical process will make it clear, that the proportion of force borne by such a vessel as this to the *Constitution* frigate, was scarcely so great, except in mere number of guns, as that which the latter ship bore to the *Guerriere* or *Java*. Now, let us suppose that a British eighty gun-ship had engaged the *Constitution*, and that the latter had surrendered, as the captured British frigates did, after an hour's close action, in a sinking state, and with one-third of her crew killed and wounded—with which party would Mr Cooper have considered the honour of such a conflict

to remain? And what would he have said if a British historian, aware of the comparative force of the combatants, had devoted half-a-dozen pages to expatiate on the 'moral effect of the combat,' declaring, that 'after making all proper allowance for the difference of the force,' all good judges 'saw the promise of many future successes in this,' and styling the event of the action 'a brilliant and unexpected success,' and the 'commencement of a new era in naval warfare?' And yet, either the facts and figures we have above stated must be shown to be erroneous, or the cases must be admitted to be parallel.

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"We now come to the famous action which terminated in the capture of the Chesapeake frigate by the Shannon. The circumstances of this extraordinary exploit are too well known to need repetition; we shall therefore merely state that the Chesapeake was carried by boarding after a battle of only fifteen minutes. We proceed to Mr Cooper's observations on the subject. He attributes the success of the British frigate to certain 'fortuitous events,' the most prominent of which appears to have been the cowardice and negligence of a certain bugleman, whose duty it was to summon the boarders of the Chesapeake. The discomfiture of this recreant minstrel is stated to have prevented the men on the Chesapeake's main-deck from being aware of the emergency, until the quarter-deck, where all the boarding weapons were stowed, had been occupied by the enemy, and resistance consequently became impossible. Mr Cooper, however, has been unable or unwilling to enlighten his readers on one or two important points connected with the incident just noticed. Were none of the Chesapeake's officers or men able to sound the bugle of the fugitive? Or, if so, were their powers deranged by the advance of the British boarders? How came the men on the Chesapeake's main-deck not to know that the ships were foul, and that a scuffle was going on over their heads? And may they not have had good reasons for keeping below, independent of that afforded them by the desertion of their Tyrtæus? We think Dr. Scriblerus himself would have acknowledged that the miraculous powers of ancient music are no longer wholly unrivalled, had he lived to hear of a frigate captured in fifteen minutes, because her bugleman failed at the proper moment to strike up 'Hail, Columbia!'

"Another, and a far more plausible excuse for the Chesa-

peake's capture is found in the assertion of Mr Cooper, that, by a fatal chance of war, every officer of rank on that frigate's quarter-deck had been disabled just before the boarding. 'The upper deck,' he says, 'was now left without an officer on it above the rank of a midshipman.' Now, we have the direct authority of the American official letter for disputing this statement. By that account, Mr Ludlow, the Chesapeake's first lieutenant, and one of the officers stated by Mr Cooper to have been disabled as above, 'were wounded in attempting to repel the boarders.' And yet Mr Cooper enumerates this officer's name among those who 'fell before the enemy boarded.'

"Mr Cooper also mentions that 'some disaffection existed among the crew of the Chesapeake;' that 'she had an unusual number of mercenaries in her;' and that 'captain Lawrence went into this engagement with strong reluctance, owing to the peculiar state of his crew.' We have, of course, no means of meeting these statements; but we may observe that, by insisting so much upon them, Mr Cooper betrays his doubts whether the 'fortuitous events,' elsewhere noticed by him, are sufficient to constitute by themselves a satisfactory explanation of the Chesapeake's capture. A subsequent assertion of Mr Cooper's will also appear to British readers somewhat inconsistent with his disparagement of the American crew.

"'The Chesapeake,' he affirms, 'did not fire until all her guns bore, when she delivered as destructive a broadside as probably ever came out of a ship of her force. For six or eight minutes the cannonading was fierce, and the best of the action is said to have been with the American frigate, so far as the general effect of the fire was concerned.' It must be a most pleasing reflection to Mr Cooper, that the Chesapeake's seamen, notwithstanding their 'peculiar state,' fired so much better than a thoroughly disciplined British crew, and only owed their defeat to the lamentable defection of their bugleman; but we doubt whether its credibility will be generally admitted. 'When the enemy,' says Mr Cooper, 'entered the ship from his fore-channels, it was with great caution, and so slowly that twenty resolute men would have repulsed him.' Mr Cooper may rest assured that, by such attempts at detraction, he only injures his own cause. Captain Broke was himself the first man on board the Chesapeake; and considering that, by Mr Cooper's own account, the struggle on board her could not have lasted more than five

or six minutes, we think his men could scarcely have been very inactive in supporting him. We trust, for the credit of Mr Cooper's countrymen, that they were not; for, if so, we can only account for the short duration of the combat by the disagreeable hypothesis, that the deliberation of the British entrance on the Chesapeake's deck must have been compensated by the singular agility and unanimity of the American exit. Why could not Mr Cooper acknowledge at once that the Chesapeake was taken by a sudden *coup-de-main*, skilfully timed and gallantly executed, and which the fortune of war crowned with deserved success?

“‘The enemy,’ by Mr Cooper's account, ‘fired down the hatches, and killed and wounded a great many men in this manner, but it does not appear that their fire was returned.’ The latter clause is skilfully worded. Their fire was not *returned*, for it produced immediate submission; but it was *provoked*—provoked by a discharge of musketry up the Chesapeake's hatchway, which killed a British marine.

“For our own part, we do not lay any extraordinary stress on the unusual quickness with which this brilliant action was decided. The accident of the ships becoming foul, appears to have been unexpected by both parties; and a naval action which has once become a hand to hand struggle is seldom very protracted. But that the British crew were backward in making use of the opportunity given them, or that their fire was inferior to that of their opponent, are assertions which we think will meet with credit from few persons who remember what the Shannon was in 1813.

* * * * *

“Looking merely at the general result of our unsuccessful naval actions, we cannot perceive that any of them could, under the circumstances, be expected to terminate differently. In one of the eleven victories we have noticed, the Americans were doubly superior in force; in six, they were superior as three to two; in two, as four to three; in one, long guns were opposed to carronades out of range of the latter; and in the remaining one, the British vessel had been previously disabled. We appeal to facts and arithmetic to confirm this statement; and we put it to any reasonable man whether, if eleven such actions as these had occurred between two old-established naval belligerents, and the circumstances had been accurately known, they would have been likely to cause either discouragement on the one side, or exultation on the other? We acknowledge, however,

that this remark is not applicable to the conflicts of which we are speaking. The American navy was then in its infancy, almost untried against civilized enemies, and obnoxious to the unmanly taunts of too many English party writers. The people of the United States felt a just and laudable pride when they saw their marine take its post among the best of Europe, and even assert its claim to the respect of the proudest maritime nation in the world. Such circumstances will easily excuse a somewhat overweening degree of patriotic exultation; they will even palliate the exaggerated encomiums with which the public press of America rewarded their defenders.

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“When we see the Americans, in time of war, not sending out their cruisers singly to prey upon merchantmen, or pick off inferior vessels, but victorious in equal conflicts, and fitting out fleets capable of protecting their coasts from insult and their harbours from blockade,—then, and not till then, shall we acquiesce in Mr Cooper’s presumptuous declaration, ‘that it is not improbable the battle for the mastery of the seas will have to be fought over again.’”

These notices must serve as our remarks on the American war. During the same time, little of importance was done except the continued blockades and interception of the supplies for France. The short renewal of the French war, when Buonaparte made his celebrated invasion from Elba, was not productive of anything more deserving of detail. The treaty of Ghent, in 1814, put an end to the American war, and peace with France was finally consolidated by the battle of Waterloo in 1815.

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We have now to give short notices of some of those heroes who most distinguished themselves during the period, the history of which we have been tracing; and, in doing so, we shall have occasion to describe several remarkable actions which have occurred since the general peace.

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LORD COLLINGWOOD. — Cuthbert Collingwood was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and entered the service in 1761, under his maternal uncle, captain Braithwaite, who had the command of the Shannon frigate. With him he served many years. We find him a midshipman in the Gibraltar in 1766, and from 1767 to 1772, mas-

ter's mate in the Liverpool, when he was taken into the Lennox, captain Roddam.

He had now been thirteen years in the service without promotion, so little did his prospects at first setting out in life keep pace with his merit, or forebode the honours to which he arrived. On the 27th of February 1774, he went in the Preston, under the command of vice-admiral Graves to America, and the following year was promoted to the rank of fourth lieutenant in the Somerset, on the day of the battle of Bunker's Hill, where he was sent with a party of seamen to supply the army with what was necessary in that line of service. The vice-admiral being recalled, sailed for England in 1776. In the same year, lieutenant Collingwood was sent to Jamaica in the Hornet sloop, and soon after, the Lowestoffe came to the same station, of which lord Nelson was, at that time, second lieutenant, and with whom he had been before in habits of great friendship. His friend Nelson had entered the service some years later than himself, but was made lieutenant in the Lowestoffe, captain Locker, in 1777. Here their friendship was renewed; and, upon the arrival of Sir Peter Parker to take the command upon that station, they found in him a common patron.

In 1780, he was appointed to the command of the Pelican, of 24 guns; but his continuance in this ship was but of short duration; for on the 1st of August in the following year, so fatal to the West India Islands, in a violent hurricane, and in the midst of a most tempestuous night, she was wrecked upon the Morant Quay. It was not without extreme difficulty and peril, that the crew got on shore, by the help of rafts made of the broken yards, and upon those small sandy hills, with little food or water, they remained ten days, until a boat went to Jamaica, and the Diamond frigate was sent to their relief.

He was appointed next to the command of the Sampson, of sixty-four guns, in which ship he served to the peace of 1783, when she was paid off, and he was appointed to the Mediator, and sent to the West Indies, where he again met his friend Nelson, who, at that time, commanded the Boreas frigate, upon the same station.

In this ship, and upon this station, he remained until the latter end of 1786, when, upon his return to England, and the ship being paid off, he took the opportunity to visit his native country, and renew his acquaintance with his family and friends.

On the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793, he was called to the command of the *Prince*, rear-admiral Bowyer's flag-ship, with whom he served in this ship, and afterwards in the *Barfleur*, until the engagement of the 1st of June, 1794. In this action he distinguished himself with great bravery, and the ship which he commanded had its full share in the glory of the day.

Rear-admiral Bowyer, in consequence of the loss of his leg in this day's action, no longer remaining on board the *Barfleur*, captain Collingwood was appointed to the command of the *Hector*, on the 7th of August, 1794, and afterwards to the *Excellent*, in which he was employed in the blockade of Toulon; and in this ship he had the honour to acquire fresh laurels in the brilliant victory off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February, 1797.

So well did the *Hero* of the Nile know his value, that when the ship which captain Collingwood commanded was sent to reinforce his squadron, he exclaimed, "See, here comes the *Excellent*, which is as good as two added to our number."

He continued in the command of the *Excellent*, under the flag of lord St. Vincent, till January, 1799, when his ship was paid off; and on the 14th of February, in the same year, on the promotion of flag-officers, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; and on the 12th of May following, hoisted his flag on board the *Triumph*, one of the ships under the command of lord Bridport, on the channel station.

In 1800, he shifted his flag to the *Barfleur* on the same station; and in 1801, was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the red, in which ship, and upon the same service, he continued to the end of the war, without any opportunity of doing more than effectually blockading the enemy's fleet in their own port, while they were proudly vaunting of their preparations for invading us; a service not less important to the honour, the interest, and the security of the nation, than those more brilliant achievements which dazzle the public eye, and meet the popular sentiment, which counts only upon victories, and estimates the talents and services of our naval heroes, rather by their good fortune than by their merits; by the number of their prizes than by their judicious arrangements, and patient endurance of toil and peril in the prevention of mischief, and the execution of plans that furnish no opportunities to display the more shining talents

and services which are the subjects of popular admiration and applause.

On the commencement of hostilities, in 1803, Collingwood was again called into service. On the promotion of admirals on the 23d of April, 1804, he was made vice-admiral of the blue, and resumed his former station off Brest. From this station he was called in May, 1805, to a more active service, having been detached with a reinforcement of ships to the blockading fleet at Ferrol and Cadiz.

On the return of lord Nelson in the month of September, he resumed the command, and vice-admiral Collingwood was his second; and the commander-in-chief knew he should be well seconded in such a character. We have seen that he was not disappointed. On the glorious yet fatal day of Trafalgar, his name became inseparably united with Nelson's, and what higher praise could he gain, what higher eulogium deserve?

On the death of Nelson, the command of his conquering fleet, and the completion of the victory, devolved upon Collingwood, who, as he had so often done in the early part of his life, now, for the last time, succeeded him in an arduous moment and most difficult service. He had succeeded him as lieutenant; he had followed him in the ship in which he was promoted to the rank of master and commander; he had been made post into the *Hinchinbrooke*, upon his friend's removal into a larger ship; and now, at last, to close the scene, he succeeded him as commander-in-chief. The concern that he expressed upon this occasion, is no less honourable to the feelings of friendship, than his whole conduct, throughout the difficulties that devolved upon him, redounds to his character as a seaman.

After the battle of Trafalgar, he was raised to the rank of admiral of the red, created baron Collingwood, and had a grant of £2000 a-year during his own life; £1000 a-year to his lady, and £500 a-year to each of his daughters. He died on the 7th of March, 1810, on board his flag-ship, the *Ville de Paris*, then stationed in the Mediterranean. His body was deposited in its final resting-place, under the dome of St. Paul's, by the side of that of lord Nelson.

EARL OF DUNDONALD.—Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, a peer of Scotland, was the eldest son of Archibald, ninth earl of that ancient family, and his warlike exploits were performed under the title of lord Cochrane,

he having succeeded to his present title not until the death of his father in 1831. With this explanation we shall speak of him by his first and best known title.

We select lord Cochrane's adventures as a striking example of how much valour may be displayed by a British sailor, even although never holding a chief command. He stands in this class, unsurpassed among many of the highest merit; nor is there any reason to doubt, that had an opportunity been afforded him in his country's service, he would have proved distinguished as a commander-in-chief. He may yet have that opportunity.

Lord Cochrane was born on the 14th of December, 1775; and, evincing an early predilection for the naval service, he was taken under the immediate protection of his uncle, admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane. He was not more than ten or twelve years old when he first went to sea; but, as his uncle had taken care to procure an able tutor for him, he was fortunately enabled to acquire scholastic knowledge, at the time that he was inuring himself to the duties of his profession. At this period, to common observers, his resolution and activity, while a youth, appeared temerity, and the relation of many of his achievements, when in the Bay of Biscay, in the West Indies, and on the home station, before he passed for a lieutenant, would, it is said, be regarded as a tissue of exaggerations. His more recent actions, however, afford the strongest presumptive proofs of the undaunted hardihood of his earlier adventures.

Notwithstanding his arduous and unremitting exertions, his youth prevented him from attaining promotion till 1799, when, while serving in lord Keith's flag-ship, the Queen Charlotte, he was intrusted with the admiral's cutter, and sent to relieve the Lady Nelson, in the Bay of Algeziras, at the time that that ship was surrounded and attacked by French privateers and Spanish gun-boats. On this occasion, lord Cochrane greatly distinguished himself. He chased the privateers under the cannon of the harbour, and it was only in consequence of the darkness of the night, that they were enabled to effect their escape. This action attracted the particular notice and admiration of lord Keith, who made him master and commander, in the Speedy sloop, of fourteen guns.

In this vessel lord Cochrane continued to be employed in the Mediterranean, under the orders of lord Keith, till nearly the end of the war. His exertions in annoying the

enemy, and in making numerous captures, were eminently successful. An extraordinary display of courage, while commanding the *Speedy*, was in the attack and capture of the Spanish frigate, *El Gamo*, off Barcelona, on the 6th of May, in which the difference of force in the contending ships is particularly deserving of notice. The Spaniard mounted thirty-two guns; of which twenty-two were long twelve-pounders, eight nines, and two heavy carronades; and her crew amounted to three hundred and nineteen, whilst the *Speedy* mounted only fourteen four-pounders, and had only fifty-four men on board. The frigate was carried by boarding. "The great disparity of force," says lord Cochrane, in his official letter, "rendered it necessary to adopt some measure that might prove decisive. I resolved to board, and, with lieutenant Parker, the Hon. Mr Cochrane, the boatswain and crew, boarded; when, by the impetuosity of the attack, we forced them instantly to strike their colours."

While cruising off Barcelona, the *Speedy* fell in with the *Kangaroo*, captain Pulling, and, in consequence of information which they obtained from a privateer, it was determined to go in pursuit of a Spanish convoy, consisting of twelve sail, and five armed vessels, then three days' sail ahead. On the morning of the 9th June, they got sight of them at anchor, under the battery of Oropeso. "Having so able and gallant an officer as his lordship," says captain Pulling, "to lead into the bay, I hesitated not a moment to make the attack; we approached within half gun-shot of the enemy, by noon, with both brigs, and came to an anchor, though opposed by the battery, which is a large square tower, and appeared to have twelve guns, a xebec, of twenty guns, and three gun-boats, all of which kept up a brisk fire until two o'clock, when it considerably decreased, but again recommenced, encouraged by a felucca, of twelve guns, and two gun-boats, that came to their assistance: by half-past three, the xebec and one of the gun-boats sunk, and shortly after another gun-boat shared the same fate. The tower, with the remaining gun-boat, assisted by the three in the offing, continued to annoy us on both sides till about half-past six, when the fire of the whole slackened, and on the *Kangaroo* cutting her cables, and running nearer to the tower, the gun-boats in the offing fled, and by seven, the tower was silenced. We were annoyed by a heavy fire of musketry in different directions till midnight, during which time the

boats of both brigs were employed in cutting out the vessels that were found afloat; they succeeded in bringing out three brigs laden with wine, rice, and bread."

From the commencement of the attack, till the completion of the service, at least twelve hours of incessant and laborious exertion had elapsed. "I cannot," says captain Pulling, "express myself sufficiently grateful to lord Cochrane for his assistance during this long contest, as well as on the day before, when we found it necessary, for the honour of his Britannic majesty's arms, to blow up the tower of Almanara, mounting two brass four-pounders, which would not surrender though repeatedly summoned."

A few days after the achievement of these gallant exploits, the *Speedy* had the ill luck to fall in with the French squadron, under the command of Linois, by which she was chased and captured; but, in consequence of the engagement which took place in Algeziras Bay, between Sir James Saumarez and Linois, on the 6th of July, lord Cochrane's captivity was of very short duration. On the day succeeding the battle, Sir James Saumarez sent to endeavour to effect an exchange of captain Ferris and of the officers and men who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. After some little delay, the object of the English admiral was so far attained, that captain Ferris, with all his officers and wounded men, were sent away on their parole; and, by the same opportunity, lord Cochrane, with the officers and crew of the *Speedy*, also succeeded in obtaining their liberty.

During the time that lord Cochrane had commanded the *Speedy*—a period not much exceeding ten months—he had taken the extraordinary number of thirty-three vessels, mounting in the aggregate, one hundred and twenty-eight guns, and containing five hundred and thirty persons.

As a reward for these services, his lordship was, on the 8th of August, 1801, promoted to the rank of post-captain, in *La Raison* frigate.

In the month of October, 1803, soon after the recommencement of hostilities, lord Cochrane was appointed to the *Arab*; and, in the following year, to the *Pallas* frigate, of thirty-two guns. In the latter ship he proceeded to the Newfoundland station, but remained there only a short time. Early in 1805, he was sent out with despatches to his uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, who was at that time employed in the blockade of Ferrol. This was shortly after the rupture with Spain took place, and as lord Cochrane was employed

in cruising off the Spanish coast, he had the good fortune to make a considerable number of prizes. Amongst others, the capture of *Il Fortuna*, a Spanish galleon, afforded a rich recompense to his valour. *Il Fortuna*, bound from the Rio de la Plata to Corunna, was laden with specie, to the amount, as was reported, of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, besides a considerable quantity of merchandise, of nearly an equal value. This capture, however, is chiefly memorable for a noble act of generosity displayed upon the occasion by lord Cochrane, his officers, and crew. The Spanish captain and supercargo stated, that they had been engaged, for nearly twenty years, in commercial pursuits in the burning clime of South America, that they were returning to their families, in Old Spain, there to spend the evening of their days, on the hardly earned fruits of their industry; that the whole of their property, amounting, in goods and specie, to about thirty thousand dollars each, had been embarked in *Il Fortuna*; and, by the capture of that ship, they found themselves reduced to a state of indigence and beggary. It was added, too, that this was the second time that the captain had sustained such a misfortune; as, in the year 1779, he had been stripped of his all by a British cruiser, and forced to begin the world anew! A tale of distress seldom fails of producing a due effect upon the heart of an English sailor: and in the present instance, our national spirit of liberality exerted its influence in favour of these unfortunate men, to an almost unprecedented extent. The result of their appeal was, that they each received 5000 dollars in specie from their captors; a boon which called forth the most grateful feelings.

Early in April, 1806, the *Pallas* was employed in the execution of a very hazardous enterprise, in the Garonne; a river very difficult in its navigation. From lord Cochrane's official despatch, upon this occasion, we learn that in consequence of information which had been received respecting the situation of some corvettes, lying in the Garonne, the *Pallas* proceeded up the river, and anchored close to the Cordovan shoal, a little after dark. About three o'clock on the following morning, the boats of the *Pallas* had succeeded in boarding and cutting out the *Tapageuse* corvette, of fourteen long twelve pounders, and ninety-five men, notwithstanding she lay twenty miles above the shoals, under the protection of two heavy batteries. At

daylight, however, when the Tapageuse made sail, a general alarm was given, and she was followed by a sloop of war. An action consequently commenced, and continued, often within hail, till by the same bravery by which the Tapageuse was carried, the sloop of war, which had been before saved by the rapidity of the current alone, after about an hour's firing, was compelled to sheer off, having suffered as much in the hull as the Tapageuse in the rigging.

But this was not the conclusion of the service. On the same morning, while at anchor, waiting for the return of the boats, the Pallas descried three ships bearing down towards her. The anchor was instantly weighed; and, with the remainder of her officers and crew, she chased, drove on shore, and completely wrecked them. One mounted twenty-four guns, another twenty-two, and the third eighteen.

A successful attempt was also made by his lordship upon the battery at Point L'Equilon, which was carried by a *coup-de-main*, and laid in ruins, the guns spiked, the carriages burned, the barrack and magazine blown up, and all the shells thrown into the sea. The signal post of L'Equilon, together with the house, shared the fate of the gun-carriages; but the convoy, which would have been a gratifying capture, got into a river beyond the reach of the brave assailants.

Between the 13th of December, 1806, and the 7th of January, 1807, his lordship took and destroyed fifteen ships of the enemy. About the time last mentioned, the boats of the Imperieuse, under the direction of lieutenant Mapleton, made a successful attack upon Fort Roquette, at the entrance of the Basin of Arcasson. This fort, which had been intended for the defence of the basin, and of such vessels as might be lying in it, was completely laid in ruins; a large quantity of military stores was destroyed; four thirty-six-pounders, two field-pieces, and a thirteen-inch mortar were spiked, and all the platoons and carriages burned. This enterprise was accomplished without any loss on the part of the assailants.

Lord Cochrane next appears off the coast of Languedoc, where, in September 1808, he blew up the newly constructed "semaphoric" telegraphs at Bourdique, La Pinede, St. Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Foy; together with the houses attached, fourteen barracks of the gens-d'armes, a battery, and the strong tower upon the lake of Fron-

tignan. The telegraphs here mentioned were considered as of the utmost importance to the safety of the convoys accustomed to pass along the coast of France; as, by their signals, they constantly apprised them of the approach of any English cruiser that might appear. Alluding to this service, the commander-in-chief, in his official letter says:—"Nothing can exceed the activity and zeal with which his lordship pursues the enemy. The success which attends his enterprises clearly indicates with what skill and ability they are conducted; besides keeping the coast in constant alarm, causing a total suspension of trade, and harassing a body of troops employed in opposing him, he has probably prevented those troops which were intended for Figueras from advancing into Spain, by giving them employment in the defence of their own coasts." It appears, indeed, from lord Cochrane's statement, that the comparatively insignificant force which he landed upon this occasion, drew about two thousand troops from the fortress of Figueras to the defence of the French coast.

Towards the close of the year 1808, the *Imperieuse*, with other ships, was employed in the Bay of Rosas, to assist the Spaniards in defending the fortress of that place; and lord Cochrane, with his accustomed alacrity and spirit, landed and took upon himself the defence of Trinity Castle, an outwork of the garrison, on which its preservation depended.

The gallantry of his lordship, in this instance, did not fail to call forth appropriate praise. "The heroic spirit and ability," says his commander-in-chief, "which have been evinced by lord Cochrane, in defending this castle, although so shattered in its works, against the repeated attacks of the enemy, is an admirable instance of his lordship's zeal." One of the Spanish gazettes, too, after noticing in the handsomest terms, his preceding services, concluded by saying—"It is a sufficient eulogium upon his character to mention, that in the defence of the castle when the Spanish flag, hoisted on the wall, fell into the ditch, under a most dreadful fire from the enemy, his lordship was the only person, who, regardless of the shower of balls flying about him, descended into the ditch, returned with the flag, and happily succeeded in placing it where it was before."

We have already alluded to the able part he took under the command of admiral Gambier, and for his services on this occasion, he was made a knight of the Bath. This

unfortunately led to consequences which could hardly have been anticipated, but which were the means of depriving the country of lord Cochrane's future services.

He had, by this time, turned his attention to politics, and was returned to parliament, first for Honiton, and afterwards for Westminster. In his senatorial capacity he was hostile to the then administration, and upon notice being given of a motion of thanks to lord Gambier, thinking perhaps that he himself had better deserved them, he intimated his determination to oppose the vote. This, from the second in command, who distinguished himself so much in the action, necessarily led to a court-martial; and by it lord Gambier was acquitted. Lord Cochrane, however, by this and his subsequent opposition to the ministry, was prevented from receiving from them any public appointment.

This state of affairs was anything but amended by the stock-jobbing transaction of 1814. A most impudent hoax was practised upon the public early in this year, by a false report carefully and widely spread, that Napoleon had fallen, by which means the prices of the English funds suddenly rose, giving those who had bought in cheap, an opportunity of selling out dear. Lord Cochrane and several of his friends availed themselves of this opportunity to sell out to a large amount, and the evidence against them was such that a jury found them guilty of fraud. Cochrane was sentenced to a heavy fine, to a year's imprisonment, and to stand in the pillory. He was deprived of his title of the Bath, of his rank in the navy, and expelled from the house of commons. The pillory was remitted; the electors of Westminster returned him again as their representative; he broke out of prison and appeared in the house. This was more like a sailor's frolic, than that of an aspirant to command a fleet, and lord Cochrane's preferment was consequently at an end.

It must not be left unsaid, that lord Cochrane's friends, and many others, believe him to have been a victim to the cupidity or malice of others.—So much for this subject, so painful in connection with such a name.

We need not wonder that we next find lord Cochrane in foreign service.

In the year 1818, he accepted the command of the fleet of the nascent state of Chili, then contending for its national independence. Here his flag was ever triumphant, and he

materially contributed to the success of the cause, particularly by the taking of Valdivia, the last strong hold left to the Spaniards. His cutting out of the *Esmeralda* frigate, from under the guns of the castle of Callao, was an exploit unsurpassed by any of his former deeds of daring. We transcribe a short account of this achievement, from captain Basil Hall:—

“While the liberating army, under General San Martin, were removing to Ancon, lord Cochrane with part of his squadron anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the sea-port of Lima. The inner harbour was guarded by an extensive system of batteries, admirably constructed, and bearing the general name of the castle of Callao. The merchant-ships, as well as the men-of-war, consisting at that time of the *Esmeralda*, a large 40-gun frigate, and two sloops of war, were moored under the guns of the castle within a semicircle of fourteen gun-boats, and a boom made of spars chained together. Lord Cochrane having previously reconnoitred these formidable defences in person, undertook, on the 5th of November, 1820, the desperate enterprise of cutting out the Spanish frigate, although she was known to be fully prepared for an attack. His lordship proceeded in fourteen boats, containing 240 men, all volunteers from the different ships of the squadron, in two divisions; one under the immediate orders of captain Crosby, the other under captain Guise, both officers commanding ships of the Chilian squadron.

At midnight, the boats having forced their way across the boom, lord Cochrane, who was leading, rowed along-side the first gun-boat, and taking the officer by surprise, proposed to him, with a pistol at his head, the alternative of “Silence, or death!”—no reply was made—the boats pushed on unobserved—and lord Cochrane, mounting the *Esmeralda*'s side, was the first to give the alarm. The sentinel on the gangway levelled his piece and fired; but was instantly cut down by the coxswain, and his lordship, though wounded in the thigh, at the same moment stepped on the deck. The frigate being boarded with no less gallantry on the opposite side, by captain Guise, who met lord Cochrane mid-way on the quarter-deck; and also by captain Crosby; the after-part of the ship was soon carried, sword in hand. The Spaniards rallied on the fore-castle, where they made a desperate resistance, till overpowered by a fresh party of seamen and marines, headed by lord Cochrane. A gallant stand was again made for some time on the main-

deck; but before one o'clock the ship was captured, her cables cut, and she was steered triumphantly out of the harbour, under the fire of the whole north face of the castle. The *Hyperion*, an English, and the *Macedonian*, an American frigate, which were at anchor close to the scene of action, got under weigh when the attack commenced; and in order to prevent their being mistaken by the batteries for the *Esmeralda* showed distinguished signals; but lord Cochrane, who had foreseen and provided even for this minute circumstance, hoisted the same lights as the American and English frigates; and thus rendered it impossible for the batteries to discriminate between the three ships; the *Esmeralda*, in consequence, was very little injured by the shot from the batteries. The Spaniards had upwards of 120 men killed and wounded, the Chilians eleven killed, and thirty wounded.

“This loss was a death-blow to the Spanish naval force in that quarter of the world; for, although there were still two Spanish frigates and some smaller vessels in the Pacific, they never afterwards ventured to show themselves, but left lord Cochrane undisputed master of the coast.”

Lord Cochrane's latest employment was in the service of the Brazils, the emperor of which, Don Pedro, created him Marquis of Marenham in 1823.

He has not since been conspicuous in public life. He was restored to his rank in the navy in 1830, on the accession of the Whigs to power, under William IV., from a feeling probably that party spirit had at least increased the severity of his punishment.

It would require many volumes to give an account of our naval heroes, contemporary with those we have mentioned. It is necessary, however, to mention the following persons, the more prominent of whose exploits are mentioned in connection with the history:—

Sir Thomas Louis, one of Nelson's great captains, was born at Exeter in 1759, and went to sea at the age of twelve. He was created a baronet in 1806, and died, off Alexandria, in 1807.

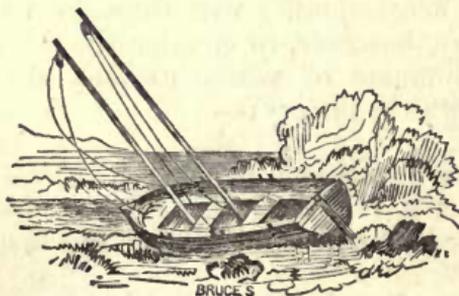
Sir Thomas Troubridge entered as a midshipman in 1773; was engaged in most of the great actions of his time, and was a great favourite and admirer of lord Nelson. He was made a baronet in 1799, and shortly afterwards one of the lords of the admiralty. Early in 1806, being then

rear-admiral of the white, he was appointed to the command at the Cape, and sailed for that station in the *Blenheim*. The ship was overtaken by a hurricane and was never afterwards heard of.

Alan, lord Gardner, was born at Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, in 1742; went very early to sea, and rose to high command and reputation. He fought with Howe on the glorious 1st of June; was made an Irish peer in 1800; a British peer in 1806; and died in 1809.

The name of Hood occurs often in our pages, and always with praise. Samuel Hood, lord viscount Hood in 1796, was the son of the rector of Thorncombe, Devonshire, born in 1724, and closed a long life spent in honour, as governor of Greenwich, in 1816. Alexander Hood, lord Bridport, a younger brother of the preceding, an equally gallant sailor, was in the battle of the 1st of June, was created a peer in 1796, and died in 1814. Commodore Sir Samuel Hood was a nephew of the preceding. He served first under lord Hood, and commanded the *Zealous*, at the battle of the Nile. Captain Alexander Hood, who fell gallantly in battle in 1794, was also of the same family.

George Keith Elphinstone, son of the Scottish lord Elphinstone, distinguished himself highly during the war, and at the peace of 1814, was created viscount Keith, having previously in 1803 been created a baron. He died in 1823.





LORD EXMOUTH.—Edward Pellew, was born in 1757, and was the son of a commander of a government packet at Dover. In his early life he had to struggle with many difficulties, which his perseverance and abilities enabled him to overcome. He went to sea at the age of thirteen, and passed through the subordinate stations with great difficulty. At the beginning of the war in 1793, we find him in command of *La Nymphe*, of thirty-six guns, when he all at once started into celebrity, by his capturing *La Cleopatra*, a French frigate, this being the first engagement of the war. He was knighted on the occasion. Brave as Sir Edward Pellew was in battle, his courage was still more conspicuous in actions of humanity. Twice did he leap overboard and save from drowning two of his sailors; and his daring in swimming to the wreck of the *Dutton East Indiaman*, off Plymouth, with a rope, to establish a communication with the shore, has never been surpassed. He was accompanied by a midshipman, named Easell, and they were the means of saving the whole crew. For this manly exploit he was made a baronet.

In 1797, he gave an eminent proof of his seamanship as well as bravery. Cruising in the *Indefatigable*, in consort with the *Amazon*, they fell in with a French ship *Les Droits des*

Hommes, of great force, and immediately attacked her, though close on the enemy's shore. After a keen contest, they drove her ashore, but the sea running very high were themselves involved in the danger. With great skill Pellew extricated his disabled vessel; his consort was wrecked, and the crew reaching the shore in rafts, were made prisoners. Thirteen hundred men of the enemy perished. We cannot detail his numerous actions, many of which we have already noticed. At the peace of 1814 he was created lord Exmouth. We hasten to that achievement with which Exmouth's name is inseparably united, not that it required more bravery than he had before displayed, but that its results were more interesting to humanity. We allude to the bombardment of Algiers.

The Dey of Algiers had continued his piratical practices, had made many British subjects slaves, and had insulted our Consul. For these deeds, as soon as peace came, the British government determined to call him to account, and lord Exmouth was intrusted with the command of a fleet, consisting of about twenty English, and six Dutch vessels of all sizes, destined for that purpose. The result may be told in the words of his own despatch.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 28, 1816.

In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speak for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspecting and ignorant of the atrocities which had been

committed at Bona; that fleet on its arrival in England was necessarily disbanded, and another with proportionate resources created and equipped; and although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured out the vengeance of an insulted nation in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, whenever practised upon those under their protection.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning at day-break the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of despatching a boat under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, on the Dey of Algiers, directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service until near two o'clock; when, observing my officer was returning with the signal flying, that no answer had been received upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations; the flag-ship, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands; at this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two at the ships to the northward then following; this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the main-mast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my

most sanguine hope, and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately round me was perfectly impossible, but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects, and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-admiral Van Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates keeping up a well supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the mole.

About sun-set I received a message from rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under. The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before. I had, at this time, sent orders to the explosion vessel, under the charge of lieutenant Fleming and Mr Parker, by captain Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate distant about one hundred yards, which at length I gave into, and major Gossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany lieutenant Richards in this

ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze; a gallant young midshipman, in rocket boat No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit, to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were silenced about ten o'clock, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation, and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time. Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells, about two in the morning, after twelve hours incessant labour. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service. The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident, that I know of, occurred to any ship. The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.

EXMOUTH.

(Loss.—English, 128 killed, 690 wounded. Dutch, 13 killed, 52 wounded. Total, 883.)

On the 28th of August, treaties of peace were signed by the Dey with his Britannic majesty, and with his majesty the king of the Netherlands.

On the same day also was signed an additional Article or

Declaration for the Abolition of Christian Slavery, to the following effect :—

“In consideration of the deep interest manifested by his royal highness the prince regent of England for the termination of Christian Slavery, his highness the Dey of Algiers, in token of his sincere desire to maintain inviolable his friendly relations with Great Britain, and to manifest his amicable disposition and high respect towards the Powers of Europe, declares, that in the event of future wars with any European Power, not any of the prisoners shall be consigned to slavery, but treated with all humanity as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice in like cases; and that at the termination of hostilities, they shall be restored to their respective countries without ransom; and the practice of condemning Christian prisoners of war to slavery is hereby formally and for ever renounced.”

“By command of the Admiral.”

The Dey also in the presence of his Divan, apologised to the British Consul for the personal restraint which had been imposed upon him during the late transactions, and he also paid to the Consul a sum of three thousand dollars as a remuneration for depredations committed on his residence after his imprisonment.

After the treaties and article before mentioned had been negotiated, and that the Dey had refunded three hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred dollars, which he had lately received from the governments of Naples and Sardinia, and had released one thousand and eighty-three Christian slaves who were at Algiers, it came to the knowledge of lord Exmouth, that two Spaniards, the one a merchant and the other the Vice-consul of that nation, had not been released, but were still held by the Dey in very severe custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt. The inquiries which his lordship felt himself called upon to make into these cases, satisfied him that the confinement of the Vice-consul was groundless and unjustifiable, and he therefore thought himself authorised to demand his release, under the articles of the agreement for the deliverance of all Christian prisoners. It appeared that the merchant was confined for an alleged debt, on the score of a contract with the Algerine government; but the circumstances under which the contract was said to have been forced on the individual, and the great severity of the confinement which he suffered, deter-

mined his lordship to make an effort in his favour also. This he did, by requesting his release from the Dey, offering himself to guarantee the payment of any sum of money which the merchant should be found to owe to his highness. The Dey having rejected this demand and offer, his lordship, still unwilling to have recourse to extremities, and the renewal of hostilities, proposed that the Spaniards should be released, and that they should be placed in the custody of the Spanish Consul.

These propositions the Dey also positively refused; and lord Exmouth then felt that the private and pecuniary nature of the transactions for which these persons were confined, must be considered as a pretence for the continuance of slavery, the total abolition of which his instructions directed him to insist upon.

His lordship therefore acquainted the Dey, that as all the conditions proposed to him on this point had been rejected, he had determined to insist on the unconditional release of the two Spaniards, and therefore desired an answer, yes or no; and, in the event of the latter, stated that he would immediately recommence hostilities. These measures had the desired effect; and the two persons were released; so that no Christian prisoner remained at Algiers at his lordship's departure, which took place on the evening of the 3d September, 1816, with all the ships under his orders.

The refunded ransoms were sent to the Neapolitan and Sardinian governments, and the slaves released were forwarded in British transports to their respective countries. Their joy and gratitude it were impossible to express. Algiers was left little better than a heap of ruins.

It ought, perhaps, to have been previously stated, that this was Exmouth's second visit to Algiers. On the former occasion the Dey released about 1200 English captives, without force; but a renewal of his insolence led to the signal chastisement now recorded, when upwards of 2000 foreign slaves were set free.

For this brilliant achievement, lord Exmouth was made a viscount. He soon afterwards retired from all but the honours of his profession, and died in 1823.



SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON.—Sir Edward Codrington is similarly situated with Exmouth. Both were highly distinguished naval officers during the war, but the names of both have become associated since the peace with actions which will hand their names in the highest honour down to posterity.

Edward Codrington was born in Gloucestershire in 1770. He went to sea in 1783, was a lieutenant in lord Howe's flag ship on the 1st of June, and was much esteemed by that commander. He was a post-captain under lord Bridport, and commanded the Orion, at Trafalgar. That resplendent event cast every subsequent action for some time into a comparative shade; yet many of them were neither without honour nor danger, and of these Codrington had his share. When made a knight, on the peace, he showed the eccentricity of the tar, by refusing to pay the usual fees, and sending the account of the charge to the first lord of the admiralty. This absurd practice of charging high fees on such occasions, has been, we believe, given up.

When the Greeks revolted against their Turkish oppressors, they had on their side the sympathies of the most intellectual and patriotic among the European nations; and after the struggle had continued several years, the governments of England, France, and Russia, determined to in-

terfere in their behalf, and put an end to the contest. For this purpose a treaty between these powers was signed at London, 6th July, 1827. This, as far as England was concerned, was brought about by the influence of George Canning, a statesman whose foreign politics were highly liberal.

A combined squadron was stationed in the Levant, in order to enforce a truce until measures for a pacification should be taken. This squadron consisted of eleven English vessels of various rates, six French, and eight Russian vessels. Sir Edward Codrington, the English admiral, was also commander-in-chief; De Rigny was the French admiral, and De Heiden that of the Russians. The Greeks, who had applied for protection, readily, of course, submitted to the truce; but the Turks, aided by their Egyptian vassal, had a powerful fleet under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, and were little disposed to give up the prey which they seemed now to have within their grasp. The most atrocious cruelties were still perpetrated on the unfortunate Greeks. The allied fleets anchored in the bay of Navarino in face of the Turco-Egyptian squadrons, determined, should remonstrance prove unavailing, to use force, or in the words of Mr. Stratford Canning's instructions to Sir Edward Codrington, if the speaking-trumpet would not do, to try the cannon. In this hostile position, an accidental circumstance brought on a general engagement, the celebrated battle of Navarino, an account of which we shall abridge from Sir Edward's despatches:—

“The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broadsides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them filling up the intervals. The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russians the lee line. The *Asia*, which was the admiral's ship, led in, followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of the *Capitana bey*, another ship of the line, and a large double-banked frigate, each thus having their opponent in the front line of the Turkish fleet. The four ships to windward, part of the Egyptian squadron, were allotted to the squadron of the French admiral de Rigny, and those to leeward, in the right of the crescent, were to mark the stations of the whole Russian squadron, the ships of their

line closing those of the English line, and being followed up by their own frigates. The French frigate *Armide* was directed to place herself alongside the outermost frigate, on the left hand entering the harbour; and the *Cambrian*, *Glasgow*, and *Talbot*, next to her, and abreast of the *Asia*, *Genoa*, and *Albion*; the *Dartmouth*, the *Mosquito*, the *Rose*, the *Brisk*, and the *Philomel*, were to look after six fire-vessels at the entrance of the harbour. Positive orders were given that no gun should be fired, unless guns were fired by the Turks, and these orders were strictly observed. The three English ships were permitted to pass the batteries and to moor, as they did with great rapidity, without any act of open hostility, although there was evident preparation for it in all the Turkish ships. A boat was sent soon after from the *Dartmouth* to one of the fire-vessels, when lieutenant Fitzroy and several of her crew were shot with musketry. This produced a defensive fire of musketry from the *Dartmouth* and admiral de Rigny's ship, *La Cyrene*. The latter having soon after received a cannon-shot from one of the Egyptian ships, she immediately answered it with her broadside; and thus very shortly after, the battle became general. The ships opposed to the *Asia* were the last to fire, and Moharem bey sent a message, 'that he would not fire at all,' and no hostility took place with his ship till some time after the *Asia* had returned the fire of the *Capitana bey*. A pilot was sent by Sir Edward Codrington, to interpret to Moharem his desire of avoiding bloodshed, who, whilst still in the English boat, was killed by Moharem's men. His ship soon after fired into the *Asia*, her fire was returned, and she soon shared the fate of the other admiral ship to the starboard, and fell to leeward a mere wreck. These ships being out of the way, the *Asia* became exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line, which carried away her mizen-mast by the board, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of her crew. The proceedings of the other ships resembled those of the *Asia*. The *Cambrian*, *Glasgow*, and *Talbot*, with the *Armide*, who was opposed to the leading frigate of that line, effectually destroyed their opponents, and silenced the batteries, to which also they were opposed. This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself, at its termination was such as has been seldom before witnessed. The Turkish and Egyptian fleets had disappeared, and only

a few shattered vessels escaped into the inner harbour. The carnage on board their crowded ships was immense, for in two of their ships of the line, two-thirds of the crews were killed or wounded. As each ship became effectually disabled, such of her crew as could escape from her, endeavoured to set her on fire, and it was wonderful how the combined fleets avoided the effects of their successive and awful explosions. The British ships having sustained the brunt of the action, suffered the greatest damage. Their loss was, seventy-five men killed and a hundred and ninety-seven wounded. Among the killed was captain Bathurst, who commanded the *Genoa*. The *Asia*, *Albion*, and *Genoa*, had suffered so much, that it was found necessary, after repairing them temporarily at Malta, to send them to England. The *Talbot* also, and several of the smaller vessels suffered considerably. 'I console myself,' said Sir E. Codrington, in his despatches, 'with the reflection that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the results contemplated by the treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents. When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me.'

Sir Edward Codrington is said to have over-rated the numbers and force of the Turkish fleet. This is likely enough, from the confusion of such a period. Mr. James, whose careful investigating spirit deserves the highest confidence, says the fleet consisted of sixty-five sail. Some of these were large ships, but the greater number of an inferior size to those of the allied fleets.

Sir Edward and his brave sailors and allies gained great renown by this victory, which was the harbinger of the complete restoration of Greece to independence. Although for political purposes, the ministry which succeeded Canning, wished this battle thrown into the shade, and in a royal speech styled it an "untoward event," it was very differently looked upon by the public, and the hero of Navarino became and still continues highly popular. He subsequently had a seat in parliament, where he uniformly voted with the liberal party. He now commands at Portsmouth.

SIR ROBERT STOPFORD.—This, our next naval hero, was distinguished in defence of those Turks whom our last hero was distinguished for castigating. Indeed, since the termination of the war, England seems to have acted in the capacity of master-general of police. An English fleet compelled the Algerines to surrender their prey; an English army protected Portugal from Spain; our navy, as we have seen, defended Greece from Turkey; and now we find Stopford with the British flag defending Turkey against Egypt.

Admiral the Hon. Sir Robert Stopford, G.C.B., third son of James, second earl of Courtown, was born 3d February, 1768, and entering the navy at an early age, served for some time in the *Prince George*, on the American station, with admiral Digby. In 1790, he obtained post rank; and, in that year, commanded the *Lowestoffe* frigate, then employed in the channel. His next appointment was to the *Aquilon*, 32 guns, stationed in the Mediterranean, which, in 1794, acted with the fleet under lord Howe, and repeated the signals of the rear division on the memorable first of June. In the *Phæton*, of 38 guns, he formed part of Cornwallis's detachment which fell in with the French squadron, and, by a series of masterly manœuvres, effected a retreat as honourable to those concerned as the achievement of a victory.

Captain Stopford subsequently drove on shore the *Echone*, of 28 guns; and, in company with the *Anson*, captured the *Daphne* and the *Flore*. In 1799, he was appointed to the *Excellent*, 74, and took several vessels; and after remaining for some time with the western squadron, sailed to the Leeward Islands, whence he returned with the broad pendant in 1802. In 1804, he joined Nelson in the Mediterranean; in 1805, received the appointment of colonel of marines; and in 1806, acted a gallant part, and was wounded in Sir John Duckworth's victory off St. Domingo. In 1808, he was made a rear-admiral, and appointed to a command in the channel fleet, in which situation his services in the Basque-roads, &c., received the thanks of parliament. In 1810, the rear-admiral was appointed to the command of a squadron employed at the Cape of Good Hope; and while on this station, conducted the naval part of the armament which subjugated Java, for which he was again thanked by parliament. In 1812, he became vice-admiral; in 1813, returned to England, and has since been made admiral of the white and G.C.B.

In 1840, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, having formed an alliance to rescue Syria from Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, who had revolted against the Sultan, it was deemed proper, for various reasons connected with the general policy of Europe, to send a strong force to Syria for that purpose. The British Mediterranean fleet under the command of Sir Robert Stopford, was accordingly ordered on this important service, and along with him were a small Austrian squadron, and a Turkish ship with troops on board. Passing over the earlier proceedings, which will be noticed hereafter in our sketch of commodore Napier, we proceed to the siege of Acre, then strongly fortified and garrisoned by the Egyptians, the capture of which immediately settled the whole question, and proved triumphantly that the naval arm of England had lost none of its power.

The following account we quote from the journals of the day, as given by an eye-witness :—

On 30th October, a general order was issued by command of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, thanking the fleet for their zeal and exertions; and on the same day a council of war was held, at which an immediate attack of Acre was decided on; the same evening the supernumerary marines were embarked, and on the following day about 3000 Turkish troops, each ship taking a portion according to her size; General Sir C. F. Smith accompanying them. In the afternoon the steamers Gorgon, Vesuvius, Stromboli, and Phoenix started for their destination.

Shortly before sunset the whole anchored off the town, the forces then assembled consisting of the following vessels: Princess Charlotte (flag ship), Powerful (broad pendant), Thunderer, Bellerophon, Revenge, Edinburgh, and Benbow of the line, Castor, Pique, Carysfort, and Talbot frigates, Hazard, corvette, Wasp, brig, and the steam frigates Gorgon, Vesuvius, Stromboli, and Phoenix; the Austrian frigates, Guèrriere, and Medea, and a corvette, and the Turkish Admiral and cutter tender. Sunday and Monday, the 1st and 2d of November, were occupied in making preparation on both sides. At fifty minutes past one, on Tuesday the 3d, the Phoenix opened her fire; the Powerful, closely followed by the Princess Charlotte, Thunderer, Bellerophon, and Pique, stood to the northward (it is necessary to state, here, that the town presents two faces to the sea—one to the west and the other to the south), and then bore up and anchored off the north-west angle of the town,

in the order named before. The *Castor*, the *Carysfort*, *Talbot*, *Benbow*, *Edinburgh*, *Turkish Admiral*, *Hazard*, *Wasp*, and the *Austrian frigate*, stood in for the south face. The *Revenge* was ordered to keep under weigh as a reserve. At a quarter past two o'clock, the batteries to the south opened on the *Castor*, as she most gallantly, and to the admiration of the whole fleet, took up her station within about 700 yards of the batteries, where she and her consorts opened their fire, as had also by this time the northern division. The steamers were placed between the two divisions under weigh, and thus the action became general, the Egyptian troops who manned the batteries, standing to their guns, with heroic valour and perseverance. About three o'clock the *Revenge* was ordered in by commodore Napier to support the *Powerful's* division, and took up an admirable position ahead of that ship. At twenty minutes past four, the action being at its height, a terrific explosion took place in the town, which for a time wholly concealed it and the southern division from view. Its appearance was truly awful, and "I can compare it to nothing," says an eye-witness, "but as if a huge yew-tree had suddenly been conjured up from the devoted town; it hung for many minutes a mighty pall over those hundreds it had hurled into eternity; and then slowly, owing to the lightness of the wind, drifted to the southward."

This proved to be the explosion of the principal magazine of the place, one-third of which it destroyed; and from a whole regiment having been quartered in a khan immediately adjoining, it is supposed that from 1500 to 1700 soldiers perished in the ruins, besides a number of camels, horses, bullocks, and donkeys. Immediately afterwards, the fire from the southern batteries nearly ceased; but the western one still kept it up with animation, and was answered broadside after broadside with redoubled vigour and tremendous effect from the fleet. About five o'clock the admiral made the signal to discontinue the engagement; but from the smoke it could not be seen for some time by the *Powerful's* division, which continued until half-past five to fire at the few remaining guns which still maintained the action. Shortly after a boat pushed off from the captain of the port, to say that the Egyptians were leaving the town, and that if a party was landed at the water-gate it would be found open. This was of course immediately done, and 300 Turks and a party of Austrian marines took

unopposed possession. At daylight the remainder of the Turkish troops and a considerable number of marines were landed, and quietly marched into the place.

Thus fell the far-famed fortress of Acre. Mahmoud Bey, the governor, effected his escape, but was afterwards taken by the mountaineers.

The result of this splendid achievement, was three thousand prisoners, an immense quantity of warlike stores, £5000 in specie, found in the town, and possession of the entire coast of Syria.

Admiral Stopford returned to England, after completing a treaty with Mehemet Ali, which finally settled the Eastern question, and as a reward for his long and meritorious services, he received the important appointment of Governor of

GREENWICH HOSPITAL.





SIR CHARLES NAPIER.—We shall now proceed to give a sketch of the brilliant career of Commodore Napier, the second in command in the expedition against Acre, whose fame for intrepidity has passed into a proverb. It is partly founded on matter extracted from his electioneering speeches, and certainly not the less interesting on that account. Charles Napier is the eldest son of the Hon. Charles Napier of Merchiston-hall, Stirlingshire, and was born at Falkirk in 1787. His family trace their descent from the ancient Earls of Lennox, who were so created in the reign of Malcolm the Third, in 1057. On taking a retrospective view of their genealogy, we find that many of them were distinguished in the service of their country. Sir Alexander Napier, of Merchison, knight, was made comptroller of Scotland, by James the Second, in 1450, and vice-admiral, by James the Third, in 1463. He was one of the ambassadors to England in 1451, and in 1468 was sent with the lord chancellor to negotiate the marriage of his royal master with the daughter of the king of Denmark. Sir Alexander Napier, the grandson of the former, was master of the mint to James the Sixth. He was succeeded by John, the celebrated mathematician, whose attachment to the study of astronomy and spherical geometry, enabled him to work out that admirable system of logarithms which has

gained him immortality. This eminent man was succeeded by his son, Sir Archibald, the first lord who accompanied James the Sixth to England, when he was created one of the privy council, deputy treasurer, lord chief clerk, and one of the senators of the college of Justice in Scotland. In the reign of Charles the First, he was continued in the treasurer's office, and also made one of the extraordinary lords of session. On the 2d of March, 1627, he was created a baronet, and on the 4th of May following, he was advanced to the peerage. Archibald, the second lord, continued in the service of the crown, and was found faithful through the whole of the feuds that occurred in that reign. He finally retired to the continent, where he died in 1660. The title is still held by the family, and the subject of this sketch is the grandson of Francis, the eighth baron Napier.

Charles Napier entered the navy when very young, and gave early proof of the spirit which has distinguished him in after life. The first action which brought him into public notice, is thus described in characteristic language by himself, during the election at Portsmouth in 1833, when it had been asked by his opponents, who he was? "In the course of my canvass I have been asked who I am. I'll tell you. I am captain Charles Napier, who 25 years ago commanded the Recruit brig in the West Indies, and who had the honour of being 24 hours under the guns of three French line-of-battle ships flying from a British squadron, the nearest of which, with the exception of the Hawk brig, was from five to six miles astern the greatest part of the time. I kept flying double-shotted broadsides into them. One of the ships (the Hautpout) was captured by the Pompey and Castor, the other two escaped by superior sailing. Sir Alexander Cochrane, my commander-in-chief, promoted me on the spot into her. At the siege of Martinique, the *Æolus*, *Cleopatra*, and *Recruit*, were ordered to beat up in the night between Pigeon Island and the main, and anchor close to Fort Edward; the enemy, fearing an attack, burnt their shipping. At daylight in the morning it appeared to me that Fort Edward was abandoned; this, however, was doubted. I offered to ascertain the fact, and with five men I landed in open day, scaled the walls, and planted the union jack on the ramparts. Fortunately I was undiscovered from Fort Bourbon, which stood about a hundred yards off, and commanded it. On this being reported to Sir Alexander Cochrane, a regiment was landed in the night. Fort

Edward was taken possession of and the mortars turned against the enemy. I am in possession of a letter from Sir Alexander saying that "my conduct was the means of saving many lives and shortening the siege of Martinique." I had once the misfortune of receiving a precious licking from a French corvette; the first shot she fired broke my thigh, and a plumper carried away my mainmast. The enemy escaped, but the British flag was not tarnished. On my return to England, in command of the Jason, I was turned out of her by a Tory admiralty, because I had no interest; but as I could not lead an idle life, I served a campaign with the army in Portugal as a volunteer, when I was again wounded. At the battle of Busaco I had the honour of carrying off the field my gallant friend and relative, colonel Napier, now near me, who was shot through the face. On my return to England I was appointed to the Thames, in the Mediterranean; and if I could bring the inhabitants of the Neapolitan coast into this room, they would tell you, that from Naples to the Faro Point, there was not a spot where I did not leave my mark, and brought off with me upwards of one hundred sail of gun boats and merchant vessels. I had the honour of running the Thames and Furieuse into the small mole of Ponza, which was strongly defended; and before they could recover from their surprise I captured the island without the loss of a man. I was then removed to the Euryalus, and had the good fortune to fall in with two French frigates and a schooner. I chased them in the night close into Calvi, in the island of Corsica, passing close under the stern of one, plumpering her as I passed; and though we were going eight knots, I tried to run aboard of her consort, who was a little outside, standing athwart my hawse; the night was dark, the land close, and she succeeded in crossing me, but I drove her ashore on the rocks, where she was totally wrecked, and her consort was obliged to anchor close to her. The Euryalus wore round, and got off, almost brushing the shore as she passed. These ships were afterwards ascertained to be *armées en flute*, mounting 22 guns each, and the schooner 14. From the Mediterranean I was ordered to America; and if my gallant friend Sir James Gordon was here, he would have told you how I did my duty on that long and arduous service up the Potomac. He would have told you that in a tremendous squall the Euryalus lost her bowsprit and all her topmasts, and that in twelve hours she was again ready for work. We brought

away a fleet from Alexandria, were attacked going down the river by batteries, built close to what was the residence of the great Washington, and I was again wounded in that action in the neck."

Having given in his own language, and with characteristic brevity, a notice of commodore Napier's services during the great war arising out of the French revolution, we come next to his services in the war of succession in Portugal, where he held the post of admiral. The chief feature of his exploits here was the capture of the Miguelite fleet, which we shall immediately detail, from one of his own letters. In this action the following was the relative strength of the two fleets:—

DONA MARIA'S SQUADRON.		DON MIGUEL'S SQUADRON.	
	<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>
Rainha de Portugal Fri- gate, Vice-admiral's flag,	46	Don John,.....	80
Don Pedro, formerly Wel- lington Indiaman,.....	48	Rainha,.....	76
Donna Maria Frigate,....	42	Martin Freitas,.....	48
Portuense Corvette,.....	18	Princess Royal,.....	56
Villa Flor Brig,.....	16	Zebecque.	
Foro Schooner,.....	6	Isabel Maria,.....	24
		Tagus,	20
		Princessa Real Corvette,..	22
		Audaz,.....	20
		Sybille,.....	26
	176		372

After a chase which commenced on the 3d July and lasted till noon the next day, the battle commenced:—"About one o'clock," he says, "the breeze became steady; the people were at quarters, determined to fight to the last, and I sat down to a hasty dinner with commodore Wilkinson, captains Cable, Blackstone, Pearn, Charles Napier, Roxton, and Macdonough, who had quitted the steamers in disgust. We talked over the approaching battle with great confidence, little thinking that in half an hour three of the party would cease to live or be mortally wounded, and two more dangerously. At two, the captains returned to their ships; the signal was made for battle and close order; the boats were lowered down, and the squadron led by the Rainha, displaying the constitutional flag at each mast-head, gradually edged away under their courses and top-gallant sails. The enemy (with the exception of the Martin Freitas, who had her

courses and top-gallant sails set) were under their topsails, and as we approached the lee-line closed up in the intermediate spaces, but a little to leeward, thus forming a double column of two line-of-battle ships, a fifty-gun ship, a fifty-gun frigate, three heavy corvettes, two brigs, and a zebecque. Previous to this, the frigate being to leeward tacked, and had all the appearance of coming over; but after fetching in the wake of the fifty-gun ship, she again tacked and took her station. The breeze was good, the water smooth, not a cloud in the heavens; the enemy looked well and firm, and they were plainly seen training their guns as we approached. It was a trying and awful sight, and accompanied with a considerable degree of dread, (at least I can answer for myself); officers and men were calm and determined, though aware of the danger of the enterprise, the success of which mainly depended on the state we should be in after the first broadside.

“The enemy kept their line close, and reserved their fire till well within musket-shot; the frigate then threw out a signal, which we concluded was for permission to fire; the moment was critical, and we all felt it.

“The commodore’s answer was hardly at the mast-head ere the frigate opened her broadside, which was instantaneously followed by the whole squadron, with the exception of the *Don John*, whose stern and quarter guns could only bear. Poor *Rainha*! I looked up and expected to see every mast tottering; but the cherub was sitting aloft, and notwithstanding the most tremendous fire I ever witnessed, which made the sea bubble like a boiling cauldron round her, the smoke clearing away discovered to the astonished *Miguelites* the *Rainha* proudly floating on the waters of *Nelson* and *St. Vincent*, with her masts erect, her rigging and sails only shewing the fiery ordeal she had gone through.

“The men were lying down at their quarters; few were struck down on the main-deck, but the three foremost guns on the quarter-deck were nearly dismantled, and lieutenant *Nivett*, of the marines, received a mortal wound. At this time we had not fired a shot, and I ordered a few to be thrown on board, to check, as much as possible, their taking a deliberate aim. Our example was followed by the *Don Pedro*, and we soon passed the frigate and *Martin Freitas*, the latter losing her fore-topmast. At this time the sternmost line-of-battle ship luffed to—our helm was put up to avoid her broadside, and the *Don John* bore up across her bows, intending

to place us between the two line-of-battle ships. This was just what I desired, and when she passed too far to leeward to recover a weather position, our helm was put suddenly down. The frigate flew to, grazing the Rainha's stern with her flying jib-boom; the foremost guns were poured into her, crammed to the muzzle with round and grape; the helm was then shifted, and we ran alongside under a very heavy fire, which struck down my secretary, master, and many men. The ships were lashed with the main sheet, and commodore Wilkinson and captain Charles Napier, heading the boarders, passed from the bower anchor to her bulwark, driving the men across the forecastle along the larboard gangway.

"I had not intended to board, having enough to do to look after the squadron; but the excitement was too great, and I found myself, without hardly knowing it, on the enemy's forecastle, supported by one or two officers. There I paused, till several men rushing on board, we rushed aft with a loud cheer, and either passed through or drove a party down upon the break of the quarter-deck. At this moment I received a severe blow from a crow-bar, the owner of which did not escape unscathed; and poor Macdonough fell at my side by a musket-ball. Barradas, the captain of the ship, came across me, wounded in the face, and fighting like a tiger. He was a brave man. I saved his life. The second captain came next, and made so good-natured a cut at me that I had no heart to hurt him; he also was spared. Barradas took up arms again, and was finally killed in the cabin.

"The Commodore and Captain Charles Napier, after driving a whole host before them, fell, severely wounded, on the quarter-deck; the former with difficulty regained his ship—the latter, being stunned, lay some time, until the noise of friends coming to his assistance, roused him from his stupor.

"The quarter-deck was now gained, but the slaughter still continued, notwithstanding the endeavour of the officers to subdue it. The main and lower decks were yet unsubdued; and as the Don Pedro ranged up on the opposite side to board, both ships fired. I hailed captain Globe to desist, as we had carried the upper deck, and desired him to follow the Don John, who had made off; at the same time a ball from the lower deck struck him, and in a few minutes he was no more. Lieutenants Edmunds and Woodridge jumped down with a party on the main deck, which they

carried, but both fell under mortal wounds. In a few minutes all was quiet; the lower deck gave in, and many of the Portuguese seamen rushed on the quarter-deck for safety, with white canvas on their left arms, having discovered that was the badge worn by our men in boarding. Others got on board my ship, amongst whom several little boys found their way into the gun-rooms, and employed themselves wiping glasses.

“The men were now ordered back to the *Rainha* with the exception of those appointed to remain, and in the hurry the ships separated, leaving me in the prize. I, however, soon got back to the flag-ship. The fore-top-sail, which was cut to rags, was shifted in half an hour, (the mainsail was also useless, and was in the act of being shifted); all sail was set, and we were fast approaching the *Don John*, the *Don Pedro* being still nearer, when, seeing no chance of avoiding an action, she luffed to and hauled her colours down.

“The *Don Pedro* was directed to secure her, and I followed the *Martin Freitas*, who had been too strong for the *Portuense* (whose captain, *Blackstone*, was mortally wounded), and *Villa Flor*, and though much disabled, was making off; by ten she was in my possession. The *Princess Royal* corvette, coming across a steamer, surrendered also. A little after I got alongside the *Rainha*, captain *Peak*, in the *Donna Maria*, passed under the fifty-gun frigate's stern, raked her, luffed to, and, after firing a few broadsides, ran his bowsprit into her mizen rigging, and carried her in gallant style.

“Thus finished the action of the 5th of July 1836, leaving in our possession two ships of the line, mounting eighty-six guns each, including four forty-eight pounders for throwing shells, one frigate of fifty-two guns, a fifty-gun ship, and a corvette of eighteen guns: two corvettes and two brigs escaped; the two former arrived safe in *Lisbon*; one brig joined the following day, and the other got to *Madeira*. The enemy were amply found in every species of warlike stores, and mounted stern-guns in addition to the full compliment on their broadsides.

“The loss of the squadron was about ninety killed and wounded. The enemy lost between two and three hundred.

“It is not for me to comment on this action; I shall leave that to the world, simply observing, that at no time was a naval action fought with such a disparity of force, and in

no naval action was there ever so severe a loss in so short a time."

The result of this brilliant achievement was the evacuation of Lisbon by the Miguelites, and the final triumph of the cause of Donna Maria. Napier was immediately created Viscount Cape St. Vincent, and received the grand cross of the tower and sword; but, strange to say, no sooner had the excitement caused by victory subsided, than the intriguers of the court had influence enough to stop all further proofs of royal gratitude, and the gallant officer soon found himself involved in a series of squabbles with the officials of the government, who did every thing in their power to prevent the fulfilment of his just demands, not the least important of which was a claim for pensions to the widows and orphans of the men who had so gallantly lost their lives while fighting under his command. This treatment necessarily excited strong feelings of irritation and resentment in his breast, and accordingly we find him giving free vent to such feelings in a letter to M. Freire, the prime minister, from which we quote the following passage:—"I remark that anything that tends to disgust me is done immediately; that there is then no delay in your Excellency's office; while, at the same time, anything I propose for the good of the service reposes quietly in your portfolio for months; this state of matters cannot continue. I will not submit to affronts, and the government shall either change the system or dismiss me; and I shall return to England to justify the prophecies of my friends, that I have been serving an ungrateful country."

Napier very soon afterwards carried this threat into effect. It was accelerated by the death of Don Pedro, which completely severed the ties that bound him to the service of Portugal, and in the November following, he returned to England. So little gratitude or good-will now existed on the part of the Portuguese officials, that they did not even pay him the compliment of a salute on his leaving the Tagus!

After his return to England, nothing material occurred to call the gallant officer into public notice till 1837, when he stood candidate on the liberal interest, for the representation of Greenwich. He polled 1153 votes, but was overtaken by Mr Barnard, who only polled 1192, so that his defeat was nearly allied to victory. The proceedings, on this occasion, like all those in which naval officers are parties, created both

interest and amusement. In the newspaper accounts of the day, we find the following characteristic personal sketch:—
 “Captain Napier is a stout man, with an intelligent face, the head poked rather forward, and with dark hair, now becoming grey. On the occasion of his election, he appeared in an old blue frock-coat with brass navy buttons; duck trowsers, not rivalling the snow in whiteness; shoes patched, but very easy; and white cotton socks, carefully if not comfortably darned. On his left breast dangled a profusion of orders blazing in their brilliancy, yet serving only to render more striking the *tout ensemble of seediness*, which this true ‘British Tar’ presented to the admiring crowd of the ‘beauty and fashion’ of Greenwich and Deptford. The whole was crowned by a round hat of most *manageable* brim, of whose colour the only adequate description must be given in the language of the Latin poet,—

“Qui color albus erat nunc est contrarius albo.’”

The next event in Napier’s career was his appointment to the *Powerful*, in 1839, which was destined to join the Mediterranean fleet, with special instructions to take soundings of the Dardanelles, and drawings of various ports along the coast to Therapia, &c., all preparatory to the naval operations which were soon after carried into effect in those regions. When the *Powerful* came to Portsmouth for her crew, the following characteristic announcement was issued and placarded on the walls:—

“Wanted, active seamen for the *Powerful*.

CAPTAIN NAPIER.

“The *Powerful* is a fine ship, and in the event of a war, will be able to take her own part.”

This appears to have been written in the true spirit of a seaman confident of his powers, and anxious to signalise himself in the service of his country. How prophetic it was, may be gathered from the memorable events which followed.

In 1840, Napier was promoted to the rank of commodore, and in that capacity became a principal actor in the brief but brilliant war in Syria, for the settlement of what was emphatically called the Eastern question. From the landing of the British, Turkish, and Austrian forces in Djournie Bay, to the negotiation and settlement with Mehemet Ali at Alexandria, he was indefatigably employed in every operation of the campaign; and, whether described as working in his shirt

sleeves in the trenches at Djournie, as leading the storming parties at Sidon, Jaffa, Tsour, and Caiffa, or as dictating, pen in hand, the terms of submission to the Egyptian Pacha, he appears in one and all of those different positions as acquitting himself with equal energy and judgment.

The first affair which redounded to the fame of the commodore in those parts was the march upon Beyrout. This place, the ancient Barytus, stands on the verge of a beautiful plain, varied with small hills, and extending to the foot of Mount Libanus. The surrounding country is covered with kiosks, and enriched with groves of vines, olives, palms, and orange trees. Its population has been estimated at ten thousand souls, of whom the Turks form one-third. During the Holy Wars it was made the scene of the fabled victory of St. George and the Dragon. It was now, like its symbolic serpent, destined to fall a second time by the might of another Knight of Christendom. Napier, on the 9th October, having directed the Emir Beschir to join him on the heights of Ornschojouen, arrived on the 10th at their summits, when they found to their surprise that between 2000 and 3000 men had planted themselves in a position that appeared unassailable. They did not hesitate a moment as to the course to be pursued. The attack began by short skirmishes. Heavy firings succeeded. The hill was soon crowded by our battalions, who, on coming into contact with the enemy on its top, gave the affair a precipitate termination, and caused the Egyptians to ground their arms. A second attack was made on the remaining troops, and in less than half an hour it became a total rout, the enemy leaving all their baggage, ammunition, and provisions. Night put an end to the pursuit. Ibrahim Pacha, who commanded, escaped with a few men, and the rest dispersed, leaving between six and seven hundred prisoners. The victors instantly marched upon Beyrout. The late defeat had struck its garrison and inhabitants with terror. It was consequently evacuated, and became a prize to the combined forces. The effect of these successes led to the entire disorganization and submission of Soliman Pacha's army, to the amount of nearly 3000 men, and the whole of his artillery and stores. Napier landed at Djournie on the 10th of September, having made about 5000 prisoners, and increased his numbers by about 5000 deserters who had come over.

A fact highly honourable to the government of the day, in England, ought not to be omitted here. Immediately after

receiving the intelligence of the capture of Beyrout, lord Minto, the first lord of the admiralty, paid to the lady of the commodore the greatest compliment ever yet received by the wife of a naval officer. This lady, the widow of lieutenant Edward Elers, R.N., Napier married early in life. Lord Minto, on the above occasion, posted down to her residence at Horndean, to announce to her that as a testimony of their lordships' approbation of her husband's conduct, they had appointed her son, captain Charles Napier to a ship; as well as to convey to her an expression of the obligations of the government and the gratitude of his sovereign.

Napier's next exploit was the taking of Saida. On the 24th September, admiral Walker, with the Turkish fleet, appeared before Tyre, summoned and took it, with 560 captives. On the 26th, commodore Napier appeared before Saida with one line-of-battle ship, and with the Austrian division. The Egyptian commander having refused to surrender, Napier began to fire. After two hours' cannonade the breach was declared practicable, and 1000 British, Turks, and 200 Austrians, marched and carried the town by storm. Three thousand Egyptians laid down their arms: the allies lost 40 killed and 70 wounded. The result was most complete. The whole of Lebanon was speedily on fire; the effect on Ibrahim's troops was electric. The corps of 10,000 men under him dispersed, and 60 officers with 4000 men went over to Napier. On the 27th Sept., Ibrahim himself left Baalbeck with a small force and fled to Damascus. The four consuls who had left Alexandria joined Napier's fleet.

The commodore next distinguished himself at Sidon, where his conduct was equally daring, valorous, and effective. We quote the following spirited account from the *Malta Times* of the 15th October:—

“*Off Alexandria, October 5.*

“The smartest affair is yet to be told you. Charles Napier, on Friday, the 25th, talking with the admiral, remarked that Sidon was not in our possession, and said to him, “If you like, I will go down and take it, and be back again in eight and forty hours.” He started, and was as good as his word. He had the Thunderer, Cyclops, Gorgon, and Hydra, with 800 Turks and 500 marines. On their way he fell in with the Stromboli from England, with a detachment of 200 marines: these he took with him, and after firing shot and



Capture of St. Jean d'Acre, 1840.

shells at the town for a couple of hours, he made a breach, and landed at the head of his men. It was a sharp struggle; but, after destroying a great number of the enemy, who neither gave nor would receive quarter, they at last killed the Egyptian commander, who died *game*. With two marines' bayonets at his breast he refused quarter, and resisted, so they fired, and he of course died, when his troops threw down their arms to the amount of 500; 1500 were afterwards taken, and the whole 2000 have been brought round to the fleet at Djournie; I believe they will be sent to Cyprus. Napier was most daring—on the tops of the houses he made his way, waving his hat on the point of his sword, and cheering the men on. Our loss amounted to fifteen marines killed and wounded; two mates badly wounded, Motley and Shears, of the *Wasp*; and a mate of the *Revenge*, with five seamen, one since dead; and one of the *Thunderer's* launchers killed. A marine officer, who had only that morning arrived in the *Stromboli*, was killed in the breach—his name is Hocken, and he has been serving on the coast of Spain; and I hear another was wounded. The *Castor* and *Pique* took Tyre."

The crowning achievement, however, in this brief war, was the capture of Acre. This celebrated fortress, which had gloriously resisted the arms of Napoleon, was destined to fall before a British armament, under Stopford and Napier. The triumph, in this instance, demonstrated to the staggering faith of the politicians of Europe that nothing can withstand British genius and valour.

The importance of Acre, as a military position, is well described by the celebrated traveller Clarke. He justly calls it the key-stone of the East, since it extends the influence of its Governor even to Jerusalem. It enables its possessor to shut up the country, and keep the inhabitants in subjection. All the rice, which is the staple food of the people, enters by this avenue. The lord of Acre may, if it so please him, cause a famine to be felt even over all Syria. Djezzar Pacha used to insist that the key of a public granary is the mightiest engine of military operation, and thus it was that he, an old man pent up in a small tower by the sea-side, possessed so extraordinary an empire. Hence, too, we find Acre to have been the last place from which the Christians were expelled from the Holy Land; and hence its possession, notwithstanding the insignificant figure it makes in the map of the great Asiatic Continent, is of more import-

ance than the greatest armies, under the most victorious leader, ever sent for the invasion of the country.

Commodore Napier on this memorable occasion headed one of the two divisions, and did not cease his fire till every gun of the enemy was silent. The order of the engagement we have already detailed, in our sketch of the commander-in-chief admiral Stopford.

After the fall of Acre, Napier sailed for Alexandria, in the *Powerful*, and arrived there on the 21st. We have the following account of his arrival in a letter from an officer on board *H.M.S. Ganges*, off Alexandria, dated Nov. 21:—“The commodore joined this morning; we were all cock-a-hoop, expecting a brush with the batteries; but our expectations soon fell to the ground on hearing that he remains here only a short time (about a fortnight,) and then proceeds to Malta. All the ships (*Vanguard* excepted) manned rigging and cheered him on passing, the band playing ‘Charlie is my darling,’ with which ‘old Charlie’ was much pleased. The *Powerful* had the warmest berth at Acre; but, strange to tell she was hulled only twice, one shot in the cutwater, and one hitting the main bits on the quarter-deck; three men were slightly wounded from one of their own guns.”

No sooner had Napier arrived before Alexandria than he set himself, with characteristic vigour, to obtain by negotiation what he had been hitherto employed to accomplish by force of arms—a fair settlement of the Eastern question; in other words, the submission of Mehemet Ali to the terms prescribed by the Allied Powers in their mediation between him and the Sultan. In the management of this delicate affair the commodore proved himself to be as efficient an adept in diplomacy as in war. After a brief correspondence, the Pacha accepted the terms offered to him; and thus in six hours was adjusted a dispute which had occupied all the ablest diplomatists of Europe for nearly six years!!

The arrangement come to by the Commodore and Mehemet Ali was no doubt afterwards repudiated by admiral Stopford, but the subsequent more formal agreement, entered into with the latter, was virtually the same as that which had been so promptly effected by the commodore. The only difference was, that what Napier did was done at once; what Sir Robert Stopford did was done slowly, and with all the deliberate formalities of diplomatic negotiation.

When the commodore had brought the Pacha to terms, the war was considered at an end on both sides. Napier

accordingly went on shore, and took up his quarters at the British Consulate, when he was immediately visited by the principal Consuls, resident in Alexandria. A private letter, written at the time, and published in England, thus describes his reception :—"On the 25th of November, he landed and spent his time in walking through the town in a plain coat without epaulettes, and all the inhabitants, Turk, Arab, and Christian, manifested the most intense desire to see him. On the 27th, about noon, he passed through the bazaars in the carriage of Mr Larking with a great cavalcade to be presented to the Pacha, and I perceived that most of the Orientals gave him a profound salaam. Nobody could have believed that Lord Palmerston would have entrusted such a delicate negotiation to commodore Napier, who has always been considered a *mere* fighting man, but the result shews that his lordship's prognostications in this respect have not been deceived. The town is in a perfect state of jubilee, and the old stagers say this is the merriest Bairam they ever saw."

The war being thus happily brought to a close, Napier soon after returned to England, where he was welcomed with all the cordiality due to his merit. He had the honour of an interview with his sovereign, and was raised to the rank of Knight Commander of the Bath. The inhabitants of Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, demonstrated their sense of his services, by inviting him to splendid public entertainments, at which men of all parties attended, and where political distinctions were lost in admiration of those qualities which had stamped the character of their guest with the fame of a second Nelson. On these occasions, the commodore delivered his opinions with characteristic freedom, and was rapturously applauded.

It is gratifying to the writer of this sketch to be able to add, that a still higher distinction awaited the subject of it. In June 1841, parliament having been dissolved, the commodore became once more a candidate for senatorial honours, and was successful. He is now one of the liberal representatives for Marylebone; and, we doubt not, that in politics he will exhibit the same dauntless spirit that has uniformly characterised him in war. Whatever may be the fate of parties, or the course of events, Britons may always rest assured that their rights and liberties will have at least one honest defender in the House of Commons, in the person of the gallant Sir Charles Napier

THE CHINESE WAR.

In 1839, a dispute arose between our government and that of China, regarding the seizure, at Canton, of certain property belonging to British subjects engaged in the exportation of opium, a trade which although well known to be contraband, according to Chinese law, yet was secretly encouraged by the authorities of that country. In the course of the negotiations that were consequently entered upon, for the purpose of bringing the existing differences to a termination, various acts of insult and aggression were committed by the Chinese, which necessarily led to retaliation on the part of Great Britain, and hence a series of hostilities which have been dignified by the title of the Chinese war. This is not the place to discuss the policy or impolicy of the course that has been pursued by the British government. But it is due to the character of our navy to shew, by a few brief details, that in this contest we have given new proofs to the world of our naval energy and power.

The first act of aggression, on the part of the Chinese, was an attack by a fleet of war-junks on the British frigates *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, which took place immediately after the Chinese imperial commissioner had broken off a negotiation with her Majesty's representative, captain Elliot, for a renewal of the suspended trade. Captain Elliot had proceeded on board the *Volage*, with the *Hyacinth*, to Chuenpee, to deliver a *chop* to the commissioner, when a fleet of twenty-nine war-junks sailed out, with the evident intention of surrounding the two ships, and continued to close around them, regardless of repeated warnings of the consequences, until it became necessary to fire upon them. The fire was instantly returned by the junks, and accordingly a regular engagement ensued. The result was a terrible lesson to the Chinese. In less than half an hour, five junks were sunk, another was blown up, and the remainder, many of them disabled, were obliged to crowd all sail to escape. This they were permitted to do unmolested, captain Smith of the *Volage*, having yielded to the entreaties of captain Elliot to be satisfied with the example he had made of those that were destroyed, and to suffer the fugitives to escape. The following details of this affair are from the pen of an officer on board the *Volage* during the action:—

“ Captain Smith sent a lieutenant and Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, in his boat to the admiral's junk, with a communication for the Yum Chae, in which he requested that

the edicts threatening destruction to the merchants at Hong Kong should be withdrawn, and that permission might be granted for the British community to return to the neutral port of Macao, and there remain unmolested until the intentions of the British government could be received. He said also that there was no particular haste to reply; that three days would be granted, when an answer must be furnished.

The officer and Mr. Morrison were received on board the junk, with much civility, and also entertained with tea, preserves, &c. After it was made known to the Chinese admiral what were the nature of the communications of which they were the bearers for the commissioner, and the time required for a reply, he said there was no occasion for the delay, and that one should be sent sooner. This was in the morning. After an hour or two had elapsed, a linguist and a mandarin came on board the *Volage*, bringing with them captain Smith's letter unopened, and a few words written on a shabby piece of paper, intimating that the men-of-war must sail away. While they were yet on board, the admiral had got his fleet under weigh, and in two divisions, of about twelve or fourteen junks each, they bore down upon the frigates in well-formed lines, and very steadily.

Captain Smith very naturally was much enraged at the indifference with which they had treated his letter, and at the style in which he was addressed on the scrap of paper they had sent him. He at once ordered the linguist and mandarin into their boat, and as the Chinese fleet was approaching him fast, sent word by the linguist to the admiral that if in half an hour he did not fall off and retire from the threatening manœuvres he assumed, he would fire into them. The message was disregarded, and captain Smith opened his broadside, and a scene of dreadful carnage took place; the first junk fired into blew up, fragments of her scattering about in all directions. She was full of soldiers in red uniforms, and out of some two hundred persons that must have been on board, only three were seen holding on to the fragments of the wreck, when the smoke cleared away. The *Hyacinth* had, in the meantime, contrived to get between *Chuenpee* and the junks, several of which bore up for her, apparently with the intention to run her on board. She remained quiet until they got within pistol shot, when she poured into them from both sides such volleys of grape and cannister that a shocking slaughter was the result. Several of the junks were completely disabled, and after a broadside

or two, all made sail for Anson's bay in the best manner they could. The frigates followed, and every broadside must have sent dozens of Chinese into eternity. At last Elliot, who had been begging captain Smith for God's sake to stop, prevailed upon him to make a signal to the Hyacinth to stop firing, and to haul off himself. They had now been engaged about two hours, and were bearing up for Macao, when the old admiral kept away to re-engage the Volage. Capt. Smith luffed up, not inclined to disappoint him. The junk came down before the wind, keeping up an incessant fire; when within good short distance, the Volage gave her one broadside, then kept away, leaving the junk tottering like a drunken man, and she must have soon gone down, a strong breeze blowing from the north at the time. Two hours afterwards both the vessels were at anchor in Macao-roads. Many high mandarins were on the hill at Chuenpee within sight of the engagement, and it was said his Excellency the Commissioner was one of them. On board the admiral's junk the men stood to their guns nobly, and those actually engaged are allowed to have fought very well; but when they commenced they were ignorant of the dreadful effect of a sloop of war's broadside. Only one foreign man was hurt, and he received a slight wound on the shoulder; they say, however, that the Hyacinth will require a new mizen-mast and mainyard."

Notwithstanding the above serious collision, negotiations were still carried on with a view to adjust existing differences, but at the same time hostile preparations were made on both sides, and an expedition was fitted out in India on the part of the British government. After its arrival in the Chinese seas, the first operation of this force, commanded by Sir Gordon Bremer, was an attack upon the island of Chusan, the capital of which (Tinghae) was carried on the 5th of July, after firing a single broadside, and without the loss of a man on the side of the captors. The Chinese had 25 killed, including one officer of rank. The rest of the garrison fled, and the British standard was immediately hoisted on the walls.

The negotiations were still going on, even after this important capture, and it was supposed they would soon be brought to an amicable termination. It became at last apparent, however, that the Chinese purposely procrastinated a settlement—and accordingly more decisive means were adopted on the part of the British. Preparations were therefore made, on the 9th of January, for attacking the outposts of the famous Bogue forts. About 700 sepoys,

200 European soldiers, and 400 seamen and marines, were embarked under the command of major Pratt, of her Majesty's 26th regiment, in the steamers *Enterprise*, *Nemesis*, and *Madagascar*, and landed in the vicinity of the fort of Chuenpee. At the same time her Majesty's ships, *Calliope*, *Larne*, and *Hyacinth*, opened a cannonade on the lower battery of the fort, while the steamers *Nemesis* and *Queen* threw shells into the upper tower which commanded it. The latter was soon taken possession of by the British troops, who poured down a heavy fire of musketry on all the lower works, and quickly drove the Chinese from their guns. In two hours the fort was in possession of the English, with a loss of only 3 killed and 23 wounded; that of the Chinese was estimated at from 500 to 700. Many were killed in the attempt to escape by jumping down from their embrasures, a depth of 20 feet, to the rocks below. The ships and crews escaped unhurt though the fort had 35 guns. At the same time the fort of Tycocktow was attacked by another squadron, operating about three miles to the southward, under command of captain Herbert, of the *Samarang*, supported by the *Druid*, *Modeste*, and *Columbine*. A heavy fire was opened on the fort, and promptly returned; but the Chinese guns were speedily disabled; and a party of seamen landed to seize the fort. The Chinese made a spirited resistance, but were soon overpowered, and the fort captured. The first lieutenant of the *Samarang* was wounded in the assault. The steam-vessels then attacked the fleet of junks lying in Anson's bay, but owing to the shallowness of the water, only the *Nemesis* could approach them, towing twelve armed boats of her Majesty's ships. Her first rocket set fire to the powder magazine of one junk, eighteen others were blown up by their own crews, and the rest escaped into the inner waters. Next morning her Majesty's ship *Blenheim* began to throw shells into the batteries at Wantong, and was preparing to attack the chief fort of Anunghoy, when the Chinese commander-in-chief made a communication to captain Elliot, who thereupon desisted from further hostilities. On the 20th of January, a circular was addressed by the British Plenipotentiary to her Majesty's subjects in China, announcing that preliminary arrangements between the imperial commissioner and himself had been made to the following effect:—"1. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong Kong to the British Crown. All just charges and duties to the empire upon the commerce carried on there to

be paid as if the trade were conducted at Whampoa. 2. An indemnity to the British government of 60,000,000 dollars, 1,000,000 dollars payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, ending in 1846. 3. Direct official intercourse between the countries upon an equal footing. 4. The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese New Year, and to be carried on at Whampoa till further arrangements are practicable at the new settlement. Details remain matter of negotiation."

These preliminaries to a treaty were hailed in Great Britain as happily terminating the Chinese question, and, at the same time, as opening up commercial prospects of mutual benefit to both nations. Unfortunately the Chinese commissioner, Keshen, a mandarin of the first rank, had exceeded his instructions, and when the agreement reached the Imperial head-quarters, it was instantly repudiated by the emperor. Preparations were accordingly made, on the part of the British, for the renewal of hostilities.

On the 18th of February, all the officers of the fleet were ordered to join their respective vessels, and on the 20th the expedition sailed up the river. In a few hours, the Chinese forts and batteries, destined to be attacked, were carried with a very trifling loss on the part of the assailants. Various operations took place at intervals, till the 19th of March, when captain Herbert, commanding the advanced squadron, reported to the admiral that the forts, defences, and flotilla of Canton, had all been attacked and captured, and that the union-jack had been hoisted on the walls of the British Factory at Canton; the guns of the squadron commanding all the approaches to the city from the western and southern branches of the river, and thus placing in the power of the British the great commercial capital of the empire.

Thus stood matters at the date of the last advices from China. It is earnestly to be wished that the commanding position then held by the British force may have at length brought the Imperial government not only to perceive the danger of continuing the contest, but also to a proper sense of the importance of renewing amicable relations with us, and thus at once put a stop to the calamities of war, and pave the way to extend the power, as well as increase the happiness of the people of both countries.

