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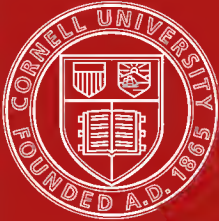
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NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

Vol. LI.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PHINEAS PETT



THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF  
PHINEAS PETT

EDITED BY  
W. G. PERRIN



PRINTED FOR THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY  
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## PREFACE



THE manuscript in which Phineas Pett has recorded the story of his life from his birth in 1570 to the end of September 1638, consisted originally of sixty-nine uniform quarto sheets, of which the 52nd is now lost, together with the bottom of the 14th. The handwriting is that of Phineas throughout, but marginal references on the first few pages and a note at the end—‘The life of Commissioner Pett’s father whose place he did enjoy’—have been added subsequently by Samuel Pepys, no doubt when he was making the transcript referred to below.

The first paragraph is written on a separate sheet, which, unlike the rest, has no writing on the back, and is followed by a series of sub-

1612

traction sums of the form 1570 giving the age

42

of Phineas for each year from 1612 to 1640. From the differences apparent in the figures and ink it is clear that these calculations were made year by year from the time that Phineas was forty-two until he reached the age of seventy.

A close inspection of the internal construction, the handwriting, and of the ink used, leads to the conclusion that the body of the manuscript,

in the form in which it has descended to us, was written up, not at short intervals, but in sections at comparatively long intervals of time. The first and largest of these, written apparently in 1612, narrates the events down to September 1610, and stops at the word 'ordered' on line 15 of page 80 below. The remainder<sup>1</sup> of that paragraph continues on a fresh sheet in a smaller handwriting and different ink, and from that point the ample margin of the earlier pages is abandoned and a small one ruled off with lead pencil. The top line of this page is also ruled, and from this page to the end of the writing the use of these pencil lines persists. The next break is in July 1611 (page 92), where Pett reiterates the statement that he was sent for by Prince Henry. Another break in the writing seems to occur in September 1613; and a very perceptible one, with change of ink, occurs in 1625 at 'All April' (page 134). The final section, as indicated by a further change of ink, begins in February 1631: 'The 23rd of February' (page 146). The various anachronisms observable in the text show that these sections were written up some considerable time after the events occurred. Thus, the references to 'Sir' John Pennington in 1627 and 1628 make it clear that the events of those years were not written up before 1634.

From the great accuracy of the dates given (which have been frequently tested from contemporary sources), it is clear that Phineas kept a diary in which events were recorded as they occurred, and from which the narrative was compiled. He appears to have commenced this diary on going to Chatham in June 1600,

<sup>1</sup> Probably rewritten when the narrative was taken up again.

when precise dates begin to replace the vague 'about,' 'toward the end,' &c., of the earlier paragraphs.

The narrative stops abruptly in 1638, apparently with the sentence unfinished, for there is no mark of punctuation after the last word. In 1640, when the final section seems to have been written, Pett was an old man, and it is probable that, having been interrupted at this point, the fast-gathering troubles of the State diverted his mind from the subject, or left him without sufficient energy or leisure to pursue it.

It will be noticed that towards the end the composition becomes more slovenly and the omission of words more frequent, as though the task had become burdensome and the author anxious to have done with it.

Pepys copied the whole of the manuscript into the first volume of his Miscellany with the following preface :

'A Journal of Phineas Pett, Esquire, Commissioner of the Navy and father to Peter Pett, late Commissioner of the same at Chatham, viz: from his birth A<sup>o</sup> 1570 to the arrival of the Royal Sovereign, by him then newly built, at her moorings at Chatham; transcribed from the original written all with his own hand and lent me to that purpose by his grandson Mr. Phineas, son to Captain Phineas Pett.'

The manuscript afterwards came into the possession of George Jackson, who was Secretary of the Navy Board in 1758 and Second Secretary of the Admiralty from 1766 to 1782. Sir George Duckett (he had changed his surname in 1797) died in 1822, and ten years later his library,

including a very valuable collection of naval manuscripts, was sold by auction. Fortunately the manuscripts were purchased by the British Museum after being bought in at the sale; the volume (No. IV) in which this manuscript was contained becoming Additional MS. 9298. A commonplace book (Additional MS. 9295) containing, among copies of various naval documents, an abbreviated version was purchased at the same time.

The copy of the autobiography most generally known is the early eighteenth-century transcript in the Harleian Collection (Harl. 6279). It is to this copy that writers usually refer, possibly because it is mentioned in the paper<sup>1</sup> published in *Archæologia* in 1796, although the garbled extracts there given are stated to have been taken 'from another copy' and seem, in fact, to have been taken from the original.<sup>2</sup> A further reason for the preference generally shown for the Harleian copy may be its more modern and more clerkly handwriting.

The Harleian transcript is not a good one. It contains few omissions, none of great importance, but mistranscriptions of individual words are very numerous and have reduced the text to nonsense in several places.<sup>3</sup> It may seem strange that writers should be content to quote passages that were evidently incorrect, without looking at another copy, which was easily to be

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. S. Denne, *Archæologia* xii. p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> The words 'and ourselves to sit with the Officers' (page 144), not in the Harleian copy, are in the printed version.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. 'Articles' for 'Arches,' p. 14; 'enemy' for 'injury,' p. 26; 'tarried' for 'arrived,' p. 25; 'Frank Moore' for 'Tranckmore,' p. 33; 'perceived' for 'protested,' p. 61; 'care' for 'ease,' p. 104; 'Warwick,' for 'Woolwich' p. 142, &c., &c.

found ; but whatever the reason may be, the fact is that hitherto the original has remained unidentified as such.

The best transcript is that made by Pepys ; but even he had difficulty in deciphering some of the words, although the handwriting of Pett is, on the whole, very clear and consistent.

In preparing this edition, the Pepysian and Harleian copies have been collated and the missing parts of the original made good by this means ; but as the numerous inversions of form and mistakes of reading in these copies have no general interest—and are of no authority in presence of the original—there is no need to specify them in detail.

Considerable licence has been taken with the punctuation of the sentences, which is entirely without system in the original, and the spelling has been modernised in accordance with the rule of the Society, but the composition has been left otherwise untouched. Where some word is necessary to complete the sense it has been added in square brackets [], and the parts now missing from the original, which have been supplied from the transcripts, have been printed in italics. The legal year in England, prior to 1752, did not commence until the 25th March, and Pett usually gives his dates by this reckoning, but in one or two instances he writes as though the year had begun on 1st January and ended on 31st December. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be stated that the dates in the Introduction, headings, and notes are given according to the Julian year, commencing on 1st January.

Pett invariably wrote and signed 'Phinees,' but it has been thought better to adhere to the spelling 'Phineas,' which appears from time to

time in documents from 1605 onwards and has been universally adopted by modern writers.

In the Introduction an attempt has been made: first, to trace the rise of the Master Shipwright as an official of the Crown and to consider his relation to the profession of shipwrights generally; secondly, to trace the origin of the Pett family and its ramifications down to the date of Phineas' death; thirdly, to throw additional light on the events narrated in the manuscript from such original sources as are accessible. In asking the indulgence of the reader towards the evident shortcomings of this attempt, the Editor would plead that most of the work has had to be carried out under great difficulties in scanty moments of leisure. Despite the generous assistance of Mr. Vincent Redstone of Woodbridge, whose extensive knowledge of Suffolk genealogy has been brought to bear on the problem, it has not been found possible to trace the Pett family to its original location, but it is hoped that sufficient has been done to render this task more easy to some future investigator.

In conclusion the Editor has to thank many friends for the help readily given, more especially Dr. Tanner, who has read the proofs and given the Introduction the benefit of his criticism, and Mr. G. E. Manwaring, of the London Library, who has rendered invaluable help in clearing up many obscure points, and he is indebted to Mrs. Scott for the loan of the MS. treatise on shipbuilding referred to in the Introduction. The Editor has also had the great advantage of discussing with Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton the technical questions raised in connexion with the Prince Royal and the Sovereign of the Seas.

*December 1918.*

W. G. P.





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## INTRODUCTION

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### 1.—*The Shipwrights.*

IT might be supposed that so ancient a craft as that of shipbuilding would have left some trace in contemporary records of its activities, the methods of its technique, and the personalities of those engaged in it. Yet although references to ships and shipping are frequent in the records of this country from the earliest times, and although the shipwright was a distinct class of workman at least as early as the tenth century—probably much earlier—no record of the methods in which he set about the design and construction of ships earlier than the end of the sixteenth century appears to have survived.

It may be presumed that those of our earlier kings who possessed a navy royal, and did not rely entirely on the support of the Cinque Ports and of the merchant shipping, would include among their servants some skilled man to perform the functions of a master shipwright, and if not to design, at any rate to look to the upkeep of the king's ships and to watch the construction in private yards of those intended for the royal service. But if the Clerk of the Ships, who first comes into notice in the reign of John, had any such subordinate, his existence

before the end of the reign of Henry V is not known to us. It is, however, possible that, on occasion, this duty was performed by the king's carpenters, whose principal function seems to have been to keep the woodwork of the royal castles in repair. In 1337 forty oaks required in the construction of a galley, then being built at Hull for Edward III under the superintendence of William de la Pole, a prominent merchant of that town, were supplied by the Prior of Blyth, who was directed to hand them over to William de Kelm (Kelham), the king's carpenter (*carpentario nostro*).<sup>1</sup> The accounts for this galley have not survived, and there is no means of ascertaining whether William de Kelm had anything to do with the actual construction. Another galley and a barge were at the same time being built at Lynn under Thomas and William de Melchburn. The accounts<sup>2</sup> show that the master carpenter (*magister carpentariorum*) of the galley was John Kech, who was paid at the rate of sixpence<sup>3</sup> a day and had under him six carpenters at fivepence a day, six 'clynckers' at fourpence, six holders at threepence, and four labourers (*servientes*) at twopence halfpenny. The master carpenter of the barge was Ralph atte Grene, who received the same rate of pay as Kech. Neither Kech nor Grene appear as the King's servants.

In 1421 the 'King's servant' John Hoggekyns, 'master carpenter of the king's ships,' was granted by letters patent a pension of fourpence a day, 'because in labouring long about them he is much shaken and deteriorated in body,'

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 27 Jan. 1337. Rymer, *Foedera*, iv. 703.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Accts.* 19/31.

<sup>3</sup> This rate was being paid in 1303.

and this grant was confirmed in December of the following year on the accession of Henry VI. In 1416-18 Hoggekyns had built the Grace Dieu, 'if not the largest, probably the best equipped ship yet built in England.'<sup>1</sup>

With the sale of most of the royal navy on the death of Henry V, the need for a 'master carpenter of the King's Ships' must have passed away, and no trace of any further appointment of this character has been found for over a century. The construction of the Regent in 1486 was entrusted by Henry VII to the Master of the Ordnance, and it seems probable that the design of the Henri Grace à Dieu, built in 1514, was the work of the Clerk of the Ships, Robert Brygandin,<sup>2</sup> although the superintendence of her building was entrusted to William Bond (or Bound), who is described in 1519 as 'late clerk of the poultry, surveyor, and payer of expenses for the construction of the Henri Grace à Dieu and the three other galleys.'<sup>3</sup>

It is not until the later years of Henry VIII's reign that steps appear to have been taken to establish in the royal service a permanent body of men skilled in the art of shipbuilding. From the earliest times of which records exist it had been the practice to send out agents to the various ports to impress the shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, and other workmen required for the construction and repair of ships of the Royal Navy. This system was no doubt satisfactory while the

<sup>1</sup> Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509-1660, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Thos. Allen, writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1516, refers to 'one Brygandin son unto him that made the King's great ship.' Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, May 12, 1519.

merchant ship and the royal ship presented no essential points of difference; the latter were, indeed, often let out to hire for mercantile purposes. But when the ship-of-war began to carry a larger number of guns than the trading ship found necessary for her protection—a change that may be roughly dated from the end of the fifteenth century—the methods of construction began to diverge, and the old system of casual impressment must have tended to become less and less satisfactory; so that when Henry, after remodelling the material of the Navy, turned, at the end of his reign, to the improvement of the Administration he no doubt saw the necessity of attracting permanently to his service men capable of directing the art of shipbuilding, as applied to ships of war, in the new channels in which it was henceforth destined to run.

Up to this point, the position of the shipwright—even of the Master Shipwright—was not an exalted one. He was classed among ‘servants’ and ‘artificers,’ and his pay was made the subject of legislation expressly designed to keep the wages of those classes as low as possible. In ‘*Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII, 1485–8 and 1495–7*,’ Mr. Oppenheim has edited material which illustrates the various rates paid to shipwrights, and has pointed out that these rates of pay ‘had remained practically unaltered since the days of Henry V.’ An Act of Parliament of 1495<sup>1</sup> laid down the following scale of payments:—

<sup>1</sup> ‘An Act for Servants’ Wages,’ 11 Henry VII, c. 22.

*From Candlemas to Michaelmas.*

	With meat and drink, a day	Without meat and drink, a day
Master Ship Carpenter with charge of work and men under him . . . . .	5 <i>d.</i>	7 <i>d.</i>
Other Ship Carpenter called a Hewer . . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
An able Clincher . . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
Holder . . . . .	2 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
Master Caulker . . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
A mean Caulker . . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
Caulker labouring by the tide, for as long as he may labour above water and beneath water, shall not exceed for every tide . . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>	—

*From Michaelmas to Candlemas.*

Master Shipwright . . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Hewer . . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
Able Clincher . . . . .	2½ <i>d.</i>	4½ <i>d.</i>
Holder . . . . .	1½ <i>d.</i>	3 <i>d.</i>
Master Caulker . . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
A mean Caulker . . . . .	2½ <i>d.</i>	4½ <i>d.</i>

This Act was repealed in 1496, but the same scale was fixed in 1514 by an Act<sup>1</sup> that was not repealed until 1562.

It will be observed that the highest rate under these Acts is sevenpence a day, although in several instances in the accounts<sup>2</sup> referred to

<sup>1</sup> An Act concerning Artificers and Labourers, 6 Henry VIII c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 153, 179, 232-3.

above a Master Shipwright was paid eightpence a day.

When Henry VIII instituted<sup>1</sup> the practice of granting by letters patent an annuity for life to certain shipwrights performing the duties of the office known later as 'the Master Shipwright,' he fixed the daily rate upon the basis set forth above, but it must be borne in mind that (as will be shown later) this did not represent the total emoluments of that official, who was in effect raised, both as to emoluments and status, above the class in which he had formerly been placed.

The first of the succession of officials thus established by Henry appears to have been James Baker, who by letters patent<sup>2</sup> dated the 20th May 1538 was granted, as from Michaelmas 1537, an annuity for life of fourpence a day, the lowest rate of a Master Shipwright, or Master Ship Carpenter as he was alternatively called by the Acts referred to. The entry in the Roll is of some interest; unlike the later grants, this grant is not based upon past services, but solely upon services which are to be rendered in the future,<sup>3</sup> and the authority for the letters patent is not the usual writ of privy seal, but the direct motion of the King: 'per ipsum Regem.' In December 1544 new letters patent were issued,<sup>4</sup> in which Baker is described as a 'Shipwright' and the annuity (*annuitatem sive annualem redditum*) fixed at eightpence a day. In January

<sup>1</sup> Henry V had merely given a pension for past service to a shipwright incapable of further labours.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll 680.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ac in consideratione veri et fidelis servicii quod dilectus serviens noster Jacobus Baker durante vita sua impendere intendit.'

<sup>4</sup> Pat. Roll 704.



of the same year, Peter Pett, 'Shipwright,' had by letters patent been granted a wage and fee (*vadium et feodum*) of sixpence a day for life, as from Michaelmas 1543, 'in consideration of his good and faithful service done and to be done'; from which it appears that Peter Pett was already in the royal service. It is probable that the increase in Baker's annuity was intended to mark his superior position in relation to Pett.

The official title of 'master shipwright' does not appear as yet in use, for when Baker and other shipwrights were, in the next year, sent by the Council, at the request of the Lord Admiral, to Portsmouth to examine into the decay of one of the ships there, they were simply described as 'Masters James Baker and others skilful in ships.'<sup>1</sup> In addition to Baker and Pett, these included John Smyth, Robert Holborn, and Richard Bull. On the 23rd April 1548 these three latter, under the designation of 'Shipwrights,' together with Richard Osborn, anchor-smith, 'had by bill signed by the King's Majesty each of them 4*d.* per diem in consideration of their long and good service and that they should instruct others in their feats.'<sup>2</sup> Smyth and Holborn were hardly in the same category as Baker and Peter Pett. They seem to have been skilled mechanics rather than constructors or designers, and are not mentioned as having 'built' a ship, though this is perhaps due to the scantiness of the surviving records; but the fact that the formality of letters patent was dispensed with in connexion with this grant is significant. Bull was, however, in May 1550 granted 12*d.* a day from Midsummer 1549 by letters

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the P.C.*, New Series, i. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. p. 186.

patent in the usual terms,<sup>1</sup> and since Peter Pett was not granted this higher rate until April 1558,<sup>2</sup> in the last year of Mary's reign, it would seem as though Bull's services were rated by Edward VI more highly than Pett's. James Baker does not seem to have long survived Henry VIII: Probably he died in 1549, and Bull received Baker's annuity, since it is not likely that an additional annuity would be created for Bull at that time, and there is no mention of any reversion in Bull's patent.

Little is known of Bull<sup>3</sup> or of another master shipwright 'William Stephins'<sup>4</sup> who is mentioned in 1553 and 1558. The latter may have been the ancestor of the Stevens<sup>5</sup> who built the *Warspite* in 1596, and contested the place of Master Shipwright with Phineas.

In 1572 Mathew Baker, son of James, succeeded to Bull's annuity. The letters patent<sup>6</sup> by which the grant was made are different in form from those above referred to, for Baker is first granted the office of Master Shipwright<sup>7</sup> with all profits and emoluments pertaining to it, which he is

<sup>1</sup> Pat. Roll 833. I cannot trace in the rolls any similar grant to Holborn or Smyth.

<sup>2</sup> Pat. Roll, 921.

<sup>3</sup> He may be the Richard Bull who was called before the Council in 1555. *Acts of the P.C.*, v. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Stephins was engaged on the repair of the *Lion* barge in 1553, and was paid 20*l.* as 'the Queen's Majesty's Shipwright' for making the *Leader* barge in 1558. *Acts of the P.C.*, iv. 362, and vi. 426.

<sup>5</sup> The difference in the spelling is no argument against this, as 'ph' and 'v' are used indifferently in the documents in this surname, Stevens' name being spelt 'Stevyns' and 'Stevins' and 'Stephens' in the rolls.

<sup>6</sup> Pat. Roll 1091.

<sup>7</sup> *Officium Naupegiarii sive unius magistrorum factorum Navium et Cimbarum nostrarum.*

to hold in as ample a mode and form as 'a certain Richard Bull, deceased,' or any other, had held such office, and then, for the exercise of this office, he is granted the usual annuity of 12*d.* a day for life, as from Lady Day 1572.

In January 1584 Baker attended personally at the Exchequer and of his free will surrendered this grant in exchange for one in similar form<sup>1</sup> made out to himself and John Addey<sup>2</sup> with reversion to the longer liver. The reasons why Baker thus formally adopted Addey as his successor do not appear. However, Baker outlived him, dying in 1613, whereas Addey died in 1606 at Deptford, where he was then the Master Shipwright.

In July 1582 Peter Pett had appeared at the Exchequer and surrendered his patent of 1558, receiving in exchange a joint patent,<sup>3</sup> in similar terms, for himself and his eldest son, William, who was already in the royal service as a shipwright,<sup>4</sup> with reversion to the longer liver. William, however, died in 1587, two years before his father, so that the annuity never reverted to him. In his will he describes himself as one of her Majesty's Master Shipwrights,

<sup>1</sup> Pat. Roll 1249. The entry in Pat. Roll 1091 is vacated with an endorsement in the margin, signed by Mathew Baker and William Borough to the effect that the surrender was voluntary and in consideration of the grant to Baker and Addey.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes spelt Adye, Adie, or Ady.

<sup>3</sup> Pat. Roll 1210. No office is mentioned; all that is conveyed is the 'annuity or annual fee of 12*d.* sterling a day.'

<sup>4</sup> *Nec non in consideratione boni et fidelis servicii per præfatum Willelmum Pett Shipwright antehac impensi ac imposterum impendendi in fabricatione navium nostrarum heredum et successorum nostrorum ac in assistencia sua in causis nostris marinis.*

and from the reference to him in the patent above referred to it seems probable that he held the office in 1584.

In 1587 Richard Chapman received a grant<sup>1</sup> of the office of 'Naupegiarius,' which was to be held on similar terms (*modo et forma*) to those in which Peter Pett and Mathew Baker or any other held like office, but the annuity granted with it was 20*d.* a day, and not the usual 12*d.* Apparently this was an additional post created especially for Chapman, and the 20*d.* indicates the rise that had by that time taken place in the shipwrights' rates of pay.

In July 1590 Joseph Pett was granted 12*d.* a day as from Midsummer.<sup>2</sup> Presumably this was the annuity that had reverted to the Exchequer on the death of his father in 1589, his brother William, who had held the reversion of it, being already dead; but the patent contains no reference to this, the grant being based upon 'his good and faithful service done and to be done in building our ships.' Unlike those issued to Mathew Baker and Chapman, this patent contains no reference to office and is in the earlier form. Phineas (see p. 4) dates Joseph's succession to his father's place as Master Shipwright in 1592, but this is evidently incorrect.

In April 1592 Chapman died<sup>3</sup> at Deptford, and William Bright, one of the Assistant Master

<sup>1</sup> Pat. Roll 1300. In a MS. account of the 'ordinary wages and exchequer fees of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights' (Add. MS. 9299 f. 48) it is stated that this had been given in recompense for building the *Ark Royal*, but as this ship appears to have been originally built for Raleigh this can hardly have been the reason. The patent only speaks of 'good and faithful service done and to be done.'

<sup>2</sup> Pat. Roll 1342.

<sup>3</sup> Drake's edition of Hasted, *History of Kent*, p. 41.

Shipwrights, succeeded to his post and annuity of 20*d.*<sup>1</sup> In July 1603 Edward Stevens, who was a private shipbuilder of some importance,<sup>2</sup> obtained a grant by letters patent<sup>3</sup> in terms that differ from those hitherto noticed. In consideration of service to be rendered in the future (*post-hac*), he is granted an office of Master Shipwright for life—which office he is to have and exercise directly one becomes vacant, in as ample a manner as Mathew Baker, William Bright and Joseph Pett or any other had held it—together with an annuity of 20*d.* a day for his services. Finally the patent concludes by declaring that no one else shall be admitted to such an office until after Stevens has been duly appointed and installed. This was the patent that gave Phineas such 'great discouragement' (p. 20). It is drawn up in due form, and it is difficult to understand on what grounds it can legally have been set aside. The patent<sup>4</sup> granted to Phineas in 1604 did not revoke it, it was not recalled, and it would appear that it was in virtue of this same patent that Stevens was finally admitted as Master Shipwright in 1613. However, Phineas, by the all-powerful influence of the Lord High Admiral, managed to get it set aside in his favour on the death of his brother Joseph in 1605, 'by reason the fee was mistaken wherein his Majesty was abused and charged with an innovation.'<sup>5</sup> The 'innovation' was evidently the grant of a

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.* 9299. I have not been able to find his patent.

<sup>2</sup> He built the *Warspite* in 1596 and the *Malice Scourge* for the Earl of Cumberland, and in 1598 and 1600 received, in conjunction with others, the usual 'rewards' for building merchant ships (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 30 July 1596, 24 Sept. 1598, 15 Jan. 1600).

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Roll.* 1620.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix I, p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, p. 27.

'general reversion.' It would have been interesting to see the arguments laid before the Council by Stevens when, as Phineas tells us, he contested the decision, but unfortunately all the Council Registers from 1603 to 1613 perished in the fire at Whitehall in 1618. There is little wonder that Stevens (who was an older man and had, one would imagine, superior claims) bore a grudge against Pett. Stevens appears to have been appointed as Master Shipwright in the vacancy caused by the death of Baker in 1613. In 1614 he was Master Shipwright at Portsmouth, and was in 1621 serving with Phineas as his 'fellow' Master Shipwright at Chatham, where he died, being succeeded by Henry Goddard in 1626.

On 26th April 1604 Phineas, by the assistance of the Lord High Admiral, obtained the grant by letters patent of two chances of the reversion of an annuity of 12*d.* a day, either that of Baker-Addey or that of his brother Joseph. His brother was the first to die, and at the end of the following year Phineas succeeded to the annuity that had been in the hands of the Petts since 1544.

It is of interest to note that the patent was not of itself sufficient to enable the patentee to enter into the office of Master Shipwright; the Lord High Admiral's warrant was also necessary. A specimen of such a warrant has been preserved in the State Papers<sup>1</sup> in the case of Goddard, who succeeded Stevens in 1626, having held a reversion by patent since 1620, and runs as follows:—

Whereas we have received certain knowledge of the death of Edward Stevens late one of his

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<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom. Chas. I.*, xxxv. 104. Although countersigned by Coke, this warrant is not signed by the Lord High Admiral, so presumably it is a duplicate.

Majesty's Master Shipwrights and the necessity and importance of his Majesty's Service requireth another man to be presently entered in his place. And forasmuch as the bearer hereof Henry Goddard is authorised by his Majesty's letters patents to execute the next place of a Master Shipwright that should become void by death or otherwise. And in regard we have had good experience of the sufficiency and honesty of the said Henry Goddard and that the said place of one of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights is granted to him by his Majesty's letters patents under the great seal of England. These are therefore to will and require you to cause the said Henry Goddard to be entered one of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights with such allowances as is usual.

Hereof we require you not to fail. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant.

Dated the 16 of September 1626.

J. COKE.

To our very loving friend Peter Buck, Esq., Clerk of his Majesty's Check at Chatham or his deputy.

The Lord High Admiral's records have long since disappeared, and in the State Papers for the period with which we are concerned very few documents remain of the bulk of naval records that must once have existed. This one is therefore of considerable interest on account of the light which it throws upon the very independent position of the Lord High Admiral in relation to the Crown : it may be doubted whether any other great officer of State was in a position of such authority that he could presume to ratify a grant that had already passed the Great Seal.

At the time when Phineas became a Master Shipwright, the ordinary wages of the post, paid by the Treasurer of the Navy, were 2s. a day ; to this was added the Exchequer fee or annuity

of 12*d.* (or in the case of Bright 20*d.*) a day. Besides these Mathew Baker received a pension from the Exchequer of £40 a year granted by writ of Privy Seal, said to be 'in recompense of his service after the building of the *Mer-honour*'; a concession that at a later period<sup>1</sup> was extended to Phineas. Thus, at that period, the total yearly emoluments of Mathew Baker were £94, 15*s.*; of Bright £66, 18*s.* 4*d.*; and of Phineas Pett £54, 15*s.*; while the East India Company paid Burrell, their Master Shipwright, £200. After making allowance for the difference in the value of money at the beginning of the seventeenth century and its present (or rather pre-war) value,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that these were inadequate emoluments for so important a post, and it is not surprising that many of the Master Shipwrights kept private shipbuilding yards,<sup>3</sup> while all added to their income at the expense of the Crown in ways that were very irregular and constantly gave rise to scandal. Probably none was more adept in this art than Phineas himself.

In addition to the Master Shipwrights receiving an additional allowance from the Exchequer under letters patent, who seem to have been known as the 'principal' Master Shipwrights, there were others who, although they were never fortunate enough to succeed to an Exchequer annuity, performed the duties of the post, to which, ap-

<sup>1</sup> 11 July 1614. He does not mention this in the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Probably these amounts should be multiplied by 6.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in November 1591, whilst holding office as Master Shipwright, Chapman, who owned a private yard at Deptford, was paid the bounty of 5*s.* a ton for building the *Dainty* of London of 200 tons, 'as an encouragement to him and others to build like ships,' and Phineas was paid the like bounty for building the *Resistance*. (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*)



parently, they were admitted by warrant from the Lord High Admiral before their reversions under letters patent fell due. In this category were William Pett and Addey.

The relationship between the royal shipwrights and the commercial shipbuilders was at all times very close. Not only did the former engage freely in commercial business, but they joined the latter in attempting to regulate the shipbuilding industry of the country. An undated petition of both classes of shipwrights for incorporation occurs among the State Papers of 1578.<sup>1</sup> No answer seems to have been given to it, but as there is a 'brief' of a patent for shipwrights dated 1592 mentioned in the calendar of Salisbury MSS.,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that the proposal subsequently received consideration, although the matter did not come to fruition until thirteen years later.

All record of the steps that preceded the grant of the Charter of 1605<sup>3</sup> appears to be lost. It is not probable that the aged Nottingham would have moved in the matter without strong pressure from below, and we can only surmise that the officers of the company thereby incorporated were the prime movers in the agitation which led to its being granted.

It will be observed that the petition of 1578 is based upon the alleged need for regulating the pay, discipline, and training of the ordinary shipwrights, now increasing rapidly in number with the increase of the mercantile marine. The arguments for granting the Charter of 1605, as set forth in the preamble, are two : first, that

<sup>1</sup> Appendix II, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Salisbury MSS. (Hist. MSS.)*, i. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix III, p. 176.

all ships, both royal and merchant, were built neither strongly nor well; secondly, that many of the shipwrights were not sufficiently skilful. The remedy proposed for this state of affairs was the formation of a corporation or trade union, of which all persons engaged in shipbuilding in England and Wales were to be compelled to become members. The government of the corporation—and therefore of the whole shipbuilding industry of the country—was placed in the hands of a Master, four Wardens, and twelve Assistants. Baker, as the most noted shipbuilder of the period, was rightly made the Master; the wardenships were divided between the remaining two master-shipwrights and two of the most prominent private shipbuilders; the twelve assistantships were divided as follows: Phineas Pett, Addey, and Apslyn, from the royal dockyards; four shipbuilders of the neighbourhood of London; and one each from Woodbridge, Ipswich, Bristol, Southampton, and Yarmouth. The omission of any representative from Hull or Newcastle is noteworthy.

No record remains to show what effect this charter had; probably very little, if one may judge from the absence of any record of complaints against it, although the documentary remains of the first ten years of James I's reign are so very scanty that no great reliance can be placed upon this argument.

In 1612 another charter<sup>1</sup> was sealed. The necessity for this was based on the ground of the insufficiency of the powers granted by the former charter, and no pains were spared to remedy this, so far as words could do so. The Charter of 1605 extends over five and a half membranes

<sup>1</sup> Appendix IV, §p. 179.

of the Patent Roll, each membrane about 30 inches long and containing 90 lines of writing. The Charter of 1612 was a portentous document; its enrolment extends from membrane 16(2) to membrane 37 and contains about 15,600 words. No possible loophole was left for any verbal quibble or evasion on the part of those who might desire to escape from its jurisdiction; the 'all and every person and persons being shipwrights or carpenters using the art or mystery of ship-building and making ships' of the earlier charter—sufficiently explicit, one would have thought—becomes 'all and every person and persons being shipwrights, caulkers or ship-carpenters, or in any sort using, exercising, practising, or professing the art, trade, skill or mystery of building, making, trimming, dressing, graving, launching, winding, drawing, stocking, or repairing of ships, carvels, hoys, pinnaces, crayers, ketches, lighters, boats, barges, wherries, or any other vessel or vessels whatsoever used for navigation, fishing, or transportation,' and to this is added another long clause covering accessories made of wood, from masts downward. The other clauses of the earlier charter are also expanded with the like object, and there are several new ones. Deputies were to be appointed in 'every convenient and needful place' to see that the ordinances of the Corporation were properly carried out, and to collect dues; members might be admitted who were not shipwrights; the admission of apprentices was regulated; dues were to be received on account of all ships built; the secrets of the art were to be kept from foreigners; power was given to punish those who forsook their work or became mutinous; the Corporation was granted the reversion of the post of Surveyor of Tonnage

of new-built ships, and was to examine each new ship to see that it was properly built 'with two orlops at convenient distances, strong to carry ordnance aloft and alow, with her forcastle and half deck close for fight'; provision was to be made for the poor; and finally, no doubt on account of the extended powers granted, the ancient liberties of the Cinque Ports were expressly reserved to them.

The provision for the armament of the merchant ships is of especial interest when it is remembered that in this year the Royal Navy reached the low water mark of neglect and inefficiency, while piracy in British waters reached a high water mark of efficiency that promised the speedy extinction of the peaceful trader.

But if the general trend of the new charter was the enlargement and consolidation of the powers of the Corporation, there is one significant change that led in the opposite direction: the 'Shipwrights of England' became the 'Shipwrights of Redrith<sup>1</sup> in the County of Surrey,' a step so retrograde that it is difficult to imagine what possible argument could have been adduced to justify such a change: some reason, no doubt, there was, but owing to the loss of the records it has not been possible to discover it.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that, although the master under the new charter was a government official, the wardens, reduced to three in number, were all private shipbuilders, and only three of the sixteen assistants were in the service of the State.

In the year following the grant of the enlarged charter, the legal position of the Corporation was

<sup>1</sup> Rotherhithe, where their Hall was situated.

<sup>2</sup> Probably it was due to the growing resistance of the City Company of Free Shipwrights.

further strengthened by the issue of an Order in Council authorising the Master and Wardens to apprehend all persons using the art of shipbuilding contrary to the Charter, and all apprentices or journeymen departing unlawfully from their masters;<sup>1</sup> and by an order of the Lord High Admiral directing the apprehension of all persons who refused to conform to the regulations, and their imprisonment until they complied—'they being chiefly poor men and unable to pay a fine.'<sup>2</sup>

The fact that it was necessary to recapitulate two of the penal clauses of the charter throws light on the uncertain scope—possibly the illegality—of the powers intended to be conferred by it. The active life of the Corporation was one long struggle to enforce its powers and secure its rights, not only against private individuals or rival bodies, but even against the Officers of the Crown, who might well have been expected to respect the provisions of its charter. For the resistance to the Corporation did not come from 'poor men' alone. The other associated bodies of shipwrights that were in being resented interference in their own localities. The most important of these was the London Civic Company, known as the Company or Brotherhood of Free Shipwrights of London, which had been in existence as a 'trade craft' or 'guild' from an early date. It is mentioned among the Civic Companies in 1428,<sup>3</sup> and was in 1456 erected into a 'fraternity in the worship

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 12 July 1613.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 Oct. 1613.

<sup>3</sup> See Sharpe, *Short Account of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights*. This author has made the mistake of assuming that the Charter of 1605 was granted to the City Company.

of St. Simon and St. Jude,' and in 1483 regulations were made by it relating to apprenticeship and use of good material and workmanship.

This company held a very obscure position among the minor companies<sup>1</sup> of the City, and during the period in which its activities concern us it seems to have been in a very low financial condition. This, however, did not deter it from contesting the jurisdiction of the Corporation (or 'foreign' shipwrights, as it termed them, despite the fact that, owing to the growth of London, it had itself long left the boundaries of the City's Liberties, and now had its headquarters near Ratcliff Cross), and the City, not unnaturally jealous of its own special privileges, supported the opposition.

At first the efforts of the free shipwrights of the City to dispute the authority of the Corporation were unsuccessful. An attempt made in 1632 ended in the submission of the two citizens who had been put up to contest the matter, and their 'promise to be obedient to the Shipwrights of Rotherhithe, saving the freedom of the City of London';<sup>2</sup> a submission brought about by the fact that they were members of both companies, although they had endeavoured to deny that they were members of the Incorporated Company of Rotherhithe.<sup>3</sup>

A further attempt in 1637, however, by two other free shipwrights, backed again by the City Corporation, was more successful. The case was

<sup>1</sup> It is not even mentioned in Stowe's list of sixty companies attending the Lord Mayor's Banquet in 1531.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 4 Feb. 1632.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 June 1631. I am indebted to Mr. E. A. Ebblewhite for drawing my attention to the significance of this fact.

referred to Sir Henry Marten, the Judge of the Admiralty, who reported to the Admiralty that 'these London Shipwrights, being supported by the countenance of the City, will by no means agree to come under the King's Charter and government, and to that purpose are resolved to oppose themselves by further proceedings at law.'<sup>1</sup> The case was referred back to him by the Admiralty with the remark that 'You have long been acquainted with the said business and know of what importance it is to have the shipwrights kept under government, which was the ground of the grant made to the Company at Rotherhithe.'<sup>2</sup> Marten finally advised the Admiralty not to grant their request, 'it being a business so much importing the general good of the kingdom that all shipwrights should live under a uniform government, as now regulated by the King's charter,'<sup>3</sup> and the two recalcitrants were committed to the Marshalsea, where they made their submission. Nevertheless, in Oct. 1638 the matter was again brought up, coming before the newly appointed Lord High Admiral upon a petition from the City Company, and by an Order in Council of March 1639 that Company was exempted from the jurisdiction of the 'New Corporation of the Suburbs,' although, in view of the fact that 'the said Corporation of shipwrights is of so great importance for the defence of the Kingdom and is dispersed not in the suburbs only but over the whole Kingdom of England,' it was declared 'that this exception . . . ought to be no encouragement to any other Society or Trade or particular persons to withdraw their obedience to the said new Corporation

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 30 June 1637.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 July 1637.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 July 1637.

or to make suit for the like exemption, which in no sort will be granted.'<sup>1</sup>

The City had won; fine words, whether in a Royal Charter or an Order in Council, were of little use without the consistent support of the authorities, and this the unfortunate Corporation never received. The attempt of the Ipswich Shipwrights in 1621 to secure its dissolution failed, but upon the motion of their member against the 'Patent of the Ship-carpenters who impose exceedingly upon builders of ships,' the House of Commons ordered that the Corporation should not demand or receive any more money by virtue of their patent until it had been brought to the Committee of Grievances and further order been taken therein by the House.<sup>2</sup>

Less drastic attacks on the privileges of the Company frequently succeeded. The exemption from 'land service' was ignored by the Earl Marshal and the Lord Admiral in 1628. In 1631 the King's Bench indirectly curtailed its powers by prohibiting the Lord High Admiral from proceeding in matters relating to freight, wages, and the building of ships; and two years later prohibited the Company from using its powers of arresting ships, thereby preventing the Company from getting 'their suits decided in a speedy way in the Court of Admiralty' and compelling them to 'contend with the master, who, proving poor and litigious, all that the (Company) can get, after long suit, is but the imprisonment of his body.'<sup>3</sup> The East Country merchants also opposed its trading privileges, and in 1634 the Company found it necessary to appeal to the Admiralty

<sup>1</sup> *Council Register*, No. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons Journal*, i. 563.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* January 21, 1633.



for assistance in carrying out its powers in regard to the search and survey of ships, and the regulation of apprentices. In 1635, when Peter Pett was Master, the difficulties of collecting the dues of the shipwrights and the 'tonnage and poundage' granted for the support of the Corporation and its poor, became more acute than ever. After much argument and reference to Sir Henry Marten, the Master, Wardens and Assistants were told, in 1638, 'to cause their charters to be published and put in execution,' while the 'Vice-Admirals, Mayors and other Officers' were charged to assist them. In 1641 the right of freedom from impressment and from attendance on juries was again in question, and although the decision of the Lord Admiral was then favourable the troubles of the Company still continued, for in January 1642 they were petitioning the Commons for relief.

In March 1645 an Ordinance to protect the Shipwrights from impressment for land service 'on account of the importance of their trade and the decrease of qualified workmen,' was presented to the Lords by Warwick, the Lord High Admiral, and was approved by them and passed on to the Commons for concurrence, but it does not appear to have been read.<sup>1</sup>

In August of the following year, Warwick again reported from the Committee of the Admiralty to the Lords a 'Report and Ordinance concerning the better building of ships and granting privileges to the Shipwrights and Caulkers to be freed from Land Service,' elsewhere described as an 'Ordinance for the better regulation of the Mystery and Corporation of Shipwrights.' This

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journal*, vii. 286. *Hist. MSS.*, Sixth Report, p. 51.

was agreed to and sent to the Commons, who read it a first time and ordered it to be read a second time 'on Thursday next come Sevensight,' and then dropped it.

In the meantime the Clerk and other officials of the Company, whose pay was much in arrear, were petitioning the House to take such action with the Company as would force it to meet their claims, while the Master and Wardens were complaining of individual refusals to pay assessments due to the Company.<sup>1</sup> This state of affairs was still in evidence in 1648, when Edward Keling, the Clerk, and the existing and late Beadles of the Company, petitioned the Lords for relief, and asked 'that the public instruments entrusted to Keling may be disposed of and he be indemnified for them.' The statement of the Wardens annexed thereto<sup>2</sup> explains the situation as follows :  
The Wardens had

consented to pay the established duties of the Corporation as directed by Order of the House, but Peter Pett and other principal members, and great dealers in that mystery, withhold and refuse to pay the duties for support of the Corporation, and so the Wardens have not the means to pay the salaries of their officers, or their house rent, to relieve the poor, to make their due surveys upon ships, or to pursue an ordinance for settlement of their government which passed the House of Peers eighteen months ago, and now remains in the House of Commons.

In June 1650 the difficulties of the Company were evidently still unrelieved, for a petition from them, together with their Charter, was referred by the Council of State to the Committee

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journals*, viii. 232, 286 ; x. 403.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS.*, Seventh Report, p. 40.

of the Admiralty, who were to advise with the Admiralty Judges on the matter. The result of this does not appear, but it seems probable that the Corporation shortly after ceased to exercise its functions, for a petition to the Navy Commissioners in 1672 (which shows the same old difficulties still unremedied) refers to 'the discontinuance of the exercise of this Charter in the late troublesome times.'<sup>1</sup>

During the earlier years of its activity the Corporation played a part of some importance in the administration of the Navy. It surveyed and reported upon the workmanship and tonnage of ships built in the royal yards, and gave advice concerning their defects—thus acting to some extent as a check upon the master shipwrights—and notices of the sale of unserviceable ships were given out at Shipwrights' Hall as well as on the Exchange. In one instance<sup>2</sup> it was called upon to submit a scheme 'for the mould of a ship like to prove swiftest of sail and every way best fashioned for a ship of war,' but this attempt to erect it into a board of design seems to have failed completely.

In 1683 the Corporation attempted to set its affairs on a more satisfactory basis by obtaining a new charter, surrendering the charter of 1612 in October 1684<sup>3</sup> and obtaining in January 1686 a warrant from James II. to renew it with additions. This was opposed by its old enemies, and nothing seems to have come of it, although the matter was under discussion until 1688, and the Masters of Trinity House in 1687, in a report

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 25 July 1672.

<sup>2</sup> By the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of the Navy. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 22 Feb. 1627.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian, *Rawlinson MSS.* A 177.

to Pepys, had recommended that there should be but one Company of Shipwrights, and that all of that trade in England should be under their rule and government. The Corporation appears then to have become practically extinct, for in a report by the Navy Office, in 1690, on the method of measuring ships reference is made to the 'measurement and calculations . . . formerly taken and made by the Corporation of shipwrights (when there was such a company).'<sup>1</sup>

In 1691<sup>2</sup> and 1704 the remnants of the Corporation made a final attempt at reconstruction, backed by the Admiralty, Navy Board, and Trinity House. A petition to this end came before the House of Commons in January 1705, and is recorded in the Journal<sup>3</sup> of the House in the following terms :

A Petition of the Master Shipwrights (who signed the same) in behalf of themselves and others, Master Shipwrights of England, was presented to the House and read ; setting forth that the petitioners' predecessors were incorporated by charter in 1605, and were thereby empowered to rectify the disorders and abuses of the Shipwrights' Trade, and to furnish the Crown and Merchants with able workmen, and to bind and enrol their apprentices ; but the breed of able workmen is almost lost, and for want of sufficient power to execute the good intent of their charter, the petitioners have not been in a regular method many years past to rectify the disorders amongst the shipwrights and to improve their trade ; yet a Proposal of some additional heads to effect the same has been approved, and reported by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Commissioners of the Navy, Corporation of Trinity House ; and also his Royal Highness,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 21 Aug. 1690. .

<sup>2</sup> See Sutherland, *Britain's Glory, or Shipbuilding Unvail'd*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xiv. p. 482.

<sup>4</sup> Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral.

the 7th Nov. 1704, declares his opinion that it will be much for the public service to have the shipwrights incorporated by Charter, as desired by them; but in the said proposal there are some necessary clauses which cannot be made practicable and effectual without an Act of Parliament: and praying that leave be given to bring in a Bill, of regulating clauses, to be inserted in a new charter for the better breeding of Shipwrights and for the more firm and well building of ships and other vessels.

The motion to refer it to a Committee was lost, and thus went out the last spark of life of a Corporation that had struggled in vain for a hundred years to carry out the intentions of its founders.

## 2.—*The Family of Pett.*

WHEN Thomas Heywood, in his description of the Sovereign of the Seas written in 1637, referred to the author of this manuscript as 'Captain Phineas Pett, overseer of the work, and one of the principal officers of his Majesty's navy, whose ancestors, as father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, have continued in the same name officers and architects in the Royal Navy,' he was, it may be presumed; recording the local tradition of the Pett family. That this tradition was strong and persistent is clear from the fact that Mansell, writing to Thomas Aylesbury<sup>1</sup> in 1620 to propose Peter Pett as builder of the new pinnaces; recommended him on the ground that 'his family have had the employment since Henry the Seventh's time,' while forty years later, Fuller, in his 'Worthies of England,' also referred to it in these words: 'I am credibly informed that that Mystery of Shipwrights for some descents hath been preserved successfully in Families, of whom the Petts about Chatham are of singular regard.'

This tradition, so far as it relates to the descent of the 'mystery' from generation to generation, was no doubt well founded, but there is no evidence that office under the Crown was held by any of Phineas Pett's ancestors earlier than his father, Peter.

The name 'Pett' is said by a modern writer

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian. *Clarendon State Papers*, No. 166.

on the history of English surnames to be a Kentish variant of the name 'Pitt.' This would imply a Kentish origin of the family, and this supposition might seem to be strengthened by the fact that the name, as a place-name, only occurs in Kent and on the eastern border of Sussex.<sup>1</sup>

The fact is, however, that 'pet' is simply a Middle-English variant of the familiar word 'pit,' kin to the old Frisian 'pet,' and is found in use throughout the east coast counties from Sussex to Yorkshire, but more frequently in the South than in the North. In the 13th and 14th centuries this surname occurs in the form 'atte Pet' or 'del Pet'; i.e. 'at the pit' or 'of the pit,'<sup>2</sup> which indicates clearly that the bearers had, on the introduction of the hereditary surname from the 12th century onward, taken the name 'Pet'—or had it thrust upon them—because they were known as living near to a pit, and were thereby distinguished from other Walters or Adams dwelling on the heath or by the wood etc. etc. A study of the local distribution of this name in the 14th century shows that the pit in question, though it may occasionally have been a well, a sawpit, or a pitfall for wild beasts, was more usually a place where, owing to the absence of stone from the district, clay or loam had been dug in forming the walls of the rude cottages in which all but the upper strata of society then dwelt. Thus one great centre of the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Pett Place near Charing; Pett near Stockbury; Pett Street near Wye and Pett village near Winchelsea.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Geoffrey del Pet, 1270, see Rye, *Cal. of Feet of Fines for Suffolk*. 'Walter de le Pet' (of Wattisfield), see Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred in the year 1283*; 'Adam atte Pet' (of Stonham Aspul), 'William del Pet' (of Wattisfield), see Hervey, *Suffolk in 1327*; 'Peter atte Pette of Shorn' (Kent) in *Close Roll 1344*.

Petts in Suffolk in the 13th and 14th centuries, the district between Thetford and Eye, is a heavy clayland from which stone is absent.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the 16th century this name, in the form 'Pet,' 'Pett,' and 'Pette' was common in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and South Norfolk.

In 1583, Peter Pett, then Master Shipwright at Deptford, obtained a grant of arms from Herald's College. The original has unfortunately disappeared, but from the reference to it in Le Neve's 'Pedigree of the Knights'<sup>2</sup> it appears that he claimed descent from 'Thomas Pett of Skipton in Cumberland' through John Pett his grandfather and Peter Pett his father, who had been a shipbuilder at Harwich. The fact that there is no Skipton in Cumberland shows that this record is hardly reliable as regards the place of origin of the family. Neither of the existing Skiptons,<sup>3</sup> which are both in Yorkshire, remote from the sea, is likely to have given birth to a family of shipbuilders; and there is no indication that any relations of the Petts were at any time resident in Yorkshire or Cumberland. Moreover, the name was practically unknown at this period in the North.<sup>4</sup> In an attempt to elucidate this matter, Major Bertram Raves put forward in the 'Mariner's Mirror'<sup>5</sup> the suggestion 'that Thomas Pett was of Hopton,<sup>6</sup> in Suffolk, and that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Redstone informs me that to this day large blocks of loam and clay are squared off in the pits of Rickinghall to form house walls.      <sup>2</sup> Printed by the Harleian Society.

<sup>3</sup> Skipton in Craven in the W. Riding and Skipton upon Swale in the N. Riding.

<sup>4</sup> I have only discovered one early instance of the name in Yorkshire, 'Ralph Pet' who lived in the 'Honor and Forest of Pickering' in 1314, and this, it may be observed, was on the sea coast.

<sup>5</sup> April 1912, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> S.E. of Thetford: not the Hopton in East Suffolk.



Hopton was fudged into Skipton by the Tudor Heralds in the grant of arms to Peter Pett. . . . Petts about or near to Hopton at the time were yeomen or husbandmen. . . . The pedigree may, therefore, have seemed to need treatment.' He then goes on to show that Petts were established in the neighbouring villages of Hepworth, Wattisfield, Harling, and Walsham-le-Willows; the Petts at Wattisfield having been in the neighbourhood since the 14th century.<sup>1</sup> One significant fact is the letter which Peter Pett, the half-brother of Phineas, wrote to Sir Bassingbourn Gawdy<sup>2</sup> of Harling, in 1598, in which he apologises for his delay in visiting him and sends his remembrances to Lady Gawdy and others: it is clear from this letter that Peter was well known in the neighbourhood, and was, it may be presumed, related to the Thomas Pett living there at that time.

But it seems very doubtful whether Skipton really was a wilful substitution for, or a mis-transcription of, an original 'Hopton,' for there is no evidence that anyone of the name ever lived at Hopton, and it seems possible that some earlier Pett may have migrated to Yorkshire and his descendant John have returned to East Anglia.<sup>3</sup>

Of Thomas Pett nothing is known; and of John his son nothing can be stated with certainty.

<sup>1</sup> They were already there in the 13th; see note on p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> *Gawdy MSS. (Hist. MSS.)* 405; what appears to be Pett's draft of this letter is to be found in *Egerton MS.* 2713.

<sup>3</sup> It is also possible that Thomas of Skipton did not bear the surname 'Pett.' According to Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, p. 3, 'Among the middle and lower classes these (descriptive surnames) did not become *hereditary* till so late as 1450 or 1500.'

In 1497 William Pette of Dunwich left by will <sup>1</sup> 'to my brother John Pette, my new boat and all my working tools'; a legacy that implies that the brothers were shipwrights. It is not improbable that this was the John Pett who was engaged in caulking the Regent in 1499. From the entry in the Roll <sup>2</sup> it is clear that John was a master workman or shipbuilder; for the sum paid him, 3*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, is a fairly large amount for that period, and covered miscellaneous stores besides the caulking of the 'overlop' or deck, and the sides of the ship 'against wind and water.' Unfortunately his account, 'billam suam inde factam,' is no longer in existence. This work was possibly carried out at Portsmouth, where the Regent had been fitted for the Expedition to Scotland in 1497,<sup>3</sup> and where she was again undergoing repair in 1501,<sup>4</sup> but there would have been nothing unusual at that period, when the resources of the Portsmouth district were hardly sufficient, in entrusting such work to a shipbuilder from the eastern counties. In 1485 a master shipwright had been sent from London to Bursledon to superintend the removal of the mast of the Grace Dieu and her entry into dock,<sup>5</sup> and shipwrights were frequently im-

<sup>1</sup> *Ipswich Probate Court Bk.* III. f. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Ac xxxviiij<sup>l.</sup> xvjd. tam super novas iact' (? jacturas) et le calkyng de le Overlope navis regis vocatae le Regent quam pro le calkyng anti ventum et aquam ejusdem navis ac aliis necessariis pro eadem nave fiendis et providendis per manus Johannis Pett ut prius per billam suam inde factam plenius apparet datam xiiij die Novembris A<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup> Regis Henrici vij<sup>mo</sup>.* P.R.O. E. 405 (80).

<sup>3</sup> *Naval Accounts and Inventories of Henry VII., N.R.S., Vol. viii.*

<sup>4</sup> *P.R.O. Augmentation Office Misc. Bk., 317, f. 236.*

<sup>5</sup> *N.R.S., vol. viii. pp. liv, 222.*

pressed from East Anglia for work in Portsmouth and Southampton. The work may, however, have been carried out at Harwich, where the King's ships sometimes rode.<sup>1</sup>

With Peter, the son of John, we come at length upon sure ground. The will he made in March 1554 is upon record, and shows that he was possessed of a dwelling-house and ship-building yard at Harwich, which he bequeathed to his son Peter, the father of Phineas. Possibly he was the Peter Pett noted by Mr. Oppenheim<sup>2</sup> as among the shipwrights pressed from Essex and Suffolk working at Portsmouth in 1523: there can be no doubt that he was the Peter Pett of Harwich who, with other shipwrights, signed a decree of appraisement of a ship in 1540.<sup>3</sup>

His son Peter Pett, who died in 1589 when Master Shipwright at Deptford, entered the royal service some time before 1544, as already noted.

There is no record of the names of the earlier ships built by him, but it is known that in 1573 he built the *Swiftsure* and *Achates*, and in 1586 the *Moon* and *Rainbow*; all at Deptford. At the time of his death in 1589 he was engaged upon the *Defiance* and *Advantage*, which were completed by Joseph Pett, his second and eldest surviving son, who, as already remarked, succeeded to his place as Master Shipwright, his eldest son William Pett of Limehouse, also a Master Shipwright, who built the *Greyhound* in 1586, having

<sup>1</sup> In 1487, Thomas Rogers, clerk of the King's ships, was paid xxvis. viij*d.* for his expenses in going to Harwich, and victualling the King's ships there. See *Material Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*, vol. ii. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Administration*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *P.R.O., H.C.A.* 7 (1), 'probos viros Petrum Pette et Johannem Moptye villae Harewici (and two others) fabros lignarios, anglice shipwrights.'

died in 1587. Peter Pett was twice married, and had four sons and one daughter by his first wife, whose name is not known; and six daughters and three sons (of whom Phineas was the eldest) by his second wife, Elizabeth Thornton. These will be found set forth in the subjoined tables, which will serve to illustrate the relationship between them and the other members of the family referred to in the manuscript.

Peter Pett, towards the end of his life, had achieved a great reputation as a shipbuilder and was, as is evident from his will, a man of considerable means. He died possessed of a house at Harwich, where he had also built almshouses; a house at Deptford; land at Frating, near Colchester; the lease of a house at Chatham; and 'ground'—presumably a shipbuilding yard—at Wapping. In addition to this property, he left 20*l.* to the children of his son Richard;<sup>1</sup> 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the child of his daughter Lydia; 100*l.* each to Phineas and his brothers Noah and Peter; and 100 marks to each of his four daughters by his second wife and to an unborn child that probably did not live. The payments to the children of his second wife were to be made on their attaining the age of twenty-four, but from the statements of Phineas on pages 12 and 13 it would appear that part of the money was embezzled by the Rev. Mr. Nunn and part retained by Phineas' brother Joseph.

Peter Pett, of Wapping, the third son of the above, carried on business as a shipbuilder in the private yard at Wapping which had been left to

<sup>1</sup> Richard Pett of London, gent. (elsewhere described as 'unus valettorum regis') in 1593 sold his share of the property at Deptford to his brother Peter Pett, of Wapping. This property had been bought by his father in 1566.

him by his father. He does not appear to have held any office under the Crown, but seems to have been well known to the Lord High Admiral, for in his letter above referred to he puts off his visit to Gawdy on the ground that he has to be 'next Sunday with the Earl of Nottingham at the Court at Richmond.' In 1599 he published a poem entitled 'Time's Journey to seeke his Daughter Truth; and Truth's Letter to Fame of England's Excellencie,' which he dedicated to Nottingham. He was also the author of a sonnet in three stanzas of seven lines entitled, 'All Creatures praise God.'<sup>1</sup>

It is not necessary for our present purpose to pursue the fortunes of this family further, but the reader who is desirous of obtaining information as to the later descendants of Peter Pett of Harwich will find it in an excellent paper in vol. x. of the 'Ancestor,' by Mr. Farnham Burke and Mr. Oswald Barron, entitled 'The Builders of the Navy: a Genealogy of the Family of Pett.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed by the Parker Society in *Select Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> The following errors may be noted: p. 149, the name 'Marcy' should be 'March'; p. 151, the William Pett who petitioned the Admiralty in 1631, was not the son of Joseph but a much older man, apparently belonging to another branch of the family; p. 157, the dates of the death of Phineas' second wife and of his third marriage are antedated by a year; p. 158, the date 'July' was an error of the Harl. transcriber; the dates of birth and death of Phineas, junior, are incorrect; p. 172, Joseph Pett of Chatham was not the son of Phineas, but of Joseph of Limehouse, and he was born in 1592 not 1608.

# RELATIONS OF PHINEAS PETT.

THOMAS PETT

JOHN

PETER, of Harwich, = Elizabeth Paynter.  
*Shipbuilder,*  
d. (?) 1554.

Ann = John Chapman.

= PETER, of Deptford, = (2) Elizabeth  
*Master Shipwright,* Thornton,  
d. 1589.

(1) ?

WILLIAM,  
of Lime-  
house,  
*Master*  
*Shipwright,*  
d. 1587.

= Elizabeth  
March.

= MARGARET =  
Curtis,  
d. 1594.  
*Master*  
*Shipwright,*  
d. 1605.

= JOSEPH,  
of Lime-  
house,  
*Master*  
*Shipwright,*  
d. 1612.

= MARGARET (1) Ann =  
Humfrey, Tusam.  
d. 1612.  
of  
Wapping,  
*Ship-*  
*builder,*  
d. 1631?

= PETER, = (2) Eliza-  
beth, of London. d. 1610.  
Richard,  
Lydia,

Elizabeth. Lucy.

Margaret.

William.

Joseph.

PETER, of = Elizabeth William,  
Deptford, Johnson. Elizabeth =  
*Master* *Clerk in* Thomas  
*Shipwright* *Holy* Barwick.  
b. 1592, *Orders,*  
d. 1652. d. 1651.

Mary

Ann

Thomas

Barwick.

Jane,  
Susannah, (see next  
Table).  
d. 1567.

PHINEAS  
Noah,  
Younger, d. 1595.

Peter the Rachel,  
= Rev. W. Abigail,  
Newman, d. 1591? d. 1599.

Elizabeth, Mary, = (?) Cooper.  
d. 1599. d. 1626.

# FAMILY OF PHINEAS PETT.

PHINEAS PETT,

= b. 1570, d. 1647

(2) Susan Yardley, m. 1627,  
né Eaglefield, d. 1637.

(1) Ann Nicholls, m. 1598,  
d. 1627.

(3) Mildred Byland, m. 1638,  
né Etherington, d. 1638.

John,  
*Captain*  
*R.N.*  
(lost in  
VI  
Whelp),  
b. 1602,  
d. 1628.

= Katherine  
Yardley

Henry, Richard, Joseph,  
b. 1603, b. 1606, b. 1608,  
d. 1613, d. 1629, d. 1627.

Peter,  
*Commis-*  
*stomer* at  
Chatham,  
b. 1610,  
d. 1672.

Ann,  
b. 1612,

Phineas,  
b. 1615, Mary,  
d. 1617, b. 1617,  
d. 1617, m. 1637.

Martha, = John  
b. 1617, Hodierno.

Phineas, = Frances  
*Captain*  
*R.N.*  
(killed in  
Tiger),  
b. 1619,  
d. 1666

Phineas, = Frances  
Cairre.

Christo-  
pher,  
*Master*  
*Shipwright*  
at  
Woolwich  
and  
Deptford,  
b. 1620,  
d. 1668.

Phineas,  
*Master*  
*Shipwright*  
at  
Chatham,  
b. 1628,  
d. 1678.

Phineas  
(owner of  
the MS.,  
c. 1670),  
b. 1646,  
d. 1694.

3.—*Phineas Pett.*

From the care that had been taken to provide for his education, and from the fact that it was only at the 'instant persuasion' of his Education. mother that he was 'contented' to be apprenticed as a shipwright, it may be inferred that Phineas had been destined for the Church or the Law, and that Peter Pett did not propose that his son should follow in his own footsteps. The peculiarity<sup>1</sup> of the name chosen for him (which no doubt refers, not to the disobedient son of Eli, but to 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest,' who received 'the covenant of an everlasting priesthood')<sup>2</sup> gives rise to the surmise that his parents had intended him for the Church, but whatever the intention may have been, it was certainly abandoned on the death of his father.

Phineas does not seem to have profited greatly from his studies at Cambridge. He was hardly a master of English; possibly he had a good knowledge of Latin, for the influence of the Latin idiom is to be seen in almost all his periods; but the fact that he had subsequently to practise 'cyphering' in the evenings does not imply any great acquirements in mathematics, even of the very elementary forms which at that period were sufficient for the solution of the few problems arising in connection with the design of ships.

<sup>1</sup> 'The rage for Bible names dates from the decade 1560-1570, which decade marks the rise of Puritanism.'—Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, p. 39. †

<sup>2</sup> Numbers xxvi. 11-13.



Nevertheless, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592 and that of Master in 1595.

If the statement that he spent the two years of his apprenticeship to Chapman 'to very little purpose' is to be accepted literally, it would seem that the misfortunes that subsequently befell him must have aroused latent energies and filled him with determination to master the details of his future profession when he returned to England in 1594. His voyage to the Levant and subsequent employment as an ordinary workman under his brother Joseph no doubt gave him a practical acquaintance with ships that enabled him to profit greatly by the instruction of Mathew Baker, although apparently this only extended over the winter of 1595-6. Pett's confession that it was from Baker that he received his 'greatest lights,' written, as it must have been, after he had found Baker an 'envious enemy' and an 'old adversary to my name and family,' indicates how great that assistance was. This is borne out by a letter<sup>1</sup> which he wrote to Baker in April 1603, in order to deprecate the old man's wrath, which had been aroused when Phineas, then Assistant Master Shipwright at Chatham, commenced work on the Answer. The letter was partially destroyed by the fire which damaged the Cottonian Library in 1731, but fortunately Pepys had copied it in his *Miscellanea*.<sup>2</sup>

SIR,—My duty remembered unto you. It is so that I received a message from you by Richard Meritt, the purveyor, concerning the Answer, who gave me to understand from you that you were informed I meant to break

<sup>1</sup> *Cott. MSS.*, Otho E. vii. fol. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Misc.* x. 353. There are errors in this transcript, which has been corrected, so far as possible, from the original.

up the ship and to lengthen, and that I should no further proceed till I received further order from you. Indeed the ship was heaved up by general consent, both of my Lord, some of the Principal Officers, and two of the Master Shipwrights which were here present at the time she was begun to be hauled up, no determination being resolved upon what should be done unto her; for which cause (other haste of businesses also being some hindrance) she hath lain still ever since, till now that it pleased Sir Henry Palmer to command she should be blocked and searched within board only, and so let alone, partly because our men wanting stuff to perfect other businesses had little else to do, as also to the intent she might be made ready to be the better viewed and surveyed lying upright, being somewhat also easier for the ship. This is now done, but I ensure you there was no intent or other purpose to proceed in anything upon her any further till the Master Shipwrights, especially yourself who built her, had first surveyed her, and under your hands set down what should be done unto her; and therefore, good Mr. Baker, do not give so much credit to those that out of their malice do advertise you untruth concerning either this or any other matter, for it is supposed by whom this hath been done, and he is generally thought to be no other than an Ambodexter<sup>1</sup> or rather a flat sheet,<sup>2</sup> being so far off from either procuring credit to himself by due execution of his place and discharge of his duty, that like Aesop's Dog he doth malice any other that is willing to give him precedent of better course than all men can sufficiently in this place report himself to follow. And for myself it is so sure<sup>3</sup> from me to understand anything that you should think any ways prejudicial unto you, or to any of your works, that you shall always rather find me dutiful as a servant to follow your directions and instructions in any of these businesses, than arrogant as a prescriber or corrector of anything done

<sup>1</sup> Double-dealer; probably he refers to Bright.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'flattsheate.' Pepys has transcribed this 'flat cheat.'

<sup>3</sup> *Sic* in transcript, probably 'far.'

by you, whose ever memorable works I set before me as a notable precedent and pattern to direct me in any work that I do at any time undertake, and you yourself can say, setting private jars aside, which I hope are all now at a final end, but that I ever both revered you for your years and admired you for your Art, in the which I know (to speak without flattery) no Artist in Christendom of our profession able in any respect to come near you. Therefore, good Mr. Baker, carry but that loving mind towards me as you shall find my loving duty to you to deserve, who you shall find always as ready to do you any service, either in this place or any other, as any servant of yours whatsoever, among whose rank I account myself one of the unworthiest, for although I served no years in your service, yet I must ever acknowledge whatever I have of any art (if I have any) it came only from you. Thus hoping this shall suffice to give you satisfaction in this behalf, I humbly take my leave, ever resting ready to do you service.

*Chatham this 10 April, 1603.*

Your Servant,  
PHINEAS PETT.

To the worshipful and my loving friend Mr. Mathew Baker, one of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights, give this at Woolwich or elsewhere.

This expression of opinion upon Baker's capacity was evidently quite genuine, for many years after, when the old man was dead and there was nothing to be feared from his enmity, Phineas wrote of him as 'the most famous artist of his time.'<sup>1</sup>

Phineas did not rely on his professional skill alone to gain him preferment. When in his brother Joseph's employment, he laid out his earnings in clothing himself 'in very good fashion, always endeavouring to keep company with men of good

Preferment.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 26 Feb. 1626.

rank, far better than myself.' By means of a friend thus gained, he obtained an introduction to the Lord Admiral, which was 'the very first beginning' of his rising. No doubt Nottingham had known his father, and it is certain that he was well acquainted with his brother Peter; it is probably to this that the 'extraordinary respect' and the later favours of the Admiral were due. These favours brought upon him the 'malicious envy' of the Master Shipwrights, who were no doubt aggrieved at seeing employment that might have provided them or their friends with 'pickings,' handed to a newcomer.

The post of a purveyor of timber was not without its perquisites, and Pett's thankfulness that 'nothing could be proved against him' when the accounts of his doings in Suffolk and Norfolk were scrutinised, indicates that his labours had not been without some profit to himself; indeed his association with Trevor, who became an able disciple of the arch-thief Mansell, leads one to suspect that Fulke Greville's action in 'wrongfully' cutting off twenty pounds was not the high-handed injustice that Phineas would have one believe. It is true that Mr. Oppenheim<sup>1</sup> dates the 'administrative degeneracy' of the Navy Office from Greville's treasurership, but it is probable that this arose from Greville's incapacity to exercise the strict control which had characterised his predecessor Hawkyns, and not from want of integrity. Three years later Phineas affirms that Greville continued his 'heavy enemy' because the Treasurer could not win him 'to such conditions as he laboured me in' against the Surveyor, a state of affairs that seems to indicate a half-hearted attempt at reform on

<sup>1</sup> *Monson Tracts*, ii. 140.

Greville's part, rather than any underhand conspiracy.

In an anonymous account of the quarrel at Chatham in 1602 preserved in Pepys' *Miscellanea*,<sup>1</sup> written evidently by George Collins, 'the principal informer and stirrer in this business,'<sup>2</sup> it is stated that the writer told Sir Henry Palmer that Pett had sold away the *Repulse's* foretopmast, and that through his negligence the *Crane* was bilged in the Dock, which cost the Queen 100*l.*

whereupon Palmer called him a rogue, and asked him if he never stole anything, and then struck him with a cudgel ;

and no wonder ! though Sir Henry took his part so much, for in six weeks after he had great masts sawed out into boards at the Queen's charge, a long boat full, and towed down to Whitechapel by Boatswain Vale, or his man, at a ketch's stern.

At the term after, I served Phineas Pett upon a battery, and Sir John and Sir Henry procured my Lord Admiral's warrant to send me to the Marshalsea. But that I paid well for it in Mr. Pope's house I had gone thither ; and so was forced to agree with Phineas and to enter into bond never to follow suit against him, neither for the King nor yet for myself.'

The writer then goes on to give instances of Pett's misappropriations of materials and labour ; four tons of elm timber sawn into boards ; fifty

<sup>1</sup> *Miscell.*, vol. x. pp. 257-262 : *A large and particular complaint against Phineas Pett relating to abuses in the Navy about the end of the Queen's and beginning of King James's Reign.* Cf. Dr. Tanner's Introduction in *Holland's Discourses of the Navy* (N.R.S., vol. vii.). What is probably the same account is calendared by the Hist. MSS. Commission (*Coke MSS.*; vol. i. p. 36) as 

1602 Oct. 14	} allegations by George Colyson of abstraction of sea stores, and other frauds by Phineas Pett.'
1603 June 19	

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, p. 18.

deals from the storehouse ; fifty small spars ; two four-inch planks to make a bridge into his meadow ; labour for two or three days ; a sluice made in the meadow at a cost of 3*l.* or 4*l.* ; two or three tons of oak timber sawn into posts to hang clothes on and painted at the Queen's cost. Although the writer has an obvious grievance against Pett, there seems no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the charges made.

One of the gravest indictments subsequently brought by the Commission of Inquiry of 1608-1609 against Phineas was that relating to the ship which he had laid down in David Duck's private yard at Gillingham in 1604, when both he and Duck were shipwrights at Chatham. From the account of it presented by Phineas<sup>1</sup> it might be supposed that the charge related merely to the sale of ordnance and ammunition to the Spaniards, but the malpractices alleged went much further than that ; and, although Pett was cleared by the King, an examination of the evidence produced before the Commission leads to the conclusion that 'those scandalous and false informations' might have led to very unpleasant results if the King had not been biased in his favour. The story, as made out from the existing documents,<sup>2</sup> is briefly as follows :

The ship—a small one of about 160 tons—had been built largely of timber delivered 'for the King's use at Chatham' and with articles 'borrowed out of the store,' under warrant of

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Cott. MSS.*, Julius F. 111—the depositions of Pett and various witnesses ; *S.P.D.* James I, xxxi. 51—memorandum drawn up from the above ; *S.P.D.* James I, xli.—report of the Commission, drawn up by Sir Robert Cotton, with analytical draft and notes attached.

the Principal Officers, two of whom, Mansell and Trevor, subsequently had shares in her. She was rigged 'with the rigging of the Foresight, which for bare 12*l.* only he bought out of her' at much less than the value, by the favour of the Surveyor (Trevor) and the Treasurer (Mansell), so that 'she was sailed with the King's sails and rigged with the King's tackling.' When she set sail for Spain in 1605 'under colour of a transporter of my Lord Admiral's provisions,' she was furnished out of the King's store with cables, anchors, flags, pitch, and other stores and provisions, including 600 cwt. of biscuit. She also drew 120 bolts of canvas for the use of the fleet, part of which was sold by Pett's brother, and for the whole of which Phineas acknowledged himself responsible. Although taken up as a transport and paid wages and tonnage (on a false rating of 300 tons, about twice her capacity) she was entered in the Customs as a merchantman bound for San Lucar, and carried 60 tons of lead for a merchant of London named Alabaster, for which 60*l.* was received as freight. At Lisbon Pett sold a demi-culverin of brass, captured at Cadiz in 1596, with ammunition and a quantity of bread, biscuit, and peas belonging to the fleet, for which he received 300*l.*, which he sent, 'by the way of exchange,' to Trevor and Mansell, then at Valladolid<sup>1</sup> with Nottingham, who had gone there to ratify the peace recently concluded between the two countries. Altogether, the voyage of this ship cost the King '800*l.* or 1000*l.*, as appeareth by the accounts, for little or no service done at all.'

As regards the money sent to Valladolid, it is probable that this was used in paying some of the expenses of the embassy, and that this

<sup>1</sup> The capital of Spain from 1601 to 1606.

proceeding had the sanction of Nottingham; but Pett's answers before the Commission to some of the other charges, as given in his signed deposition of 12th May 1608, seem rather weak. He stated that the 'riggings' of the Foresight were 'found to be so ill that they stood him in little or no stead,' that the accounts for the provisions were delivered to Sir John Trevor and no copies had been kept, and, by a convenient lapse of memory, he could not say what persons or stuff were landed at the Groyne 'nor what burden the ship was accounted for to the King.' When asked by Captain Morgan to set him down on the east side of the Groyne, he was alleged to have said that 'he could not adventure the ship by his directions for that she was no part of the fleet,' in reply to which allegation he swore that to the best of his recollection no such words were ever used. It appears from the evidence that Sir Richard Leveson had refused to allow the ship as one of the fleet, but he had died shortly after the return to England, and after his death Mansell and Trevor, 'assuming full power into their own hands,' had reversed the decision. One reason given by Pett for visiting ports other than that to which the fleet had gone is of interest; he told the Commission that he had been informed by Trevor and Mansell that the biscuit would not be needed for the fleet 'by reason of the short voyage my Lord Admiral had into Spain,' and he was to go to Lisbon or San Lucar to sell it, 'and that they reported as from my Lord Admiral that because this deponent was a shipwright he might in the harbours where he should put in take view of the Spanish ships and galleys and of the manner of their building.'



With a ship so cheaply built and rigged, and employed on such favourable terms, it could not have been difficult to make a handsome profit, and it is little wonder that Pett calls her a 'lucky ship' when he tells of her sale in 1612.

The corruption in the administration of the Navy, which had begun to appear in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, had by 1608 reached such a height that James was at length forced to take some steps in regard to it. The knowledge that Spain was actively engaged in setting her navy in order no doubt quickened the King into action and provided a motive powerful enough to sweep aside for the time the obstruction of the senile Nottingham and his jackal Mansell. At first it had been intended that Nottingham should head the Commission, and letters patent<sup>1</sup> were passed on 1st April 1608, in which his name appears first, Northampton coming second, but for some reason this was altered, and on the 30th April a commission under the great seal was issued to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, then Lord Privy Seal and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord High Admiral, and thirteen others,<sup>2</sup> of whom Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary, was the

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Roll*, 1771.

<sup>2</sup> The names were as follows: Henry, Earl of Northampton; Charles, Earl of Nottingham; Lord Zouch; Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the Household; Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir Edward Phillips and Sir John Doderidge, Serjeants-at-Law; Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney-General; Sir Francis Bacon, Solicitor-General; Sir William Waade, Lieutenant of the Tower; Sir Charles Parkins; Sir Robert Cotton; Sir Thomas Crompton; and John Corbett, a Clerk of the Privy Council. *Pat. Roll*, 1770.

most active. Northampton, who was Nottingham's cousin, seems to have been the leader of the reform party, and although he is persistently vilified by Pett, there is little doubt that he was actuated by a more or less sincere desire (sharpened, possibly, by mutual antagonism between the offices of Lord Warden and Lord High Admiral) to reform the many existing abuses. What all these abuses were would take too long in telling, but they were sufficient to justify, and more than justify, the vigorous language of the patent, which speaks of the

'very great and intolerable abuses, deceits, frauds, corruptions, negligences, misdemeanours and offences' that 'have been and daily are perpetrated, committed, and done against the continual admonitions and direction of you our High Admiral by other the officers of and concerning our Navy Royal, and by the Clerks of the Prick and Check; and divers other inferior officers, ministers, soldiers, mariners, and others serving, working, or labouring in and about our said Navy.'

The patent then proceeds to give instructions for the examination of all officials who have been connected with the Navy since 1598 and the investigation of their accounts,

mindin<sup>g</sup> that the said intolerable abuses, frauds, misdemeanours, and offences shall forthwith be enquired of, the offenders therein condignly punished and also to provide a speedy reform of the same for the time to come.

Possibly, at the time, James really intended to reform the administration. Nottingham kept out of the way, and his subordinates had an unpleasant time while they were examined upon their misdeeds; but in the end, James' fear of

Spain having passed away, he, with his usual weakness, let the offenders off with a lecture.

The Commission commenced to sit in May 1608 and sat for a little over a year, ending with the proceedings before the King recorded on pp. 68-69 below. During this period 161 witnesses were examined, and their signed depositions taken. These are preserved among the manuscripts of Sir Robert Cotton,<sup>1</sup> who acted as the secretary. They were analysed by Cotton, who drew up a lengthy report<sup>2</sup> in which various abuses are set forth and proposals made for their remedy; the latter, as might be expected, were duly ignored by the King. Among the offenders cited by name, Pett appears as one of the chief, and although the present occasion is not convenient for a general examination of the report and evidence, some mention must be made of the matters in which Pett is directly charged with wrong-doing.

The first point made against him is that while he was keeper of the timber store at Chatham he had failed to reject bad timber and plank brought in by one of the purveyors. His answer to this was 'that Sir Henry Palmer had been so quick with him for some of these exceptions as he would complain no more though the purveyors brought in faggot sticks.' He is next charged with certain malpractices in connexion with the Resistance, and other charges on this account are brought against him further on; these have already been referred to. In a general

<sup>1</sup> *Cott. MSS.*, Julius F. III.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Dom.* James I, xli. The 'book of reformation' referred to at p. 37. Northampton also made a report direct to the King, which deals, however, only in generalities.—*Royal MSS.* 18 A, xxxiv.

charge against the Master Shipwrights that, for reasons of private gain, ships were repaired 'when they were not worth the labour nor the charges bestowed on them,' the case of the *Victory* is cited as an example :

Thus did the *Victory* for transportation, docking and breaking up stand the king in four or five hundred pounds, and yet no one part of her at this day serviceable to any use about the building of a new as was pretended for a colour. To conclude, though we set her at a rate of 200*l.*, yet it had been better absolutely for the King to have given her away to the poor than to have been put to the charge of bringing her from Chatham to Woolwich, no other use having been made of her than to furnish Phineas Pett (that was the only author of her preservation) with fuel for the diet of those Carpenters which he victualled.

In complaining that estimates for repair were made blindfold, with the result that money was spent upon old ships more than sufficient to have built new ones, the illustration is again drawn from Pett's proceedings :

An instance of this art may be drawn from the King's ship now called the *Anne Royal*, whose estimate being first set down by the Master Shipwrights at 3576*l.*, which sum would have built another (by the judgment of those that made the estimate) newly from the stocks of equal burthen, doth upon her finishing by Phineas Pett (a favourite of the chief officers) amount to full 7600*l.* upon that false ground which before hath been spoken of.

A little further on, in dealing with frauds connected with the receipt of stores, Pett is again made the principal example :

When timber and other materials come to be received into the stores, of the Clerk of the Check combining closely with the deliverers to increase the quantity of

that which is delivered some time to a third part above true measure, which increase is shared between both, and lots are cast upon the robe of the Redeemer.

Sir Foulke Greville, espying plainly this collusion between parties to the wrong of our great Master, sought to prevent this play of fast and loose by adding Phineas Pett to the Clerk of the Check at Chatham as an assistance to take care that there might be no increase of quantities, but all things accounted for in their true proportion in weight and number as they were indeed, without conspiracy. But such was the falsehood of the party, as having found the thief, he ran with him, thrusting himself into [the] pack with the Clerk and the deliverer; and thus adding himself as an assistant indeed, not to plain dealers as Sir Foulke Greville meant, but to filchers and abusers, as Pett himself meant, which appears upon examination.

In a further charge relating to the issue of material for ships building or under repair, it is pointed out that the Surveyor had taken away the keys of the storehouses from the Clerk of the Check, their proper custodian, 'and put them into the hand of Pett his chief favourite, who could not only take just what he liked, 'but likewise hath power to expend upon the ships (or under that pretence) whatsoever he thinketh good without contradiction, and full scope withal to embezzle what he list.' He is also mentioned in connexion with the construction and decay of the 'pale' which should defend the storeyard from pilferers 'on the outside towards the Thames,' and with the employment of youths and boys 'that fill up numbers but work little.' Finally he is charged with 'wasteful and lavish expense' in repairing the ironwork of the Anne Royal at a cost of 800*l.*, or more than double the amount necessary for the purpose. In the only charge to which Pett himself refers, namely,

that of altering his lodgings, he is not mentioned by name, but it is clear that all the resident officials had added rooms to their houses at the expense and to the detriment of the storehouses which adjoined.

There seems little doubt that these charges were well founded, and that Pett was acting in collusion with his 'very good friends' Mansell and Trevor to defraud the State. It is, however, probable that the other officers were little better, and were only restrained by the lack of those opportunities the possession of which they envied Pett.

It is clear from the remarks in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry already quoted and from Pett's narrative<sup>1</sup> that the original intention was to rebuild the Victory, which had been removed from Chatham to Woolwich in the autumn of 1606 for this purpose. The official records do not throw any light upon the circumstances in which this intention came to be abandoned, and indeed the Treasurer's official accounts for 1609 and 1610 preserve the fiction that the Victory was rebuilt.<sup>2</sup> From the story related by Phineas, it appears that the Victory had been given by James to Prince Henry, and that Pett was entrusted with the task of rebuilding her because he was one of the Prince's retainers. He then conceived the idea of constructing a ship larger than any that his predecessors had built, and made a model embodying his design, which so pleased the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Pp. lxiv and 29 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Off. Dec. Accts.* 2247. 'New Building the Victory in dry dock at Woolwich;' *ibid.* 2248, 'Shipkeepers attending the Victory, now named the Prince Royal'; 'New Building the Victory now named the Prince Royal.'

High Admiral that the King was brought to see it, with the result that it was decided to build a new great ship on the lines suggested by Pett. This procedure of constructing a model to scale from the design, for the approval of the authorities, before starting to build the ship, is probably the first instance of the adoption of a course that later became customary in all cases where a new ship represented an advance in size, or method of construction, or embodied features not to be found in her predecessors. Her keel was not laid until the 20th October 1608, nearly a year after the model had been submitted to the King's inspection. In the meantime the Commission of Inquiry had been appointed, and the construction had not proceeded far before questions were raised as to the correctness of the design, the suitability of the material, and the competence of Pett as designer and builder.

On the 15th December, Baker was examined on the subject before the Commission. The questions put to him related to the estimated cost of the *Prince Royal* and the material used; the cost of the rebuilding of the *Ark Royal*; and the experience of Pett as a builder. Baker estimated the probable cost of the *Prince* at £7000, nearly twice what he had been paid for the *Merhonour*.<sup>1</sup> This estimate, although apparently in excess of one given by Pett, proved very far short of the mark, since the total cost finally came to nearly £20,000, no less than £1309 being spent on decoration and carving alone. As regards the material, Baker stated that the

<sup>1</sup> The relative dimensions were: *Prince Royal*—length of keel 115 ft.; breadth 43 ft.; depth 18 ft. *Merhonour*—length of keel 110 ft.; breadth 37 ft.; depth 17 ft. Baker built the *Merhonour* by contract for £3600.

timber was very badly chosen. It appears that old and unsuitable trees were selected on account of the profit to be made by their larger 'tops,' which seem to have been one of the many perquisites of the officers. In preparing the timber there was, so Baker said,

so much waste as the charge will be well near half so much more as it needed to be to the King; besides the ship will be of many years less continuance serviceable than otherwise she would have been if the timber and plank had been well chosen, and framed in the wood.

In regard to Pett's competence :

Being asked, also by virtue of his oath, whether Phineas Pett be a workman sufficient to be put alone in trust upon a ship of so great charge and burthen, he answereth that he never saw any work of his doing whereby he should so think him sufficient for that work, but rather thinketh the contrary. Further, being demanded what ship he knoweth or have heard the said Pett hath built or repaired, he saith he never knew any new ship of his building, but one of 120 tons or thereabouts which he built by Chatham for himself,<sup>1</sup> as far as he knoweth, and another ship of the burthen of 223 tons he repaired,<sup>2</sup> and a pinnace<sup>3</sup> for his Majesty, which he saith was so done that after he had repaired them they were worse in condition than they were when he took them in hand, for that they were so unserviceable that they would bear no sail, by which default of his they were returned from the seas into Chatham to be new furred<sup>4</sup> to make them bear sail, so that with

<sup>1</sup> The *Resistance*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Answer*. He does not include the *Anne Royal*, which had just been finished.

<sup>3</sup> The *Moon*.

<sup>4</sup> 'There are two kinds of furring, the one is after a ship is built, to lay on another plank upon the side of her (which is called plank upon plank). The other, which is more eminent, and more properly furring, is to rip off the first



his first repairing and furring of them he doubts not but it will appear by the accompts that his workmanship with stuff was more chargeable than a new ship of their burthen might have been new built for, which are enough to persuade any man that he cannot be sufficient to perform the building of so great a ship when he hath performed the reparation of a small ship so ill, as of a good ship he made a bad.

Further, being asked what his opinion was concerning the choice of the stuff, he saith it was not chosen for the good of the King but for their own turns, and that very little of it fit to be put into any ship, and much less into a great ship, because it will be of no continuance, and that he never knew Pett to make any frame in the wood either for ship or boat, who cannot do it, being never brought up to it ; and as for his brother Peter Pett, who was appointed purveyor, he holdeth him a man most simple for such a purpose, and also saith that, though they be both insufficient for the making of such a frame, yet the badness of the stuff is not altogether to be imputed to them, but to those who dispose of the business according to their own humour.

Five days later, Bright came up for examination and was required to give answers to seventeen questions, apparently the same as those put to Baker. Six of them he did not answer, but

planks and to put other timbers upon the first, and so to put on the planks upon these timbers. The occasion of it is to make a ship bear a better sail, for when a ship is too narrow, and the bearing either not laid out enough, or too low, then they must make her broader, and lay her bearing higher. They commonly fur some two or three strakes under water and as much above, according as the ship requires, more or less. I think in all the world there are not so many ships furred as are in England, and it is a pity that there is no order taken, either for the punishing of those who build such ships, or the utter preventing of it, for it is an infinite loss to the owners, and an utter spoiling and disgrace to all ships that are so handled.'—Mainwaring, *Seaman's Dictionary*, s.v. Fur.

referred the Commissioners to the answers given to them by Baker. His replies to the others were generally in corroboration of what Baker had said, but as regards Pett's capability he expressed no direct opinion, contenting himself with pointing out that

the old Officers, in former times, in such great works did place two Master Shipwrights in the building of one great ship, as my father Mr. Bright was joined with Mr. Pett in the building of the Elizabeth Jonas, as also in the building of the Bear with Mr. Baker. Their reason was that two Master Shipwrights' opinions was little enough for the charge so great in scope as she at Woolwich will be, but now it is carried by the favour of some of the Officers to whom it pleaseth them ; but howsoever it is, the charge is great for a young man to do which never made great ship before of that burthen.

After this the matter remained in abeyance until the end of March, when Northampton enlisted the services of George Waymouth, who appears to have possessed a great reputation among his contemporaries for his theoretical knowledge of shipbuilding.

In 1602 Waymouth had set out, under the auspices of the East India Company, to attempt the North-West Passage in the *Discovery*, with another small vessel, the *Godspeed*, but had been compelled, through the mutiny of his crew, to abandon the attempt, after entering the strait subsequently known as Hudson's Strait. In 1605 he made a short voyage of discovery in the Archangel along the American coast. Of actual experience in shipbuilding he seems at that time to have had none whatever, and a perusal of his chapter on that subject in the manuscript volume 'The Jewell of Artes,'<sup>1</sup> which he presented to James

Captain  
George  
Way-  
mouth.

<sup>1</sup> Add<sup>l</sup>. MS. 19889.

in 1604, would not inspire any great confidence in his theoretical knowledge, but fortunately other means of judging the extent to which this knowledge was subsequently increased have lately presented themselves.

The chapter in 'The Jewell of Artes' consists entirely of criticism, together with a few crude drawings not explained in the text. These criticisms are not without point, as may be seen from the following extracts. He says :

Although the form and fashion of these our English ships have always been, and yet are accompted to be made by the best proportion, and fittest both for service and burden, yet if art and diligence were to the full performed in their buildings as they might, there should not remain in them so many dangerous impediments as there do at this day, which maketh me verily suppose that the one of them, if not both, is not in such measure in our shipwrights as with all my heart I do wish.

A little further on, in speaking of the discrepancies to be found in ships supposed to be built from the same design, he says :

Yet could I never see two ships builded of like proportion by the best and most skilful shipwrights in this realm . . . the chiefest cause of their error is because they trust rather to their judgment than to their art, and to their eye than to their scale and compass.

He then, feeling, no doubt, that his want of technical experience in shipbuilding gave him small right to pose as a critic of the professional builders, deprecates their censure in the following words :

All which defects in building and many other I have with no less careful endeavour than with the often peril and hazard of mine own life diligently applied myself to search and find out, even to the uttermost of my skill and

understanding ; and although by mine own experience I can in this point speak as much as most seamen (I might say as any), having been employed in this service ever since I was able to do any, and served therein well near four prenticeships, and having in this time borne all the offices belonging to this trade, even from the lowest unto the highest, yet had I rather that any other should have taken upon them the searching and finding out of these impediments and the laying of them open, than myself ; but seeing that no man that ever I heard of hath hitherto, as yet, undertaken the same, the thing being of much importance, as it is, and the dangers so great, though perhaps I shall be hardly censured for the same of the shipwrights, whose want of art or diligence I therein accuse, yet do I think it the part of every good subject rather to seek to do good to the whole state than to fear the displeasure of any one occupation.

In an undated paper, a copy of which is preserved in the Harleian MSS.,<sup>1</sup> he further criticises the shipwrights to the following effect :

The Shipwrights of England and of Christendom build ships only by uncertain traditional precepts and observations and chiefly by the deceiving aim of their eye, where for want of skill to work by such proportions as in Art is required and is ever certain, I have found these defects.

(1) No shipwright is able to make two ships alike in proportion nor qualities ; to build a ship to any desired burden certain ; nor to propose to himself how much water his ship shall draw until there be trial made thereof.

(2) Ships yet built go not upright in the sea, whereby they often lose the use of their lower tier of ordnance.

(3) They are often forced to be furred ; which is a great charge and weakening to the ships ; this is for want of skill to work their desired proportions.

(4) They labour and beat in the sea more than they

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. MS.* 309, f. 68.

may be made to do; which causeth often leaks to spring and weakeneth them that they cannot last so long as they might.

(5) They go not so near the wind as they might be made to do, the wind being the greatest advantage in fight.

(6) They draw more water in proportion to their burdens than they might be made to do.

(7) They be made of less burdens than they may be made of in proportion to the length, breadth and depth. This defect the Hollanders have in part mended and are able to carry freight for one third part less than our Merchants.

(8) They cannot bear sail nor steer readily to make the best advantage of the wind, for want whereof, and of art in proportioning the Moulds, they sail not so fast as they may be made to do.

My study these twenty years in the Mathematics hath been chiefly directed to the mending of these defects. I have during this time applied myself to know the several ways of building and the secrets of the best shipwrights in England and Christendom, and have likewise observed the several workings of ships in the sea in all the voyages I have been. By these helps I have demonstratively gained the science of making of ships perfect in Art, which of necessity must be made wrought by a differing way from all the Shipwrights in the world.

He goes on to say that ships built after his plan would cost less and be of more burden, and gives reasons why the ships of the Low Countries carried freight at cheaper rates than English ships. This, he says, was because they were longer in proportion to their breadth, broader and longer in the bottom, and therefore of less draught, and not built so high above water, with the result that they required less sail and tackling and could manage with a smaller crew.

These criticisms of the English shipwrights ar

no doubt well founded, but the step from critic to artist is a long one, and Waymouth never took it. Nevertheless he was a more competent critic than Pett would have us believe. An anonymous seventeenth-century MS., entitled, 'A most excellent briefe and easie Treatize,' containing, among other matters, 'A most excellent mannor for the Buildinge of Shippes,' exists in the Scott collection, and this, by the kindness of the owner, has been placed at the disposal of the editor, who, after a careful examination, has no doubt that it is the work of Waymouth, written after he had built the ship which Pett calls a 'bable and drowne divell,' and of which a midship section is given. Unfortunately, except in this one instance, the treatise is purely theoretical and throws no light on the problems of the *Prince Royal*, or the methods of the royal shipwrights, but as a theoretical treatise it is far in advance of the 'Jewell of Artes,' and indeed of anything that the English shipwrights of that century produced, and is sufficient to explain why Waymouth's opinions were accorded so much respect.

After Waymouth's futile visit to Woolwich, the King seems to have been much perplexed, and since there was no independent expert, for they had all taken sides, he handed the matter over to a committee composed of the Lord High Admiral and two of the great officers of State. In theory, no doubt, the selection of the Admiral to superintend such an inquiry was the natural course to be followed, but in this case he was sitting in judgment on one of his own protégés, and could hardly condemn him without indirectly condemning himself and justifying Northampton. The result in such circumstances—and with such a

Inquiry by  
Notting-  
ham,  
Worcester,  
and Suffolk.

man—was a foregone conclusion, for the other two members, having no professional experience of the matter, would naturally follow his direction. The technical arguments of Baker and Stevens would be lost on Worcester and Suffolk, even if Nottingham could appreciate them, which may be doubted; and—judging by his writings, and allowing for their ignorance of the mathematical side of the questions at issue—it is not surprising that Waymouth bored them beyond endurance, with the result that in the end ‘they found the business in every part and point so excellent.’

Northampton’s anger at the result was not unnatural, and the King found that there was no other course open to him but to hold an inquiry in person. This was fixed for the 8th May, and during the first week of that month Baker, Waymouth, and their associates took the dimensions of the ship at Woolwich and set out their objections in the following document: <sup>1</sup>

*Imperfections found upon view of the new work  
begun at Woolwich.*

First her mould is altogether unperfect, furred <sup>2</sup> in divers places; she hath too much floor; <sup>3</sup> the lower sweep <sup>4</sup> and the upper are too long, and the middle sweep too short.

Her depth is too great and her side too upright, so that of necessity she must be tender sided and not able to bear sail.

Her breadth lieth too high, and so she will draw too

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, James I, xlv. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. lxviii. In this case pieces were laid upon the outsides of the timbers to make the mould broader.

<sup>3</sup> See note on p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> The sweeps are the circular arcs of the mould; see the mould of the *Sovereign* on p. xcvi.

much water, and thereby dangerous and unfit for our shoal seas.

Her harpings<sup>1</sup> are too round and lie too low, which maketh a cling at the after end of it, and makes the bow flare off<sup>2</sup> so much that the work is not only misshapen but the ship dangerous to beat in the sea either at an anchor or under sail.

Her workmanship is very ill done, and thereby the ship made weak, as first the limber<sup>3</sup> holes are cut so deep in the midship floor timbers that they are less thickness upon the keel than toward the rung head; whereas they ought to be thicker and stronger in the midst, to bear the weight on ground.

The futtocks<sup>4</sup> have not scarp<sup>5</sup> enough with the floor timbers, but at the lower end of them are divers short clogs of timber put in which serve to no purpose for strength but to fill up the room. Every mean owner in the Thames will assuredly tie the carpenter to allow a great scarp and to have his timber come whole within a foot of his kelson.

Some of the timbers abaft and afore are left so deep by the kelson that the footwales<sup>6</sup> and outside not being well trenailed together will be a great weakness to the ship, and the rather for that the rung,<sup>7</sup> being cut out of right and old grown timber, cannot be brought to a lesser scantling, they will break in sunder at the cross grain.

The provision of timber was not fitting such a charge-

<sup>1</sup> 'The Harpings of a Ship is the breadth of her at the bow: also some call the ends of the bends, which are fastened into the stem, the Harpings.'—Mainwaring, *Seaman's Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Overhang.

<sup>3</sup> Holes cut through the timbers over the keel to allow the bilge water to run to the pump.

<sup>4</sup> See note on p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the overlap of the joint was not sufficient.

<sup>6</sup> The inside planking upon the floor timbers, sometimes called 'seeling' or 'ceiling.'

<sup>7</sup> The rungheads at the ends of the floor timbers, where these begin to curve upward into the lower (or runghead) sweep.



able work for that much of the same is overgrown and many pieces of them cross grained, as cut to a roundness out of straight timber, which cannot be strong enough to bear a ship on ground of so great weight as this is; as may be seen both in the ship and yard.

To shew his weakness in art and the imperfection of the mould, Pett himself, after workmen had seen her, hauled down his futtocks<sup>1</sup> 2 foot as soon as the lords were gone, and cut off some of the heads of them, whereby they have made her more imperfect than she was and put all things out of order that she can hardly be ever amended.

MATHEW BAKER.  
 NYCHOLAS CLAY.  
 JOHN GREAVES.

W. BRIGHT.  
 EDWARD STEVENES.  
 RICHARD MERYETT.  
 GEORGE WAYMOUTH.

All these being Shipwrights (saving Capt. Waymouth) have taken their oath, and answered before us, both upon their conscience to God, their duty to the King and their love to their country that this declaration is true. And Cap<sup>n</sup>. Waymouth also affirmeth that all which the said Shipwrights have declared to be imperfections are so to be accounted. But the error of the limber holes he did not look into, supposing that no man affecting the name of a workman would err in so gross an absurdity.

HNORTHAMPTON.  
 E. ZOUCH.

CH. PARKINS.  
 RO. COTTON.  
 JOHN CORBETT.

Cap<sup>n</sup>. Waymouth further saith, touching the imperfection of the mould, that the Hollowing Moulds<sup>2</sup> are not good neither before nor abaft, for in the Hollowing Moulds afterward he hath taken away too much timber from the hooks, whereby it hath much weakened the ship, that when she cometh to lie on ground she will complain in that place, which will be a great impediment to the ship.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* shortened the futtock sweep.

<sup>2</sup> The moulds fore and aft in which the lower sweeps become concave instead of convex exteriorly.

And concludeth that she being so deep and her moulds so unperfect, with these gross errors and absurdities she can never be made strong and fit for service, and least of all for our seas.

EDWARD STEVENES.

GEORGE WAYMOUTH.

MATHEW BAKER.

W. BRIGHT.

NYCHOLAS CLAY.

JOHN GREAVES.

RICHARD MERYETT.

HNORTHAMPTON.

E. ZOUCH.

CH. PARKINS.

RO. COTTON.

JOHN CORBETT.

This indictment cannot be lightly set aside. Baker was the most prominent shipbuilder of that day, and Bright and Meryett (or, as the name is more usually written, Meritt) were Government shipbuilders of long experience, while Clay, Greaves, and Stevens were private builders of considerable standing in their profession. Unfortunately we have hardly any authentic details of the ship; certainly not sufficient to enable us to form any independent opinion upon the question of her design. We have, from the careful survey<sup>1</sup> taken in 1632, the following dimensions:

	Feet.	Ins.
Length of keel . . . . .	115	0
Breadth . . . . .	43	0
Mean breadth . . . . .	36	0
Depth (presumably from the breadth to top of keel) . . . . .	18	0
Depth from the seeling . . . . .	16	3
Tonnage (old measurement) . . . . .	1186	80
Tonnage (new measurement) . . . . .	1330	

and from the arguments during the inquiry it appears that the breadth of the floor was 11 feet

<sup>1</sup> Add<sup>l</sup>. MS. 18037.

8 inches. This is all we know of the shape of the hull below water, and the pictures of the ship that can be considered authentic representations<sup>1</sup> do not add to this knowledge.

It would seem that Pett had made one or two slight alterations in the accepted rules, as followed by his predecessors, in the design of the hull. For example, his floor was slightly wider than the amount allowed by Baker in his scheme for plotting the midship section, given in the 'Fragments of Ancient English Shipwrightry,'<sup>2</sup> according to which it should have worked out at 10 feet 3 inches; but as Waymouth had, as we have already seen, been advocating a broader floor, a change that subsequently took effect, it is difficult to understand why he, at any rate, should have objected to this. To a later age, which has seen much greater ships of deeper draught navigate 'our shoal seas' in safety, the objection to the deep draught of water may seem somewhat uncalled for, but it must be remembered that at that date the King's ships, when not on service, lay in the Medway above Upnor, and an undated MS.<sup>3</sup> written about 1640 shows that difficulty was experienced in finding safe moorings for the Sovereign and the Prince in this position. On the whole, it seems probable that the objections on the score of design were not well founded. We never hear of the ship having been crank or unseaworthy on this account, and there is no such disgraceful episode as that connected with

<sup>1</sup> At Hinchinbrook, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle. See R. C. Anderson, 'The *Prince Royal* and other Ships of James I,' in *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. iii. (1913), in which these pictures are reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> Pepysian MS. 2820.

<sup>3</sup> Add<sup>l</sup>. MS. 9299, f. 206.

the Unicorn, built by Edward Boate in 1633, to be brought up against her.

On the charge of insufficiency of material, however, the evidence is against Pett. There can be little doubt but that much of the timber was unsuitable; some was green and unseasoned; some too old and in incipient decay; while the curved timbers, which should have been cut from trees crooked by natural growth, had been cut from straight trees, with the result that the grain did not run round, but across, the curves, to the detriment of their strength. In December 1621 the Navy Commissioners expressed their feelings on the subject to Buckingham in a letter, of which the following draft is preserved in the Coke MSS.:<sup>1</sup>

Her weakness is so great that all we can do unto her at this time with above 500*l.* charge will but make her ride afloat and be able to go to sea upon our own coast rather for show than for service, and that to make her a strong and perfect ship will require at least 6,000*l.* charge and time till monies and fit provisions may be had. This we write to your Honour with grief and some just indignation, seeing a ship which so lately cost His Majesty near 20,000*l.* and was boasted to be of force to fight for a kingdom, so suddenly perish, and that no other reasons are given thereof but her first building of old red and decaying timber and that fallen in the sap, and her double planking with green and unseasoned stuff, wherein the improvidence of the officers and unfaithfulness of the workmen cannot be excused, such faults tending to the dishonouring and disarming of the state cannot with duty be either coloured or concealed.

Perhaps this was stated a little too strongly, for in 1623, after a refit costing under 1000*l.*,

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS. (Hist. MSS.), I. 114.* See also pp. 124, 125, *infra.*

she made the voyage to Spain and back in safety. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Mr. Oppenheim, she 'was never subjected to any serious work,' and in 1641 she was entirely rebuilt at Woolwich by Peter Pett at an estimated cost of 16,019*l.*, to which must be added 2160*l.* for launching and transporting her to Chatham.<sup>1</sup>

Having been forced by the circumstances to take the matter into his own hand, James seems to have conducted the inquiry with moderation and skill, and if he had remained content with weighing the evidence, and had not attempted to decide some of the technical points in dispute himself, his decision might have received universal acceptance.

The Inquiry before James at Woolwich. An inspection of the list of witnesses on either side shows that the weight of authority was against Pett: the seamen appearing against him were of much greater importance than those for him, and, with the exception of Burrell, who subsequently<sup>2</sup> reported against the ship, the same may be said of the shipwrights. In considering the result of the inquiry we cannot do better than follow James' division into the three points of art, sufficiency of materials, and charge. As regards art, it is obvious that Pett was treading the path of progress experimentally with his new design; the criticisms indicate that he had introduced modifications into the methods followed by Baker and the older shipwrights (*e.g.* in the width of the floor and the shape of the bows), while the subsequent furring of the mould and the alterations to the futtocks show that he was uncertain where he was going, and modified his

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 9294 f. 409 and 9300.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* in 1621.

plans during the building. For the settlement of the much disputed point of the flat of the floor, which seems to have been the determination of the actual point at which the lower sweep commenced (obtained, presumably, by finding the geometrical centre of that sweep and dropping a perpendicular from it on to the floor), James chose Briggs, who was an eminent mathematician, and Chaloner, who, notwithstanding that he was a court official, was of some eminence as a scientist. Their verdict in favour of Pett must therefore be accepted as final.

On the whole, it seems that as regards 'art' Pett was in the right; but as regards the second point, 'material,' sufficient has been already said to show that his opponents were justified in their criticism. As regards the third point, 'charge,' *i.e.* costs, facts showed subsequently that the claim that 'the charge of the building of this ship should not exceed other ships that had been built in her Majesty's times . . . allowing proportion for proportion, the garnishing not exceeding theirs,' was entirely unfounded; for even allowing for the lavish decoration, the cost of building was much greater proportionately than that of any of those ships. The exuberance of the decoration may be seen from the entries in the Declared Accounts, printed in the Appendix, which are of additional interest from the information they give as to constructive details. It will be observed that these agree with such details as can be made out in the Hampton Court and Hinchinbrook pictures.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix V, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> It need scarcely be pointed out that the illustrations in Charnock's *Marine Architecture* do not remotely resemble the real ship.

The Commission of Inquiry of 1618 found the management of the Navy in much the same state as it was in 1608, with the same abuses still unremedied. But although in its Report it did not pillory Pett as the earlier Commission had done, it seems, by the reforms which it instituted, to have made him very uncomfortable. The actual shipbuilding was concentrated at Deptford, and Phineas was employed at Chatham in the work of improving and enlarging that yard. Wm. Burrell, who had been one of Pett's chief supporters in the Prince Royal Inquiry, was made one of the Commissioners, and although he remained the chief ship-builder of the East India Company,<sup>1</sup> the whole of the new construction, which amounted to two ships yearly for the next five years, was placed in his hands, all the ships being built under contracts made between Burrell and the Commissioners. Naturally this arrangement, however efficient it might be from the national point of view, did not coincide with Pett's interests, and in his usual hyperbolic style he describes Burrell and Norreys (the Surveyor) as his 'greatest enemies,' and attributes the necessary reforms of the Commissioners to a plot to 'ruin' himself.

The story of the Expedition to Algiers, which was as much a diplomatic move in support of the Elector Palatine as an attempt to suppress the Algerine pirates, has been amply dealt with by historians,<sup>2</sup> but there remains something to be said about Pett's con-

<sup>1</sup> Burrell quarrelled with the Company in 1626 and was dismissed their service. He died in 1630.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*; Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, vol. i., chap. viii.; and Oppenheim, *Monson Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 94 *et seq.*

nection with it, and his financial troubles that arose from it. It will be noted that he does not utter a word as to what happened between the time of his joining Mansell's fleet at Malaga in the Mercury on the 8th February and his return to the Downs on the 19th September. This silence was, no doubt, intentional, and arose from his unwillingness to put on record anything that might give offence to his friend Mansell or to higher authorities.

Part of the fleet was fitted out at the expense of the London merchants, who entered into a contract with Phineas for the construction of two pinnaces, of 120 and 80 tons respectively, subsequently named the Mercury and the Spy. It was the habit of the Master Shipwrights to exceed their instructions in building ships for the Navy; partly, perhaps, from a desire to do greater things than they were asked to do, and to out-rival their colleagues, but largely because the greater the ship the greater the profit to themselves. When Pett attempted to play this trick upon the merchants (increasing one pinnacle from 120 tons to 300, and the other from 80 tons to 200), 'upon some hopes of thanks and reward,' he got bitten badly, for the merchants, disdaining the precedents of the royal dockyards, insisted upon holding to their contract, and left Pett to make the best of a bad bargain. His appeal to the Council for redress was referred to the Committee of Merchants, who in their reply<sup>1</sup> of 2nd December 1622 pointed out that their 'chief desires and endeavours have been and ever shall be to do right unto all and (as fast as money can be gotten in) to give satisfaction where any just demands can be made unto us.' They added that

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, James I, cxxxiv. 60.



'at our last meeting Captain Pett sent his brother and son unto us, with whom we have conferred and have agreed that Captain Pett shall bring in his accompt, and if it appear that he hath not received as much or more than any way can be due unto him, either for making the two pinnaces or his entertainment, we will make present payment of the remainder, as we have formerly offered before your Lordships.'

The matter drifted on until 1624, and two further remonstrances, from the Admiralty, brought forth a reply from the merchants that they were

sorry to observe your Lordships' displeasure contained against us upon the suggestions of those whom nothing but their own demands can satisfy. . . . Your Lordships may please to be advertised that we contracted with him to build two pinnaces for twelve hundred and seventy pounds, and have paid to his workmen and lent to himself divers great sums of money over and above our contract and his wages,<sup>1</sup> by reason whereof we conceive he is more indebted to us than his wages demanded amounts unto, in a great sum of money, and also we lent him two hundred pounds upon his own bond yet unsatisfied. Notwithstanding, as formerly we have certified your Lordships, and sundry times offered to Capt. Pett, that we were ready to accompt with him that satisfaction might be given if ought were due to either party, and we are still ready to perform the same, yet because he rejects this motion and that we are desirous your Lordships may be fully satisfied of our honest intentions and proceedings and may be no further troubled herein, we are therefore emboldened to become suitors to your Lordships that the Commissioners of the Navy, or whom else your Lordships shall please to appoint, may have the examination of the account depending, and if upon their report anything be found due we will take present order for payment thereof.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* his wages as captain of the *Mercury*.

Apparently Pett never received the balance of the money, but his troubles did not end there.

Elizabeth Pett. He was indebted to his brother Peter for materials for these ships to the value of 325*l*. While his brother lived Phineas does not seem to have troubled about repayment, although, according to Elizabeth Pett, his sister-in-law, Peter had been 'often arrested on this account,' and Phineas himself had, as he tells us, been arrested and imprisoned in 1628 at the suit of 'one Freeman,' by whom the timber seems to have been originally supplied.<sup>1</sup>

After Peter's death,<sup>2</sup> his widow endeavoured to recover the debt from Phineas, but could not enforce judgment on account of the latter's position as the King's servant. She therefore petitioned the Admiralty in January 1633 for 'leave to have the benefit of law against him.' Pett was ordered to satisfy her or show cause why the law should not take its course. Pett explained his loss on the transaction, and asserted that, 'notwithstanding this great loss and main other<sup>3</sup> befallen me, yet according to my poor abilities I have endeavoured to make satisfaction for the debt due to my brother,' and he promised to pay it off in instalments, Elizabeth, who had herself been 'taken in execution' for the debt, pressed for a larger amount down, because she was 'almost utterly undone through want of the said sum so long time, being the greater part of her maintenance.'

In May Phineas wrote to Nicholas protesting

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, pp. 139, 141.

<sup>2</sup> About 1631. In January 1634 he is stated to have been dead three years.

<sup>3</sup> He refers especially to his loss on the *Destiny*. For this use of 'main' in the sense of 'considerable,' cf. 'a very main loss.'—*N.E.D.*

that he could not help defaulting in his payments because his son fell dangerously sick, and he could not get his arrears due from the Exchequer, and asserting his intention to settle the matter 'before the end of this term.' In June Nicholas told him that the course of justice could not be stayed any longer, and Pett again promised that the instalment due should be paid. In October, Pett was still in default, and he was ordered by the Admiralty to give immediate satisfaction or show cause within a week why proceedings should not be taken. He managed still to hold out, and on Sunday the 8th of December he was arrested as he was going to St. Dunstan's Church 'to hear a brother of his preach.' The officers let him go when they heard that he was the King's servant, and subsequently excused their action on the ground that Mrs. Pett's daughter had assured them that Phineas 'lay skulking in obscure places and then . . . lay at a chandler's shop in Tower Street, being . . . an old sea captain and ready to go to sea presently.' Upon this Pett petitioned the Admiralty, complaining that he had offered part of the debt, which was 'utterly rejected, and her implacable spirit will receive no other satisfaction but present payment of the whole debt,' and he asked the Lords to summon Mrs. Pett and her abettors before them for daring to arrest him without leave, 'so that he can go about his business without fear of arrest and that she may be enforced to accept her debt at such reasonable times as he is able to pay.' The remainder of the story is not to be found in the State Papers, but Pett tells us<sup>1</sup> that the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 154. The above account has been collected from the *S.P. Dom.*, James I, ccxv. p. 98; ccxxviii. f. 14, 84a; ccxxi. 45; ccxxxii. 27; ccxxxiii. 10; ccxxxviii. 89; ccxlii. 3, 36; ccxlvii. 84; ccli. 18; cclix. 10.

matter was fought out at law, to his 'great charge,' so that presumably he was ultimately compelled to pay the money.

A little before the time when Elizabeth first began to press him for the payment of the debt due to her late husband, Phineas was being pursued by an anchor-smith named Tayte, who asked the Admiralty for permission to proceed against him for a debt of 250*l.* due on account of ironwork supplied for the construction of the *Destiny*, which Pett built for Sir Walter Raleigh in 1617. Phineas does not mention this in the manuscript, but as it gave rise to the interesting letter to Nicholas and petition to the Admiralty printed in the Appendix <sup>1</sup> it seems worthy of passing reference. On the return of Raleigh from his disastrous expedition, the *Destiny* was confiscated by the Crown, her name being changed to *Convertive*. Pett was therefore unable to recover against the ship the 700*l.* which was due to him, and presumably had no power to recover it from Raleigh's estate; possibly, however, this was another case in which he had exceeded the contract and had no legal remedy against the owner for the difference.

In relating the voyage to Spain with the squadron sent to bring home Prince Charles after his foolish adventure with Buckingham at the Spanish Court, Pett has not been so reticent as he was in the case of the voyage to Algiers, and he has given a fuller account of the incidents of the return voyage than will be found elsewhere. The circumstances in which he went mark the peculiarly favoured position which he held in relation to the King and the Lord High Admiral. The letter

The  
Voyage  
to Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix VI. p. 210.

written to Buckingham printed in the Appendix <sup>1</sup> further illustrates this special relationship. His complaint therein that the cook-room of the Prince had been moved against his consent is evidently directed against the Commissioners, who, in their report of 1618, had urged that cook-rooms should be placed in the fore-castle because, when placed amidships, the smoke made 'the okam spew out,' and they took up valuable space required for storage, and by bad distribution of weights made the ship 'apt to sway in the back.' It does not seem unreasonable that the Navy Commissioners should have objected <sup>2</sup> to the absence of one of the principal master shipwrights from his duties for such a purpose as the voyage in question, although Phineas, with his usual animus against those who differed from him, accuses them of plots and malicious practices.

The scandal in regard to the sale of old cordage as 'brown paper stuff' was judicially investigated before the Judge of the Admiralty, and the report of the proceedings is preserved among the State Papers. <sup>3</sup> From this report it appears that Palmer, Pett, and others had sold this material (much of which, so it was alleged, might have been used for oakum, gun wads, or twice-laid rope) without the consent of the other Principal Officers. Some of the money received for it had been applied to legitimate purposes, but it is clear that part had been kept back in the hope that no questions would be asked, and that after a time the holders might appropriate it for themselves. The assertion of Pett <sup>4</sup> that it was 'claimed as a perquisite to our places' is not borne out by his own evidence.

Brown  
Paper  
Stuff.

<sup>1</sup> App. VII, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I., ccli. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, p. 153.

According to his deposition, made on 7th August 1633, the Keeper of the Storehouse at Chatham had reported to him that the storehouse was so cumbered with 'unnecessary and unserviceable cordage and old ends and decayed junks' that there was no room for serviceable material. For this reason, he and Terne, Clerk of the Survey, then acting as deputy to Aylesbury, sold 'a quantity of old ends and decayed junk for brown paper stuff,' but Pett alleged that he told the 'Master then attendant' and other officers that nothing that was fit for use or service was to be handed over to the purchasers. Pett could not remember the total amount received for this stuff,<sup>1</sup> but stated that he had 'received of the said Sir Henry Palmer (upon promise made by this deponent to deliver up bills to the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy for so much money due to him, this deponent, from his Majesty) four score and six pounds sterling and hath since made an assignment to the said Treasurer to defalk so much out of this deponent's entertainment payable to him.' He further stated that the sales were 'by their own authority, being principal officers of his Majesty's Navy,' and claimed that 'any two of the said principal officers personally attending at Chatham have sufficient power and authority for themselves, without acquainting the rest, there being divers precedents of the like done by others heretofore.'

On 22nd February 1634, Pett, Palmer, Fleming, Terne, and Lawrence were sequestered from their places for having sold the material without sufficient authority, but on 1st March Charles entirely pardoned Pett, while only allowing the others the

<sup>1</sup> It was 252*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

favour of continuing in their places until they had answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of building a royal ship that should be larger and more ornate than any of her predecessors seems to have originated in the mind of the King, who acquainted the Sovereign of the Seas. Pett with his intention towards the end of June 1634. Phineas thereupon prepared a model, which was ready by the middle of October and was carried to Court on the 19th of that month. In the meantime the Masters of Trinity House heard of the project and lodged the amusing protest printed in the Appendix.<sup>2</sup> Apparently this model was not approved, for on 7th March of the following year Pett received instructions from the Admiralty to build a 'new great ship' of 1500 tons, and was told to prepare a 'model' for it.<sup>3</sup> This second model does not appear to have been constructed, but as Pennington's draft, giving the dimensions proposed by him for the ship, is endorsed by the King as a 'model,' perhaps a tabular statement of that nature was all that was intended. In April a committee, consisting of Pennington, Mansell, Pett, and John Wells,<sup>4</sup> examined Pett's plans and drew up the following schedule of proposed dimensions,<sup>5</sup> which was approved by the King but afterwards modified:

According to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> command we have examined the particulars of the plot and the dimensions presented

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, cclx. 108, ccxxviii. f. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix VIII., p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, cclxiv. ff. 67a, 87a.

<sup>4</sup> Storekeeper at Deptford. He seems to have had some knowledge of design, for in 1626 and 1627 he had been associated with Pett, Stevens, Lydiard, and Gunter, the mathematician, in drawing up new rules for ship measurement.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, cclxxxvi. 44.

to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> by Capt. Pett, and by comparing the rules of Art and experience together we have agreed to the Proportion underwritten, which we most humbly submit to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> further pleasure.

	Ft.	Ins.
Length of the keel . . . . .	127	0
Breadth within the plank . . . . .	46	2
Depth in the hold from the breadth to the upper edge of the keel . . . . .	18	9
Keel and dead rising . . . . .	2	6
Draught of water from the breadth to the lower edge of the keel . . . . .	21	3
The swimming line from the bottom of the keel . . . . .	18	9
The flat of the floor . . . . .	13	0
Rake of the stem . . . . .	38	0
Rake of the post . . . . .	8	0
Height of the Tuck at the fashion piece . . . . .	16	0
Breadth of the Transome . . . . .	28	0
Height of the way forward . . . . .	14	0
Distance of the ports . . . . .	10	0
Ports upon the lower tier, square . . . . .	2	8
Ports upon the second tier, square . . . . .	2	6
Ports upon the third tier, round or square . . . . .	2	4
Distance of the ports from the swimming line with four months victuals at . . . . .	5	0
With six months victuals at . . . . .	4	6
The first deck from plank to plank . . . . .	7	0
The second deck . . . . .	7	3
The third deck . . . . .	7	3

All the decks flush fore and aft, and the half deck, quarter deck and forecastle according to the plot.

	Ton and Tonnage
1. This ship by the depth in hold will be . . . . .	1466
2. By the draught in water . . . . .	1661
3. By the mean breadth, which is the truest of all . . . . .	1836



Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> will be pleased to be informed that after mature debate we have likewise agreed upon the rules to be proportioned to each sweep of the midship bend, and where the bend is to be placed, and likewise of the rules to be held in her narrowing and rising lines, which we all pray may be only imparted to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

ROBERT MANSELL. J. PENNINGTON. J. WELLS.  
PHINEAS PETT.

This is endorsed in the King's handwriting: 'Dimensions resolved on for the Great Ship, 7 of April 1635.' It is of interest to note, as evidencing the jealous way in which the fundamentals of the design were kept secret, that the Committee proposed to impart the details of the midship bend<sup>1</sup> and of the narrowing and rising lines,<sup>2</sup> which together formed the key to the actual form of the hull, to the King alone.

Ten days later Pennington appears to have put in a proposal that slightly modified this design, increasing the draught of water by nine inches, the beam by four inches, the flat of the floor by one foot, and the tonnage by 56 or 48 tons, but decreasing the keel length by one foot. His scheme of dimensions, which is endorsed in the King's handwriting as 'Dimensions of Pennington's Model for the Great Ship, 17 April 1635,'<sup>3</sup> seems, from the fact that the tonnage is quoted in the contemporary lists<sup>4</sup> as 1522 tons, to have

<sup>1</sup> The transverse section at the greatest breadth.

<sup>2</sup> The curves passing through the ends of the floor timbers, as referred to the plan and elevation respectively.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, cclxxxvi. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MSS. 9300 f. 64; 9336 f. 53. *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, ccclxviii. 121. In this list, which is dated September 1637, the ship is not named. The keel length is given as 127 ft., depth from breadth to top of keel as 19 ft. 4 ins., and breadth as 46 ft. 6 ins.

been the one finally adopted, though with slight modification. It runs as follows :

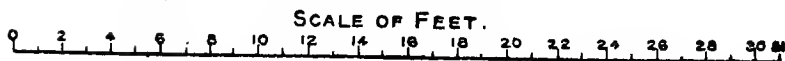
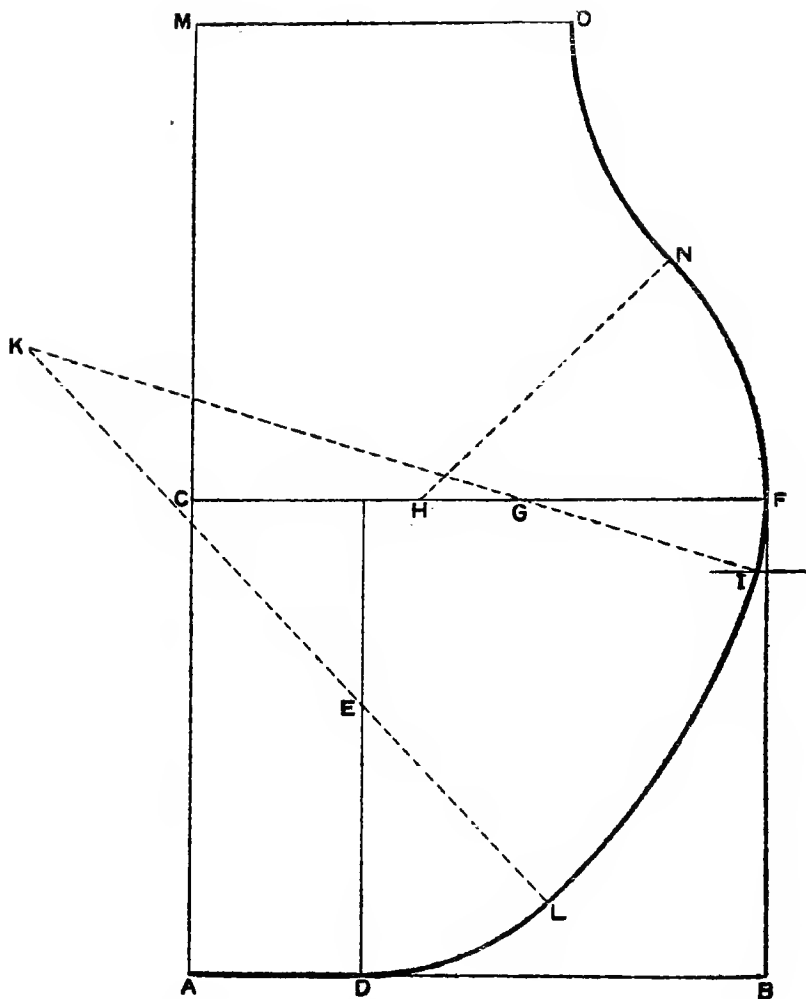
	Ft. Ins.
Length by the keel . . . . .	126 0
Breadth at the beam . . . . .	46 6
Breadth at the Transome . . . . .	28 0
Breadth of the Floor . . . . .	14 0
Breadth from the water . . . . .	2 0
Draught of water . . . . .	19 6
Ports from the water . . . . .	5 0
Ports asunder 9ft., some more . . . . .	9 0
Ports from the deck . . . . .	2 0
Distance between the decks from plank to plank	7 6
Rake of the Stem . . . . .	37 6
Rake of the Post . . . . .	9 0
Height of the Tuck . . . . .	17 0
Depth in hold from the seeling to the lower edge of the beam . . . . .	17 0
Sweep at the runghhead . . . . .	11 0
Sweep at the right of the mould . . . . .	31 0
Sweep between the water line and the breadth	10 0
Sweep above the breadth . . . . .	14 0
Burden in tons and tonnage by the old rule . . . . .	1522
New rule . . . . .	1884

The outstanding interest of this 'model' lies in the fact that it is the only instance in which the sweeps of the mould are given. Before we can proceed to construct from it the midship section, we are met with the difficulty that the depth from greatest breadth to keel is not given, but in the first model this was equal to the draught, viz. 18 feet 9 inches, and since this was increased by 9 inches, we may fairly assume that the 'depth' in Pennington's model would be about 19 feet 6 inches, and in fact we have this dimension given in a contemporary list as 19 feet 4 inches. If, taking this figure, we now attempt to plot the section, it will be found that the sweeps will not

reconcile, the radius of the futtock sweep, 31 feet, being too great by about 6 feet. The mistake appears to lie in the height of the 'breadth from the water' (*i.e.* the height of the greatest breadth above the 'swimming line'), given as 2 feet. In the first model this was 2 feet 6 inches, and, as it is not probable that it would be less in the deeper ship, we may take this to have been 3 feet, and not 2 feet. On this assumption we can proceed to construct the curve of the midship section as in the drawing annexed. In this drawing we have :

	Ft.	Ins.
AB = the half breadth . . . . .	23	3
AC = the depth from greatest breadth to top of keel . . . . .	19	4
AD = the half flat of the floor . . . . .	7	0
DE = the radius of the runahead sweep . . . . .	11	0
FG = the radius of the sweep between greatest breadth and the water- line . . . . .	10	0
FH = the radius of the 'sweep above the breadth' . . . . .	14	0

We can now plot the curve of the section: Drawing the arc FI with radius GF to a depth of 3 feet perpendicularly below CF, we obtain the point I, and producing IG backwards to K, a point 31 feet distant from I, we have the centre of the futtock sweep, or 'sweep at the right of the mould,' which is given as 31 feet in radius. With this radius from K we draw the arc IL cutting a line drawn from K through E at L. On drawing the runahead sweep from D with radius of 11 feet from centre E, it is found that this arc meets the other precisely at L, and these two arcs 'reconcile,' *i.e.* are tangent to each other



at L, for the centres of both arcs lie in the same straight line KEL.

The curve of the 'topsides' presents more difficulty, because we are only given the radius of the 'sweep above the breadth,' but if we assume that the distance CM, or total height of the midship section above the greatest breadth, is equal to AC (and this seems to have been the customary proportion), and that the reverse curve NO was struck with the same radius as FN, namely 14 feet, we get a curve for the half midship section ADLIFNO which cannot be far from the original design, and in the lower portion must approximate to it very closely indeed.

There are no data from which the plan or elevation can be constructed, but it may be noted that the list in the State Papers already quoted gives the length of keel as 127 feet, although the tonnage remains as fixed by Pennington, so that, presumably, the rakes of the stem- and stern-posts were also modified so as not to increase the displacement, or rather the empirical measurement of it. Some time during this year Peter Pett was petitioning the King for license to print and publish 'the plot or draught of the great ship,' a concession which he had apparently been promised,<sup>1</sup> but there is no record of the answer returned to his petition, nor is there any trace of the drawing, which may have been the original of the well-known engraving by Payne. In 1663 Christopher Pett gave Pepys a copy of the 'plate of the Soverayne with the table to it,'<sup>2</sup> but whether this was Peter Pett's 'plot' or Payne's engraving with additional details cannot now be ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, cccvi. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, Jan. 31, 1663.

Pett estimated the cost of building the ship at 13,860*l.*, and was to be required to 'put in assurance' to finish her for 16,000*l.*; but, before she was complete, wages alone had amounted to more than this sum, while the total cost, exclusive of ordnance, reached the extraordinary amount of 40,833*l.* In May Pett set out for the north to fell and prepare the 2500 trees required for her in Chopwell and Brancepeth Woods. The cost of carriage of the timber to the water, estimated at 1190*l.* at least, fell upon the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and Bishop Morton of Durham, who had been made responsible for the provision of this service, had to apply to the Council for assistance in proportioning out the assessment. The county of Northumberland objected to the burden to be placed upon it, and it was suggested that Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the North Riding of Yorkshire should bear part. By the beginning of September the timber had begun to arrive at Woolwich, and Pett expected to have the ship finished in eighteen months.

On the 19th September Phineas found it necessary to protest to the King against the interference of the other officers, who had 'from the beginning opposed the King's purpose in building this ship,'<sup>1</sup> and especially against being made to take material of which he did not approve, and against the attempt to charge the ship with the cost of houses then being built at Woolwich. He pointed out that he could not keep the cost within the estimate if such practices, which seem to have been customary, were permitted. The Navy Officers complained to the Admiralty of Pett's action, and he was called

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, ccxcviii. 20.

before the Admiralty, when he denied that he had complained to the King about any of them.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the great disproportion between the estimated and the ultimate cost of the ship was to some extent due to the fact that his protest was not successful, though it is difficult to believe that his original estimate can have been even approximately accurate. He had also under-estimated by six months the time required to build her.

The manuscript ends abruptly with Pett's visit to the Lord High Admiral on the 1st October 1638, and, curiously enough, the refer-  
The  
Last  
Years.
ences to him in the State Papers—  
hitherto frequent—cease at the same  
date, with a letter from Northumberland  
to Pennington mentioning this visit. Except for  
one reference in connexion with a gratuity to  
be given to Henry Goddard in April 1645, his  
name is never again mentioned therein. Yet  
he remained in the service and carried on his  
duties at Chatham until his death.

On 28th June 1642 the King sent him a warrant informing him of the appointment of Pennington as Lord High Admiral in place of Northumberland, and directing him to send the standard and all necessaries for the fleet as Sir John should direct.<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that Pennington hesitated and waited before going to the Fleet, with the result that Warwick, who had been nominated by Parliament to take command, went on board the flagship on the 2nd July, and the Fleet went over to the Parliamentary side. On the 20th August Colonels Sir John Seaton and Edwyn Sandis, acting on instructions from the Committee of Public Safety, went to Chatham Dock-

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Chas. I, ccxcix. 2, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Report*, v. 33.

yard, 'which was surrendered to them by Captain Pett when he saw their warrant.'<sup>1</sup> This was on Saturday evening, and on the Monday they completed their work by placing a guard on board the Sovereign.

Pett was rewarded for his ready obedience by being included among the Commissioners of the Navy appointed by Ordinance on the 15th September,<sup>2</sup> and he was to receive the same allowance as he already held, although the other captains (except Batten) and John Hollond were only given 100*l.* a year. From this time until his death in August 1647, in his seventy-seventh year, he seems to have remained quietly at Chatham, perhaps too old to take any very active part in current affairs, for he has certainly left no mark upon them. His death seems to have occurred unnoticed; the exact date is unknown,<sup>3</sup> and there is no record of his will—if he made one. The last entry concerning him in the official records<sup>4</sup> relates to the payment of his salary up to 29th September 1647, when he had passed away, but no reference is made to that fact. It is curious that Sir Henry Vane, the Treasurer

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Report*, v. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Firth, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> He was buried in Chatham Church on August 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Office Dec. Accts.* 2286.

'Phineas Pett, Esq., another of the said Commissioners and one of the principal officers of the Navy, for his salary at 200*l.* per annum, 8*d.* per diem for one clerk and 6*l.* per annum for paper, pens etc., due to him for the same time ended as the former [i.e. *the year ended September 29, 1647*] 217*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Thomas Smith, Esq., now one of the Commissioners of the Navy in the room and place of (*blank*) for the entertainment of himself at 200*l.* per annum and two clerks at 16*d.* per diem and 6*l.* per annum for paper money due to him for 34 days begun the 28th of August 1647 and ended the 30th of September following . . . . . 22*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*'



of the Navy in 1647, who had corresponded with Pett, and must have known of his death, has left a blank in place of his name in the entry in these accounts relating to the salary of Thomas Smith,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded to Pett's post at Chatham on the 28th August.

No authentic portrait of Phineas is known to exist. He tells us that in 1612 his 'picture was begun to be drawn by a Dutchman working then with Mr. Rock,' one of the ship-painters, but does not say if it was ever finished. The picture in the National Portrait Gallery, which shows the stern view of the Sovereign, at one time supposed to be a portrait of Phineas, is now acknowledged to be that of his son Peter. Another picture, in the possession of the Earl of Yarborough, has been exhibited in the past as a portrait of Phineas, but there can be no doubt that it really represents Sir Phineas (son of Peter of Deptford and grandson of Peter of Wapping), who was a Commissioner of the Navy from 1685 to 1689. The ship included in this picture is probably the *Britannia*, built by Sir Phineas in 1682.

In forming any just appreciation of the character and abilities of Phineas Pett, regard must be had to the circumstances of the age in which he lived. It was a time of great political and religious unrest, and expressions of religious devotion which might now be thought extravagant were then normal, and were apparently not thought incongruous with dishonesty in money matters. The chronic maladministration of the Navy,

<sup>1</sup> Smith, who had been Northumberland's secretary, had been appointed Secretary of the Admiralty by Ordinance of the same date as the one by which Pett had been re-appointed a Commissioner of the Navy in 1642.

and the arrears in payment of the relatively small salaries allotted to responsible posts, may to some extent justify methods of acquiring additional emoluments that nowadays are judged more severely.

Pett's kindness towards his unfortunate brothers and sisters shows a good heart, and there must have been something attractive in his character to secure him the steady support of Nottingham, James I, and Charles I, which went so far as to shield him against the consequences of his misdeeds.

The favoured position which he held, and the privilege he enjoyed of direct intercourse with the supreme heads of the Navy behind the backs of his immediate superiors, brought Pett into conflict with the latter on many occasions. It is not necessary to accept the explanation of Phineas that these incidents were the results of conspiracies directed against him. To oppose him was a deadly sin; thus, Burrell, who was 'a worthy gentleman and good friend' when he stood on Pett's side in the Prince Royal inquiry, became Pett's 'greatest enemy,' engaged in the 'malicious practice' of 'tending to overthrow me and root my name out of the earth' because he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1618.

Pett was evidently interested in the various efforts made in the early seventeenth century to explore and colonise the coasts of North America. He frequently refers to his friendship with Button, and states that he assisted in the selection of the Resolution for the voyage of 1612. He was, moreover, a kinsman of Hawkrige and an acquaintance of Foxe; while Gibbons was the master of his ship the Resistance. The disparaging remark

on Waymouth's 'mistaking his course (as he did in the North-West Passage)'<sup>1</sup> shows that he was acquainted with the story of the voyage of 1602, but the most competent modern authorities do not agree with this opinion of Pett (and of his contemporary Foxe), and hold that Waymouth did in fact enter the straits subsequently called after Hudson and sail along them for a considerable distance.<sup>2</sup> Pett was also a member of the Virginia Company, though he does not mention this fact. His name appears in the second and third Charters of the Company (1609 and 1612), and in 1611 he subscribed the sum of 37*l.* 10*s.* This was the lowest subscription allowable for members, but it was a comparatively large sum for those days.

Evidently Phineas, in spite of his large and growing family, was at this time fairly prosperous, and had an income considerably greater than the 54*l.* 15*s.* which represented his official salary and allowance. No doubt this income was augmented by the trading ventures in the Resistance and by shipbuilding for private owners and by various official 'perquisites.' In 1614 it was increased by 40*l.*, granted him by the King under writ of Privy Seal, but in 1617 and the following years his bad speculations in regard to the *Destiny*, the pinnace built for Lord Zouch, the *Mercury*, and the *Spy*, made serious inroads into his capital and burdened him with a load of debt which seems to have weighed upon him for many years and given him much trouble. James came to his assistance in 1620 by presenting him with a patent for a baronetcy which brought him about 650*l.*, and

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> See Christy, *Voyages of Foxe and James* (Hakl. Soc.) and Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (Hakl. Soc.).

Charles gave him another in 1628 which only fetched 200*l.* His appointment as a Commissioner of the Navy in 1631 increased his official income to 200*l.*, exclusive of the 40*l.* payable on the writ of Privy Seal. With this substantial addition to his salary he was in a position to gradually improve his finances, and after 1634 we hear no more of the actions for debt.

From the story of his life as now unfolded it is clear that Phineas Pett was a man of considerable ability and industry, kindly to his friends, but impetuous and quick-tempered; 'well-in' with the authorities, and apt to take advantage of that fact when he disagreed with his equals or superiors. It is probable that he was slightly in advance of his contemporaries in the profession of ship-building, but not to the extent commonly supposed. Here his autobiography has stood him in good stead, for it has attached to his name a personality that makes his existence seem more real and of more moment to a later age in which his professional contemporaries have become shadowy names. It is difficult to say what was his real motive in writing it, but it was probably commenced as an explanation of his position in regard to the Prince Royal dispute of 1608, and afterwards continued partly for recreation; partly, perhaps, for the edification of his children. Pepys appears to have thought much of it, for he took the trouble to copy it into his collection of miscellanæ; but it is certainly wanting in the candour and honesty of the celebrated Diary, and seems to have been written in order to convey a favourable impression to the reader, and explain away doubtful deeds, rather than as a real revelation of self.



## AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PHINEAS PETT

I, PHINEAS<sup>1</sup> PETT, being the son of Mr. Peter Pett of Deptford Strond<sup>2</sup> in the County of Kent, one of her Majesty's Master Shipwrights, was born in my father's dwelling house in the same town one All Saints' day in the morning, being the first day of November in the year of our Lord 1570, and was baptized the 8th of the same month and year aforesaid in the parish church of Deptford Strond aforesaid.

I was brought up in my father's house at Deptford Strond until I was almost nine years of age, and then put out to a free school at Rochester

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Phinees' (the form also adopted in his signature), the Greek form of the Hebrew name *Mouth of Brass*, given as 'Phinehas' by the translators of the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Deepforde Stronde.' The etymology of this well-known name does not appear to have been satisfactorily determined. Antiquaries have been content to explain it as the 'Strand' or shore of the deep ford over the Ravensbourne River, which enters the Thames at Deptford Creek. As a matter of fact, Deptford Strond lay on the shore of the Thames some distance to the west of the Ravensbourne. It seems more probable that Deptford Town, at the head of the creek near the bridge by which the Dover Road crosses, was the original settlement, and took its name from the deep creek (fiord), which was navigable for ships of 500 tons up to that bridge, and that Deptford Stronde was settled later from the 'Town' and took the addition 'Stronde' in contradistinction. The dockyard was on the site now occupied by the Foreign Cattle Market.

in Kent, to one Mr. Webb, with whom I boarded about one year, and afterward lay at Chatham Hill in my father's lodging in the Queen's House, from whence I went every day to school to Rochester and came home at night for three years space. Afterwards, by reason of my small profiting at this school, my father removed me from thence to Greenwich to a private school kept by one Mr. Adams, where I so well profited that in three years I was made fit for Cambridge.

In the year 1586 at Shrovetide, against bachelor's commencement, I was sent to the University of Cambridge, and by the means of one Mr. Howell,<sup>1</sup> a Minister in Essex, I was placed in Emanuel College with a reverend tutor, President of the house, called Mr. Charles Chadwick, where I was allowed 20*l.* per annum during my father's life, besides books, apparel, and other necessaries.

In the year 1589, about the 6th day of September, it pleased God<sup>2</sup> to call to his mercy my reverend loving father, whose loss proved afterward my utter undoing almost, had not God been more merciful unto me; for leaving all things to my mother's directions, her fatal matching with a most wicked husband, one Mr. Thomas Nunn,<sup>3</sup> a Minister, brought a general ruin both to herself and whole family.

Some two months after my father's decease or thereabouts, my eldest sister Rachel was married to one Mr. Newman, Minister of Canewdon in Essex, a man of most dissolute life, with whom she not long enjoyed, for God, of his great mercy,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Thomas Howell, Rector of Paglesham.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the MS. the name of the Deity is spelt without a capital letter: the use of capitals in this connection appears to be comparatively modern.

<sup>3</sup> 'Num' in MS., in which it occurs twice.

took her and delivered her from a most miserable and slavish life wherein she lived with him; by whom he had two children, but both died.

By reason of my mother's cross matching, my means of maintenance being wholly taken from me, and having no hopes of exhibition from any friend, I was forced after four years continuance in Cambridge, my graces for Bachelor of Art being passed both in house and town, to abandon the University presently after Christmas in anno 1590.

At Candlemas after, I, by the instant persuasion of my mother, was contented to put myself to be an apprentice to become a shipwright (my father's profession) and was bound a covenant servant<sup>1</sup> to one Mr. Richard Chapman of Deptford Strond in Kent, one of her Majesty's Master Shipwrights, and one whom my father had bred of a child to that profession, my allowance from him to find myself tools and apparel being bare but 46 shillings and 8 pence per annum. This man I served almost two years altogether at Chatham in the Queen's Majesty's Works, and then he died; where I spent all that time, God he knoweth, to very little purpose.

After my foresaid master his death, I laboured to have served Mr. Mathew Baker, one of her Majesty's Master Shipwrights also; but by the working of one Mr. Peter Buck,<sup>2</sup> then Clerk of the Check at Chatham, and some other back friends, I was crossed in my service and so put to

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* apprentice.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Gonson, junior, and Buck were appointed jointly Clerk of the Ships, with reversion to the longer liver, by letters patent of 10 July 1596. Gonson died in 1600 and Buck succeeded him. Buck was knighted in 1604 and died in 1625.

my shifts, and left to the wide world without either comfort or friend, but only God.

At this time my eldest brother by my father's side, Mr. Joseph Pett, succeeded in my father's place, one of her Majesty's Master Shipwrights, which preferment no doubt God brought him to the better to enable him to have given his help to us; but we found it clean contrary, for he was not only careless of us all and left us to our fortunes, but became also so unkind a brother to two of us, my own brother Noah and myself, that he was forced to leave his native country and seek comfort in Ireland with an uncle of ours, own brother to my mother, called George Thornton, an ancient and well experienced sea captain; where he shortly after was drowned in the river of Cork; and myself was constrained to ship myself to sea upon a desperate voyage in a man of war,<sup>1</sup> not greatly caring what became of me.

I was shipped on this voyage a little before Christmas in anno 1592, in a ship called the Gallion Constance of London, of burden of 200 tons or thereabouts, belonging to a gentleman of Suffolk, one Captain Edward Glenham,<sup>2</sup> for the carpenter's mate, the master carpenter being one Edward Goodale, born in Deptford. To my setting out to sea, I found not any of my kindred so kind as to help me, either with money or clothes, or any other comfort; only another brother I had by my father's side, Peter Pett, dwelling then at Wapping, that vouchsafed me

<sup>1</sup> A private man-of-war, called later in the 17th century a 'privateer.'

<sup>2</sup> Or Glemham. This was the second voyage. Neither appears to have been a financial success. An account of this voyage under the title, *News from the Levane Seas . . .* was published in 1594.



lodging and meat and drink till the ship was ready to set sail ; one William King, a yeoman in Essex and a stranger to me, lent me 3*l.* in ready money to help to furnish my necessaries, which afterward I repaid him again.

In this voyage I endured much misery for want of victuals and apparel ; and after twenty months spent in the Levant Seas, coasts of Barbary and Spain, with many hazards both of loss of life and time, without taking any purchase<sup>1</sup> of any value, we, extreme poorly, returned for Ireland into the river of Cork ; and there taking leave both of ship and voyage, I travelled to Dublin<sup>2</sup> to visit my uncle Captain Thornton and my brother Noah, being then master with him in the Popinjay of the Queen's Majesty's ; and presently after bent my course for England, taking passage at the town of Waterford.

With some difficulty I got to London, some three days before Christmas in anno 1594, having neither money nor apparel, and took up my lodging at my brother Peter's house in Wapping, before spoken of, who, although I was returned very poor, yet vouchsafed me kind entertainment. The next day I presented myself to my brother Joseph, who very coyly receiving me, out of his bounty lent me 40*s.* to apparel myself, which I bestowed as frugally as I could in Birchin Lane in London, contenting myself as well as I could with mean attire, till such time as it should please God to provide better for me.

At that time it so fell out that there were certain of her Majesty's ships appointed to be

<sup>1</sup> Prize.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Divellinge,' apparently a phonetic attempt at the old name of Dublin, '*Duibhlinn*,' pronounced *Divlin*. Pepys in his marginal note writes 'travelled to Dublin.'

made ready for the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkyns, amongst which the *Defiance*<sup>1</sup> was to be brought into Woolwich Dock to be sheathed; which work being commended to my brother Joseph's charge, he was contented to admit me amongst many others to be one, where I was contented to take any pains to get something to apparel myself, which by God's blessing I performed before Easter next after, and that in very good fashion, always endeavouring to keep company with men of good rank far better than myself.

In the latter end of this year 1594 about the beginning of Lent, I lost my dear brother Noah, who was drowned in Cork river with eight more of his company, and lieth buried in Cork church in Ireland.

About Bartholomew tide in anno 1595, the Triumph of her Majesty's was had into Woolwich Dock to be new builded by Mr. Mathew Baker, under whom I was entertained there as an ordinary workman and had allowed me a boy, which was John Wood, being the first servant that I ever kept; but presently after Mr. Baker was appointed to leave that business, and had order to go in hand with the building of a great new ship at Deptford, called afterward the *Repulse*,<sup>2</sup> and was admiral of my Lord's of Essex squadron in the Cadiz journey. The Triumph<sup>3</sup> was then appointed to my brother Joseph's charge, with whom I a while continued, but, finding him altogether unwilling to prefer<sup>4</sup> me in his work

<sup>1</sup> This was destined to be the last voyage of Drake and Hawkyns. The *Defiance* was Drake's ship.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Dieu* (*Dieu*) *Repulse*.

<sup>3</sup> Built in 1561, this was a rebuilding.

<sup>4</sup> Advance.

as next under him, with some passage of discontent betwixt us, I left him, and had ready entertainment by Mr. Baker in his new business at Deptford, yet no otherwise than an ordinary workman ; with whom I continued from the beginning of the foresaid ship, till she was wholly finished, launched, and set sail of her voyage from Woolwich, which was about the latter end of April 1596.

All that winter, in the evenings, commonly I spent my time to good purposes, as in cyphering, drawing, and practising to attain the knowledge of my profession, and I then found Mr. Baker sometime forward to give me instructions, from whose help I must acknowledge I received my greatest lights. At this time also the Lord Admiral<sup>1</sup> lay most of the winter at his house<sup>2</sup> at Deptford, by reason whereof I got some acquaintance amongst his men, and was much importuned to have attended his Lordship in that journey,<sup>3</sup> which no doubt might have proved very much both profitable and beneficial unto me, besides it would have brought me in acquaintance and favour with my Lord Admiral, but some other reasons restrained me from all these likelihoods and kept me at home, to my no small hindrance as it fell out.

After I was discharged from the *Repulse*, my brother Joseph entertained me at Woolwich upon the *Triumph*, upon which ship I wrought till her launching and the discharge of the men from her, and afterwards was employed at my brother's, at Limehouse, upon a small model for the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Howard of Effingham.

<sup>2</sup> On the north side of Deptford Green, overlooking the Thames, afterwards the Gun Tavern. See Dew's *History of Deptford*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the Cadiz Expedition of 1596, under the joint command of Howard and Essex.

Treasurer<sup>1</sup> his house called Theobalds,<sup>2</sup> and the next winter I spent in Essex, at Paglesham<sup>3</sup> in Rochford Hundred, as overseer for my brother Peter in certain woods he had bought there.

About this time, was I very desirous, by the instigation of some special friends of mine, to have been a follower of the Lord of Essex, and was three several times brought purposely to have been presented unto his lordship; but was every time delayed by reason of his great state<sup>4</sup> affairs, the Lord of heaven having other ways in his secret wisdom determined to dispose of me.

In the latter end of March succeeding, or beginning of April 1597, by the means of one Mr. Gilbert Wood, one of the Lord Admiral's Chamber, an especial good friend of mine, I was presented to the Lord High Admiral of England, at his Manor at Chelsea, where his lordship was pleased not only to accept me as his servant, but also openly shewed such extraordinary respect of me as I had much cause to give God thanks, who no doubt had stirred his honourable heart to regard me, but a simple and mean fellow, even far beyond my expectation or desert, and this was the very first beginning of my rising.

In the beginning of this year, 1597, my dear and loving mother deceased at Weston in Suffolk, not far from Bury, and lieth buried in the parish church there. A little after midsummer in the same year, I was employed by my brother Joseph Pett, in his yard at Limehouse, upon the repairing

<sup>1</sup> William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

<sup>2</sup> Pronounced 'Tibalds,' whence the form 'Tiballs' in which it appears in the MS. Theobalds Park (near Waltham Cross) was afterwards exchanged between Burghley's son, the first Earl of Salisbury, and James I for Hatfield.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Pakellsum.'

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'estate.'

of a great Flemish ship of whom was master Mr. John King of Limehouse, where I first came acquainted with him, and in his company and Mr. Nicolas Simonson of Limehouse, I was first brought acquainted at Highwood Hill<sup>1</sup> where I first fell in love with my now wife, which was about St. James' tide.<sup>2</sup> About Bartholomew tide<sup>3</sup> next following, the Elizabeth Jonas was brought into her Majesty's Dock at Woolwich, and there was the first preferment my brother Joseph help me with, making me principal overseer of that business under him. During all the time of this work, we both lodged and dined at old Mr. Lydiard's<sup>4</sup> in the yard.

During the continuance of this work I did not neglect my wooing, having taken such a liking of the maiden that I determined resolutely (by God's help) either to match with her or never to marry any; the which I with much difficulty (praised be God) at length achieved, all my own kindred being much against my matching with her, by reason of some controversies grown twixt Mr. Nicolas Simonson and them.

Toward the end of February in this present year, I took the lease of a new house (of Mr. William Borough,<sup>5</sup> then Comptroller of her Majesty's Navy) at Limehouse by the through head,<sup>6</sup> which to some charge I fitted for my dwelling, although I remained not in it little more than two years, paying 11*l.* yearly rent, and 20*l.* income.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Hye Woodehill'; near Mill Hill.

<sup>2</sup> St. James's Day, 25th July.

<sup>3</sup> St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Lydiard, senior, Clerk of the Check.

<sup>5</sup> The navigator, brother of Stephen Borough.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the entrance to the dock.

<sup>7</sup> The 'income' was the fee or fine paid on entering upon the lease.

I was married to my now wife Ann, the daughter of Richard Nicholls of Highwood Hill in the parish of Hendon in Middlesex, a man of good report and honest stock, the 15th day of May 1598 at Stepney Church upon a Monday in the forenoon. I kept my wedding at my own charge in my new dwelling house at Limehouse, accompanied with my brothers and sisters, my wife's parents, and divers of her friends and kindred.

About midsummer after, was the Elizabeth Jonas launched out of Woolwich Dock, and sudden preparation made to have received her Majesty aboard the ship riding afloat; but upon some unknown reasons her Majesty came not at all, for even at that instant had one Mr. Wiggs<sup>1</sup> procured commission about examination of certain abuses in the Navy, which was pursued with a great deal of malice against divers particular men but with little profit to her Majesty's service.

From midsummer, all the ensuing year, till Christmas I lay still and idle without any manner employment or comings in but what my servants got with working now and then abroad, which was very little and hardly able to buy me food.

About Christmas my honourable lord and master the Lord High Admiral commended me to an employment in Suffolk and Norfolk for the finishing of a purveyance of timber and plank formerly undertaken by one Child of Sole,<sup>2</sup> who dealt in Norfolk and, dying, left the business in much disorder.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wiggs, a subordinate of Lord Buckhurst, Commissioner of State Trials. He is mentioned in a letter of Buckhurst to Cecil of 7th December 1600. *Salisbury MSS.* (*Hist. MSS.*), x. p. 411, and in Pepys' *Miscell.*, x. p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Southwold.

And one Robert Ungle<sup>1</sup> who dealt in Suffolk and, for divers abuses by him there committed, fled the country and left all the service in great disorder and spoil ; for the rectifying of which abuses, saving of her Majesty's provisions, and discharging of the countries,<sup>2</sup> it pleased my Lord to make choice of me to undertake the same, and to take order to send in all the said provisions of timber and plank ; which accordingly I did, using all care and diligence in the performance of the same, both to the content of her Majesty's service, my Lord Admiral and the Officers of the Navy, and the satisfaction of all countries where I had to do. Notwithstanding through the malicious envy of old Mathew Baker, Bright, Adye, and others<sup>3</sup> all my doings and accounts were thoroughly sifted, but thanks be to God nothing could be proved against me, so that I had all my bills passed quietly ; but by reason Mr. Fulke Greville,<sup>4</sup> being then Treasurer of the Navy, did not greatly affect<sup>5</sup> me, by cause of some particular spleens between him and Mr. John Trevor,<sup>6</sup> then newly made Surveyor, who was my especial and worshipful friend, he laid a rub<sup>7</sup> in my way, cutting me off wrongfully of twenty pounds in my accounts after all my bills were passed and signed by the hands of the Principal Officers, according to the custom of the Navy.

All this year of 1599, I spent wholly in this service, in which time these occurrences happened.

After the decease of my dear and loving mother there were left under the keeping of my father-in-law,<sup>8</sup> Thomas Nunn, then Minister of Weston in

<sup>1</sup> Or 'Ungle.'

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Like, favour.

<sup>7</sup> An allusion to the game of bowls.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* districts.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Lord Brooke.

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Stepfather.

Suffolk, three sisters, vide : Abigail Pett, Elizabeth and Mary, the youngest, and one brother named Peter Pett, who was put out to a gentleman's house in Suffolk to teach his children, the daughters remaining all at home with him, he being then lately again married.

He used himself to them as a stern and cruel father-in-law, not contented that he had brought a general ruin upon my mother's whole family by cosening us of all that was left us, but proceeded further, even to blood, for upon a slight occasion about making clean his cloak, being wet and dirty with riding a journey the day before, he furiously fell upon my eldest sister Abigail, beating her so cruelly with a pair of tongs and a great firebrand that she died within three days upon that beating and was privately by his means buried ; but God that would not let murder pass unrevenged, stirred up the hearts of his own parishioners and neighbours, who, complaining to the Justice, caused the body to be taken up, and so by the coroner's inquest that passed upon her and miraculous tokens of the dead corpse, as fresh bleeding, sensible opening of one of her eyes, and other things, he was found guilty of her death and so committed and bound over to answer the matter at next General Assizes to be held at Bury, which was in the Lent after, being in this year 1599, and in the time of my employment in Suffolk and Norfolk.

Upon his committing, my two other poor sisters were put by the justices to the keeping of the town of Weston, till the assizes<sup>1</sup> were past, at whose hands I received them at Bury in a miserable fashion, not having clothes nor any necessaries fit for them ; the charge of their board

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'syses.'



I was glad to defray to the constable, and all the charge of the assizes, where both they and my young brother were bound to give in evidence against our father-in-law, to whom we shewed more mercy than he did to us, whom our spoil would not content, but he thirsted also our blood. In his arraignment Sir John Popham, then Lord Chief Justice of England and Chief Judge of that circuit, shewed such true justice (notwithstanding great means was made for him, not only by his friends, but by the clergy of that country), that all his cruelty and wicked proceedings was laid open and he, convict of manslaughter by the jury, was committed to prison to sue for the benefit of the Queen's pardon,<sup>1</sup> from whence being shortly freed, he, by God's just revenging hand, lived but a short time after.

From the assizes at Bury I sent my brother and my two sisters home to my wife at Limehouse, being no small charge to me, being but newly married and having little means but my hands to bring in anything, yet I refused not to do the duty of a brother to them to the utmost of my power; the eldest of my sisters, called Elizabeth, by means of friends I placed in London with a gentlewoman of good fashion, where she continued not long, but came home sick and died at my house as we doubted of the plague. My youngest sister sickened also shortly after, but it proved the small pox.

In all these extremities I had little help from my brothers, who were bound in conscience to have had some care of them, the small portions they had being in the hands of my eldest brother Joseph, yet no relief came from him towards their maintenance or bringing up; but being but half brothers

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Dom. 28th May 1599; the name is given as 'Nun.'

and sisters they thought them less bound to do them good and therefore left all the burden upon me, worst able of all to bear it.

My youngest sister Mary, recovering her sickness, continued with me in my house contenting herself with such breeding as I could give her ; from whence she never removed till she was married from me. My young brother Peter, about the end of November, I placed with a worshipful gentleman, Doctor Hone,<sup>1</sup> in the Arches,<sup>2</sup> as one of his clerks, where he might have lived well if he would have stayed with him.

In December this year, 1599, I began a small model, which being perfected and very exquisitely set out and rigged, I presented it to my good friend Mr. John Trevor, who very kindly accepted the same of me.

In the beginning of this year, I, having no employment, determined with myself to have bought some part of a castle carvel<sup>3</sup> and to have gone in her myself ; whereby I hoped (by God's blessing) to have gotten an honest and convenient maintenance, and to that end I began to follow one John Goodwin of London, professor of the mathematics, with whom I spent three days in a week in practice, and so was purposed to have continued the whole year till the spring following ; but God, who in his secret counsel had otherwise decreed of me, altered all my determinations, for upon the 25th day of June I was sent for to the Court, lying then at Greenwich, by my honourable lord and master the Lord High Admiral who, after some speeches expressing both his love and honour-

<sup>1</sup> Probably John Hone, Advocate of Doctors' Commons, 1589; Master in Chancery 1596-1602.

<sup>2</sup> The ecclesiastical 'Court of Arches' held at St. Mary-le-Bow.

<sup>3</sup> A Newcastle carvel-built ship.

able care of me, his lordship concluded to send me down to Chatham, where I was to succeed in the place of one John Holding, a shipwright that was keeper of the plank yard timber and other provisions (upon some displeasure turned out of all), the means whereof being but small, as 18*d.* per diem and 6*l.* per annum fee for myself, and allowance for one servant at 16*d.* per diem.

I was very unwilling to undertake so mean a place, by the which I was neither sure of competent maintenance nor of any reputation, but that I was encouraged by the persuasions of my ever honourable lord, who comforted me with promises of better preferment to the utmost of his power; whereupon I being contented to accept his lordship's offer, I was, the 27th of the same month of June, placed at Chatham by Sir Henry Palmer, then Comptroller, Mr. John Trevor, Surveyor, and Mr. Peter Buck, Clerk of the Ships.

At this time there was grown very high terms of unkindness between my brother Joseph and me about my poor sisters and brother, because he did not only deny to be any ways contributory to their maintenance but also made the neighbours believe that they were brought up at his charge in my house, because he would not be troubled with them, when God knoweth he never disbursed halfpenny to their bringing up, nor cared what became of them.

Now upon this occasion of my placing at Chatham, we were reconciled and ever after lived together as loving brethren. It also happened that Sir Fulke Greville, then Treasurer, continuing his spleen against me for Mr. Trevor's sake, opposed me all he could, which after turned me to much trouble.

About the time of my coming to Chatham,

Mr. Barker, the lord of the Manor, was removed to a house he had bought at Boley Hill<sup>1</sup> by Rochester, by reason whereof his Manor House wherein he formerly dwelt at Chatham was void, the which house by means of my brother Joseph's encouragement I ventured upon and took a lease for twenty-one years, paying 25*l.* income, the which lease was sealed unto me the 17th day of October, 1600.

The 16th day of June in this year my youngest brother Peter, having, against all the consent of his friends and without their knowledge, forsaken his worshipful master Doctor Hone's service and be-taken himself to disordered courses, sickened at London at the sign of the Dolphin in Water Lane, and the 21st day after deceased of the small pox before I knew he was sick, whose charge both of his sickness and funeral I was at, and saw him seemly interred, accompanied with a good company of my friends, in Barking churchyard<sup>2</sup> in Tower Street, the 23rd of the same month of June 1600.

The 24th October, having bestowed all my poor stock upon the lease of my house and the furnishing of the same in some convenient manner, I shipped the same in [an] hoy of Rainham<sup>3</sup> and so removed to Chatham, myself going down in the hoy; where I missed a great danger, for at the west end of the Nore about 3 of the clock in the morning, 25th day, we were like to be surprised by a picking Dunkirk<sup>4</sup> full of men who, being at our passing by (although it was very dark) at an anchor, suddenly weighed and gave us chase, and had boarded us had not God prevented him by our bearing up,

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Bulley'; the high ground south of Rochester Castle.

<sup>2</sup> 'All Hallows, Barking,' founded by the nuns of Barking Abbey, whence the name.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'raynam.'

<sup>4</sup> Thievish Dunkirker.

the wind being at east ; and running ourselves on shore within the Swatch,<sup>1</sup> the next day we got safe as high as Gillingham.

My dwelling house at Limehouse I passed away with a great deal of loss, both of income, rent and wainscoting to the value of 50*l.*, putting it over at 10*l.* per annum, when I was bound by lease to pay 11*l.* Yet was I glad to be rid of it upon any condition.

Presently after Christyde<sup>2</sup> my wife, being great with child, fell sick at Chatham and grew so weak that I was forced, about the 10th of March following, to remove her, not without great hazard, to London, and from there to her father's house at Highwood Hill in Middlesex, where the 23rd day of March after, thanks be given to God, she was delivered of her first born son, John Pett ; from whence she returned to Chatham in safety some two months after.

Much about this time I was made an assistant to the Master Shipwrights at Chatham, in the room of Thomas Bodman. In this year the first business I undertook was the repairing of the Lion's Whelp hauled up at the storehouse end at Chatham.

In the year 1602 I also new built the Moon, hauled up in the same place, enlarging her both in length and breadth, and this year also, I, with Mr. Pickasee, undertook the victualling of the shipwrights and caulkers at Chatham, which we continued only two months, to our great loss ; which we could never get recompensed by reason Mr. Fulke Greville continued my heavy enemy, and was content to receive and countenance informations against me, because he could not win me to such conditions as he laboured me in, both against

<sup>1</sup> Swatchway ; the channel south of the Nore Sand.

<sup>2</sup> Christmas.

my good friend Sir John Trevor (who then lay very dangerously sick at Plymouth) and against many others serving with me at Chatham. The principal informer and stirrer in this business against me was one George Collins, sometimes carpenter of the *Foresight*, a very stubborn and malicious fellow, who by Mr. Greville's countenance was suffered to sue me at the common law upon an action of trespass for striking him with a little rod upon the shoulder in the Queen's yard at Chatham, upon a cause of mutiny in the time of victualling; and so little relief had I against him, notwithstanding my Lord Admiral's favour, that I was forced to compound with him and gave him 20 nobles<sup>1</sup> ready money for satisfaction. Thus it pleased God to exercise me with continual trouble and hindrances in the beginning of my service.

In November this present year, 1602, Mr. Greville, having undertaken the preparation of a Fleet with her Majesty, to be ready fitted to sea by a set time, was contented (upon my promise to him to procure the said Fleet to be fitted in six weeks) to receive me to his favour, which promise I accordingly (by God's gracious assistance) fully accomplished; by which means I had gained his love, favour and good opinion, had there not happened a sudden alteration by the death of her Majesty which presently followed.

The 18th day of March 1603,<sup>2</sup> my wife was delivered of her second son, Henry, at my house at Chatham.

The 24th day of the same month, her Majesty of sacred memory deceased at Richmond.

<sup>1</sup> Originally half a mark, or 6s. 8d., afterwards 10s.

<sup>2</sup> 1602, according to the Old Style, as it is before the 25th March.

The same day his Majesty, whom God grant long to reign, was proclaimed at Westminster, London, and other places, and the next day, being Friday and market day, at Rochester.

This year happened the great plague throughout England, but especially about London, by reason whereof many removed from thence into divers places in the country where they had any friends or means of succour.

In the middle of July my brother Joseph, with his wife and children, removed from his house at Limehouse to Ipswich.

To transport them thither by sea I procured a small pinnace of his Majesty's to be prepared ready, called the Primrose, and manning her with my good friends and neighbours as Boatswain Vale,<sup>1</sup> David Duck, Mr. Rock, Robert Perin, Jarvis Mins, and divers others, together with myself, we embarked at Chatham the 14th of July, 1603, and in Tilbury Hope took in our passengers; and the 16th day in the afternoon landed them safely at Ipswich, where of their friends we received very great entertainment, staying there about 4 days; and the 21st day we arrived again at Chatham, thanks be to God, in health, about 4 of the clock in the afternoon.

The sickness beginning to be very hot at Chatham, upon the persuasions of some of my friends I removed my wife and children from thence to my wife's father's in Middlesex, shipping them away in the same vessel I had to Ipswich, and landing at Dagenham<sup>2</sup> in Essex, had horses there met us, and so journeyed to Highwood Hill. This voyage was taken from Chatham the 16th of

<sup>1</sup> Or Avale, see p. 86; for many years the pilot for the river and Downs. The Commission of 1618 proposed to pension him as 'aged and blind.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Dagnam.'

August ; we came to Highwood Hill the 19th day, where my wife and children remained till the 3rd of October following, which day we took our journey to Dagenham, where the next day we were stayed by a great rain, but the 4th day we came over the ferry at Greenhithe<sup>1</sup> and safely home, thanks be given to God, at 4 of the clock that afternoon.

This summer I began to new-build the Answer, being hauled up and blocked at the end of the storehouse at Chatham.

The 10th of November my landlord Mr. Barker, with some of his family, sojourned with me at Chatham, where they remained till the 28th day of the same month, and then returned to their own house at Boley Hill.

During this time I divers times solicited my brother to be joined patentee with him, but his remissness caused me to overslip opportunity so long that one Mr. Stevens<sup>2</sup> of Limehouse, this year, by means of some great friends about my Lord Admiral, got a general reversion of all the Master Shipwrights' places, cutting me off from all hopes of any timely preferment, to my great discouragement considering what pains I took at Chatham to further his Majesty's service.

When I was most dejected with the conceit of this injury, as I took it, it pleased God of His great mercy to me, even then when I least expected any such thing, to raise me up a means of some hope of preferment after this manner ; for about the 15th of January, being at Ratcliff with my wife, to christen her sister Simonson's daughter Martha, there was, unknown unto me, a letter sent post to Chatham from my honourable Lord Admiral, commanding me with all possible speed

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Grenehve.'

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.



to build a little vessel for the young prince Henry to disport himself in above London Bridge, and to acquaint his Grace with shipping and the manner of that element, setting me down the proportions and the manner of her garnishing, which was to be like the work of the Ark Royal, battlement wise. This little ship was in length by the keel 25 foot, and 12 foot in breadth, garnished with painting and carving both within board and without very curiously, according to his Lordship's directions. I laid her keel the 19th day of January, wrought upon her as well day as all night by torch and candle lights under a great awning made with sails for that purpose.

The 6th day of March after, I launched the ship, being upon a Tuesday, with a noise<sup>1</sup> of trumpets, drums, and such like ceremonies at such time used.

I set sail with her on the Friday after, being the 9th day, from Chatham. Between the Nore head and the east end of Tilbury we had a very great storm, so that it was Sunday before we could get Gravesend; and on Monday morning, being the 12th day, we anchored at Blackwall. Mr. George Wilson, then boatswain of the Lion, was master with me, and myself captain, and I was manned with almost all boatswains of the Navy and other choice men.

On Wednesday, being the 14th day of March, by my Lord Admiral's commandment we weighed from Limehouse, and anchored right against the Tower before the King's lodgings, his Majesty then lying there before his riding through London. There the young Prince, accompanied with the Lord Admiral and divers of the Lords, came and took great pleasure in beholding of the ship, being

<sup>1</sup> Band.

furnished at all points with ensigns and pendants. The 16th day, being Friday, we unrigged and shot the bridge, and the 17th day we rigged again and received both ordnance and powder from the Tower.

On Sunday in the afternoon, being the 18th day, fitted with a noise of trumpets and drums and fife, we weighed and turned up with the wind at south-west as high as Lambeth, with multitudes of boats and people attending upon us. As we passed by Whitehall, I saluted the Court with a volley of small shot and our great ordnance, and upon the ebb, turning down again, we did the like, and then taking in our sails we came to an anchor right against the Privy Stairs.

On Monday the 19th day his Majesty went by barge to the Parliament. We shot our great and small ordnance of round,<sup>1</sup> both at his taking barge and landing.

All Tuesday and Wednesday we rode still, without doing anything but giving entertainment to gentlemen of the King's and Prince's servants that hourly came aboard of us.

On Thursday morning, being the 22nd day, I received a commandment from the Lord Admiral to prepare the ship and all things fitting to receive the young prince aboard of us in the afternoon; who accordingly presently<sup>2</sup> after dinner came aboard us in his barge accompanied with the Lord High Admiral, Earl of Worcester, and divers other noblemen. We presently weighed and fell down as far as Paul's Wharf,<sup>3</sup> under both our topsails

<sup>1</sup> Round shot. At that period salutes were fired with shotted guns, not with blank charges.

<sup>2</sup> Immediately.

<sup>3</sup> South of St. Paul's, and on the east side of Baynard's Castle.

and foresail, and there came to an anchor ; and then his Grace,<sup>1</sup> according to the manner in such cases used; with a great bowl of wine christened the ship and called her by the name of the Disdain.

His Grace then withdrawing himself with the lords into the great cabin, there my honourable lord, and till then master,<sup>2</sup> with his own hands presented me to his Grace, using many favourable words (beyond my deserts) in my commendations, with this addition, that I was a servant worthy the acceptance of the greatest prince of the world. From his hands it pleased his Grace very thankfully to receive me as his servant, with many promises of his princely favour to me. The next day, being Friday and the 23rd of March, it pleased my Lord Admiral to entreat my worthy friend Sir John<sup>3</sup> Trevor to accompany me to the Lord Thomas Howard, then Lord Chamberlain, from whom receiving a ticket, I was sent to St. James', the Prince's house, where by Mr. Alexander and Mr. Abington, then gentlemen ushers, I was sworn his Grace's servant, and by them presented to the Prince before he went to dinner, with as much favour and respect as I could desire.

During this time of my attendance at the Court as his Grace's Captain of his ship, it pleased my honourable Lord Admiral to give order to Sir Thomas Windebank,<sup>4</sup> one of the Clerks of the Signet, to draw me a bill for the reversion of Mr. Baker's or my brother Joseph Pett's place, which first should happen to be void, notwithstanding the letters patent formerly granted to Mr. Stevens ; which accordingly was with all expedition per-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Prince Henry.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Lord High Admiral.

<sup>3</sup> M.S. 'Ihon,' mis-transcribed in the *Harl. MS.* here and elsewhere as 'Thomas.'

<sup>4</sup> M.S. 'Winebancke.'

formed, and the 11th of April following was presented to his Majesty and signed, and shortly after passed the great seal; for the whole charge whereof I gave Sir Thomas Windebank 17*l*. About the same time Sir Robert Mansell had his patent passed for the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy.

The 3rd of May, after my return to Chatham from my attendance at Court, I began to set up a small ship at Gillingham in David Duck's yard at my own charges; and the 17th day of the same month also was launched the Answer, whom I had new built, who by carelessness ran off before her time without any great hurt, thanks be to God therefor. About the midst of June following, the preparation was begun for the entertainment of his Majesty aboard the ships at Chatham, where I took both extraordinary care and pains, which my envious enemies Mr. Baker and Mr. Bright sought by all means to disgrace, even at the instant time when his Majesty was to come on board the Elizabeth; but the Lord diverted all their malice by the countenance of my old master the Lord Admiral who, approving my honest endeavours and finding the success answerable in all respects to his Lordship's expectation, dismissed them with sharp rebukes and encouraged me with no small commendation. This happened the 4th of July, 1604.

The 12th of November after, I launched the new ship at Gillingham, which was begun in May preceding, and called *her*<sup>1</sup> *name* the Resistance.

*And in the beginning of December following I carried her up to Limehouse, and there hauled her on shore at the south side of my brother Joseph's wharf, where she lay till I had sold away part of her.*

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are wanting in the original MS.

*The 21st of January following I sold one-third part of her to Sir Robert Mansell and another third to Sir John Trevor, and the other third I reserved to myself.*

I rigged her and prepared her with all her furniture to attend the Lord High Admiral of England in his journey into Spain when he went Ambassador, and made ready the Bear and the rest of his Majesty's ships at Chatham that went that voyage, myself being commanded by his Lordship to wait upon him in his own ship, the Bear, which accordingly I performed.

The 24th of March I took my leave of the most noble Prince my master at Greenwich, being Sunday in the afternoon; and the 28th day of the same month following I took leave of my wife and children at Chatham and attended the Lord Ambassador on board the Bear in his own barge, the whole fleet then riding at Queenborough, from whence we set sail the last day, being Sunday and Easter day.

The 4th day of April *we<sup>1</sup> came to an anchor in Dover Road, and the 10th day after we lost the sight of the Lizard. The next day, being the 11th, the Lord Ambassador sent me aboard my own ship, the Resistance, with one Captain Morgan, with certain directions, to the Groyne.<sup>2</sup> But by the overbearing of Captain Morgan, his Lordship altering his determination came into the Groyne two days before us, where we also arrived the 16th day, being Tuesday.*

The 20th of April, being Saturday, I set sail with the Resistance out of the Groyne, with instructions to go for Lisbon, where I arrived the 24th after, and there stayed to despatch my affairs till the 9th day of May following; from

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are wanting in the original MS.

<sup>2</sup> Coruña.

whence I set sail for St. Lucar,<sup>1</sup> and arrived there the 11th day in the afternoon, being Saturday; from whence I went by passage boat, leaving my ship at Bonanza,<sup>2</sup> to Seville;<sup>3</sup> from whence, after three days stay there, I returned to my ship the 17th day of the same month.

From St. Lucar I set sail the 2nd day of June, and plying it up for Cape St. Mary's<sup>4</sup> with a contrary wind, I put room<sup>5</sup> the 5th day for Cales<sup>6</sup> road, from whence, putting to sea again the 8th day, I arrived back again at the Groyne the 19th day, according as my instructions directed me. Where going ashore to the Governor and understanding the fleet to be all gone to St. Anderas<sup>7</sup> and that the Lord Ambassador was already (as he said) embarked for England, I put to sea again presently, directing my course for England. The 23rd day I made the Start, and the 26th day of June, being Wednesday, I landed at Rye in the forenoon; from whence I came post to my house at Chatham, with much rain, thunder, and lightning all the way, where I lighted about 10 of the clock at night.

In the midst of July, after my return home, I let out my ship, the *Resistance*, to merchants for a voyage into the Straits by the month, one Mr. Burgess going master, and my friend William Gibbons, his mate and purser. I docked her, sheathed her, and fitted her, and she went from Gravesend the 23rd day of August following.

In the midst of October following I made a journey into Hampshire, to make a survey of a

<sup>1</sup> San Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Bonance': opposite San Lucar.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Civill.'

<sup>4</sup> C. de Sta. Maria.

<sup>5</sup> Bore away.

<sup>6</sup> Cadiz.

<sup>7</sup> Santander.

part of the forest of East Bere,<sup>1</sup> being then in the occupation of the Right Honourable the Earl of Worcester, of whom, after my return, Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor bought 3000 trees.

At my return to London from that journey I found my eldest brother Joseph Pett, then dwelling at Limehouse, very dangerously sick, of the which he never recovered but departed this life the 15th day of November about 9 of the clock in the forenoon, being Friday.

He was buried in the chancel in Stepney Church the 18th day of November in the forenoon, accompanied with my good friends Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Henry Palmer, Sir John Trevor, then Principal Officers of His Majesty's Navy, and many other good friends and neighbours, who after the funeral returned to my brother's house, where they all were welcomed with a very great dinner and feast.

Presently after my brother's decease, it pleased my very good lord, the Lord High Admiral, to grant his warrant for my entrance into my brother's place, to the effect of my letters patent, notwithstanding the claim made unto it by one Edward Stevens<sup>2</sup> of Limehouse, who had formerly procured a general reversion of all the Master Shipwrights' places, but by reason the fee was mistaken, wherein his Majesty was abused and charged with an innovation, he could not prevail in his claim, albeit he often petitioned the Lords of the Council and made great friends against me; yet it pleased God, by the noble favour of the Prince my master, and the Lord Admiral's countenance, I enjoyed my place with a general approbation both of the State and Officers; and so finished this year of 1605.

<sup>1</sup> In Hampshire, north of Havant.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

I had forgotten<sup>1</sup> to insert in his proper place the birth of two sons, which it pleased God were born unto me, the eldest whereof named John was born at Highwood Hill, in my wife's father's house, in the Parish of Hendon in Middlesex, the 23rd day of March, 1600. The second son named Henry was born in my house at Chatham in Kent the 18th of March in anno Domini 1602.

The 12th of January following I began a journey into Hampshire, into the forest of East Bere, where I spent the rest of that month in making choice of the trees were bought of the Earl of Worcester; which business performed, and my good friend David Duck undertaking the whole charge of the same in the behalf of Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor, I returned home to my house at Chatham in the beginning of February.

The 21st of June succeeding it pleased God my wife was safely delivered of our third son Richard Pett at my house in Chatham.

The 8th day of July I took another journey into Hampshire into Bere forest, as well to survey how the business was ordered as to carry down money to David Duck; from whence I returned home the 14th day of the same month.

The 17th day of July, his Majesty the noble King of Denmark arrived in England, against whose coming, being but only supposed some two months before, I received private directions from the Lord Admiral and some of the Principal Officers to have all the ships put into a comely readiness, which accordingly was performed in a decent and warlike manner, as if they had been

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. He has already given the date of birth of John as 23rd March 1601-2 and of Henry as 18th March 1602-3; see pp. 17 and 18.



prepared to sea ; but upon the news of his certain arrival they were all rigged and furnished with their ordnance, and a great preparation was made aboard the Elizabeth Jonas and the Bear, for entertaining the Kings, Queen, Prince, and all the other State and Troupes ;<sup>1</sup> wherein I confess I strove extraordinarily to express my service for the honour of the Kingdom, but by reason the time limited was short, and the business great, we laboured night and day to effect it ; which accordingly was performed, to the great honour of our sovereign King and Master and no less admiration of all strangers that were eye witnesses of the same.

The solemnity of this entertainment was performed the 10th day of August, being Sunday. At this time Sir Oliver Cromwell<sup>2</sup> and other gentlemen, my good friends, were lodged at my house.

Presently after the King of Denmark was returned into his own country, order was taken by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, together with the Lord Admiral, for the dry docking of four of his Majesty's ships, videlicet, the Ark Royal, the Victory, the Golden Lion, and the Swiftsure ; the two latter being appointed to be docked at Deptford, commended to the charge of old Mathew Baker ; the other two, being ships royal, appointed to Woolwich and committed to my charge (by reason the Victory was given by the King to the Prince, whose servant I being, it was held fit to be most proper to me, which bred me no small trouble and question afterward).<sup>3</sup>

About the beginning of September following I received warrant and directions from the Principal

<sup>1</sup> Suites.

<sup>2</sup> Of Hinchinbrook, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, uncle of the Protector.

<sup>3</sup> In 1608, see Introduction.

Officers of the Navy for preparing the dock at Woolwich to receive the ships formerly appointed for that place; which accordingly being effected, the 8th of October ensuing I docked the Victory, and the next day after, being Thursday, I docked the Ark, hastened the shutting in of the dock gates, shored them, and discharged my company the 3rd day of November following; but the 21st day of the same month I had order to press in new men, to rip and lay open the state of the ships, which in a short time being performed, I discharged my company the 11th of December after.

Towards the fine of January ensuing, I received warrant for the surveying of the forest of Alice Holt<sup>1</sup> in Hampshire, and the forest of Shotover near Oxford. I began my journey thither from London the 27th day of the same month, and returned back to London the second day of February, with a good account of my service; within short time after, warrants being granted for the number of trees to be taken in both these places, I substituted my brother Peter, my purveyor in Alice Holt, and one Richard Meritt, purveyor for Shotover.

About the 15th day of April 1607, I received warrant for going in hand with the ships at Woolwich, whereupon I removed thither with my household presently after, and began first to work upon the Ark with a small company, till provisions could be brought in to put on more workmen, which was not till the beginning of August following, at which time I began to victual all the workmen, on a Monday, being the 3rd day of the same month.

The 25th day of the same month, I was elected and sworn Master of the Company of Shipwrights,

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Alceholte' (Aisholt=Ashwood), near the Surrey border S.W. of Farnham.

and kept a solemn feast with a great number of our friends, well stored with venison, at the King's Head in New Fish Street.<sup>1</sup>

After my settling at Woolwich I began a curious model for the Prince my master, most part whereof I wrought with my own hands; which being most fairly garnished with carving and painting, and placed in a frame arched, covered, and curtained with crimson taffety, was, the 10th day of November, by me presented to the Lord High Admiral at his lodging at Whitehall. His Lordship, well approving of it, after I had supped with his honour that night, gave me commandment to carry the same to Richmond, where the Prince my master then lay; which accordingly was performed the next day after, being Tuesday and the 11th day.

On Wednesday morning, being the 12th day, having acquainted Sir David Murray<sup>2</sup> with my business, and he delivering the same to his Highness, order was given to have the model brought and placed in a private room in the long gallery, where his Highness determined to see it in the afternoon, but my ever honoured old lord and master, unknown to me, studying by all means to do me good, had acquainted his Majesty with this thing, and the same day, unlooked for of any, procured his Majesty to make a purposed<sup>3</sup> journey from Whitehall to Richmond, to see the same model, whither he came in the afternoon about 3 of the clock, accompanied only with the Prince, the Lord Admiral and one or two attendants. His Majesty was exceedingly delighted with the sight of the model, and spent some time

<sup>1</sup> At the northern approach to old London Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> The poet, then gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Henry.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* for this special purpose.

in questioning me divers material things concerning the same, and demanding whether I would build the great ship in all points like to the same, for I will (said his Majesty) compare them together when she shall be finished.

Then the Lord Admiral commanded me to report to his Majesty the story of the 3 ravens I had seen at Lisbon, in St. Vincent's Church,<sup>1</sup> which I did as well as I could, with my best expression, though somewhat daunted at the first at his Majesty's presence, having never before this time spoken before any King. It pleased his Majesty to accept all things in good part, and to use me very graciously; and so returned back to Whitehall again the same night.

The succeeding year brought with it many great troubles, for the Lord of Northampton having, by the instigation of some that were no great well willers to the honourable Admiral and some of the Principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy in especial favour with his Lordship, had procured a great and large<sup>2</sup> commission from his Majesty for the inquiring of all abuses and misdemeanours committed by all Officers in their several places, under colour of reformation and saving great sums to his Majesty, which he expended yearly in the

<sup>1</sup> A legend concerning the relics of St. Vincent, who suffered martyrdom at Valencia in A.D. 304. His body on being exposed to wild beasts was said to have been protected by a raven. During the Moorish invasion of Spain these remains were removed from Valencia to Cape St. Vincent, and in the twelfth century were brought by water from that Cape to the cathedral of Lisbon and placed in the Chapel of St. Vincent. Two (not three) ravens, who watched over his tomb, accompanied the ship on its voyage, remaining on watch when the relics were deposited in the cathedral. The ship and the two birds appear in the arms of Lisbon.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* of ample powers.

maintenance of his ships; which inquisition was presented with such extremity of malice as not only many were brought into great question and tossed to and fro before the commissioners at Westminster, to their no small charge and vexation, but the government itself of that Royal Office was so shaken and disjointed as brought almost imminent ruin upon the whole Navy, and a far greater charge to his Majesty in his yearly expense, than was ever known before. In this great inquisition it pleased God, for punishment<sup>o</sup> of my sins, to suffer me to be grievously persecuted and publicly arraigned, as shall be in his proper place at more large described.

The parties informers<sup>1</sup> were many, whereof some were principal members of the Navy and had been raised from nothing by the noble favours of the good Lord Admiral, against whom they were contented to take party; by name Sir Peter Buck, Clerk of the Ships, Thomas Buck, his brother, under clerk to him, Mr. Mathew Baker, William Bright, principal Master Shipwrights to his Majesty, Hugh Meritt, one of the six Masters, Hugh Lydiard, Clerk of the Check at Woolwich, Thomas Norreys, and one Clifton, a baker, sometime Pursers of ships in the Navy, with divers others, Pursers, Boatswains, Gunners, and Carpenters. These were assisted with many others, as one Edward Stevens, a shipwright and yard keeper of Limehouse, and was in reversion for a Master Shipwright's place<sup>2</sup> to his Majesty, Thomas Graves of Limehouse, shipwright and yard keeper, Nicholas Clay of Redriff,<sup>3</sup> shipwright and yard keeper, George Waymouth, sometime a master and mariner, one Tranckmore, a shipwright; with

<sup>1</sup> See the list and notes at pp. 54-5.

<sup>2</sup> Ante, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Rotherhithe: MS. 'Redreife.'

divers others that were either drawn into this business upon private ends of their own or wrought in with great hopes of future preferment.

The persons principally questioned and aimed at (leaving the great master of the office) were Sir Robert Mansell, then Treasurer, Sir John Trevor, Surveyor, Sir Henry Palmer, Comptroller, Captain Thomas Button, John Legatt, Clerk of the Check at Chatham, myself, and Sir Thomas Bludder,<sup>1</sup> then Victualler to the Navy.

This year, in the end of July, I began the new gates for Woolwich Dock, and set up a dam without them, so that we wrought always dry; which gates were placed, set up, and finished, and the dam taken away, within the space of nine weeks; wherein I saved to his Majesty above four hundred pounds, according to a former estimate made of the charge of the same under the hands of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights.

During this business at Woolwich it pleased God that my wife was safely delivered of her fourth son in Mr. Lydiard's house in the yard the 27th April 1608, and was baptized in Woolwich Church the 5th of May following, and named Joseph.

About the beginning of August it pleased the Prince's Highness my master to send me word that he would come to Woolwich at his return out of Essex from the Lord Petre's,<sup>2</sup> whither his Grace was then going in progress; and on Saturday after, being the 13th day of August, his Highness took his barge at Blackwall, and came by water to Woolwich about noon, accompanied only with his own train, where I received him on shore at the yard stairs. On the poop of the *Ann Royal* was placed a noise of trumpets, an ensign, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Bluther.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Peter.'

two ensigns upon the heads of both the mizens. After my duty presented to his Highness with the best expression I could, to cause him to understand his welcome to that place and how much it would joy all seamen's hearts to perceive his Highness so well addicted to his Majesty's ships and the sight of them, I conducted his Highness round about the dock, and so directly aboard the *Ann Royal* to the very top of her poop where, after my duty performed, I gave a secret signal (as was before concluded between us) to my good friend Mr. William Bull, then Master Gunner of England, who stood ready prepared upon a mount in Mr. Hugh Lydiard's garden with thirty-one great brass chambers,<sup>1</sup> orderly and distinctly placed, which, with Mr. Gunner's help, I had procured from the Tower for that purpose. He, presently receiving the signal, diligently attending the same, gave fire to the train, and so discharged the whole volley with so good order as gave a marvellous pleasing content to his Highness (and the more because he expected no such thing, but that it was done suddenly).

When the ordnance gave over, I then kneeled down to his Highness and besought him to be pleased to accept this poor sea entertainment from me, as an unfeigned earnest of my duty to him, which I would hereafter strive to express in better manner if his Highness would be pleased graciously to receive this his first homely welcome. His Highness then, having answered my request with a princely acceptance, commanded me to lead into all the places of the ship; which having viewed with a great deal of delightful judgment,

<sup>1</sup> A small piece of ordnance without carriage, used for firing salutes. This was not the 'chamber' used with the early breech-loading ordnance.

I led his Grace into the Yard, and so to the place where the keel, stem, and stern of his own ship, which was to be built, lay ready framed ; which having perused very seriously, and caused the length of the keel to be measured, I besought his Grace to walk into the house to rest himself, which his Highness willingly condescending unto, I conducted him unto Mr. Lydiard's parlour where was prepared a set banquet of sweet meats and all other fruits the season of the year could yield, with plentiful store of wine, both Rhenish white, sack, Greek wine and claret. His Highness was well pleased to take his refection, and after the banquet done, giving his hand to kiss to divers gentlewomen of the town that were in the room together with my wife, his Highness desired to be brought to the mount where the chambers were placed, which were again laden in this interim and ranged in their first order with the train made ready. This sight so much pleased his Grace that he was very desirous to have the train fired, his Highness standing by, but at my humble entreaty, understanding what danger was incident to such a business, he gave me order that, at the holding up of his handkerchief in his barge, I should see them put off ; and so taking notice of Mr. Bull and giving him his hand to kiss, taking his leave, I conducted his Highness to his barge, being the top of full sea ; where kissing his hand upon my knee, he expressed how kindly he accepted his welcome, using many gracious speeches to me, and so putting off. I returned to the mount, and, upon his Highness' signal given me, the train was fired and the chambers delivered their loud voices in as distinct order as at the first, to the great delight of his Highness, and general applause of all others there present.



Having now finished, by God's providence and gracious assistance, the Ark, which I began to repair in Woolwich Dock in May, was twelve-month before, on the 29th day of September, 1608, I launched her. It was a very blustering day, the wind at south-west, but, thanks be to God, with a little difficulty she was launched and brought safely to her moorings. Her name was altered and given by the mouth of my very good friend Sir Oliver Cromwell, in presence of Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor and Captain Button, divers other gentlemen being on board, with his Majesty's trumpets and drums; her name was given the Anne Royal. These knights, with the Lady Mansell, the Lady Trevor, Mrs. Button, and sundry others, dined this day with me at Woolwich in Mr. Lydiard's parlour, my lodgings being as yet not altered, and therefore inconvenient for entertaining of any friends of account; which lodgings I after by warrant repaired and made as they now are, for which I was greatly questioned by the Lord of Northampton in his inquisition, and stand upon his book of reformation at large recorded.

The 20th October following, being Thursday, by God's good help I lay the keel of the new great ship<sup>1</sup> upon the blocks in the dock, and the 28th day following, of the same month, I raised her stern, and presently after the stem, and proceeded in order with the floor<sup>2</sup> as fast as I could, notwithstanding the many practices underhand attempted to have diverted the whole course of that

<sup>1</sup> The *Prince Royal*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'flower.' 'Floor—are those timbers lying transverse to the keel, being bolted through it . . . and strictly taken, is so much only of her bottom as she rests upon when lying aground.'—Blanckley, *Naval Expositor*.

building, as hereafter in his proper place shall be discovered.

During the time that I proceeded on with the new frame, the inquisition against the Navy then growing to the height and prosecuted with extremity of malice against Sir John Trevor, Sir Robert Mansell, and some others, amongst whom myself held not the least place, about the fine of March, 1609, there was discovered unto me (by Mr. Sebastian Vicars, Carver to the Ships, my ever true and faithful friend) a secret combination against me concerning the building of the great ship, suggested first by the practice of my fellows, old Mr. Mathew Baker and Mr. William Bright, old adversaries to my name and family, assisted by Edward Stevens, a Master Shipwright, who laid great claim to my place by a former patent to him granted under the broad seal of England, with some other shipwrights also joined with them by especial warrant from the great Lord of Northampton, my most implacable enemy; my fellows bearing me no small grudge because by the Prince's Highness' means, my master, I was preferred to that great business before them; and Mr. Stevens malicing me because he could not prevail against me to recover my place from me.

They had also won to their party by much importunity, and by means of a particular letter directed from the Lord Northampton to him to that very purpose, a great braggadocio, a vain and idle fellow sometime a mariner and master, called by the name of Captain George Waymouth; who, having much acquaintance abroad amongst gentlemen, was to disperse the insufficiency of my business, reporting how I was no artist, and altogether insufficient to perform such a service, of no experience, and that the King's Majesty

was cosened and all the charge lost, and the frame of her was unfit for any use but a dung boat, with many other such false opprobrious defamations, wherein he was better practised than in any other profession.

These rumours being thus divulged, the report thereof coming to Mr. Sebastian Vicars' ears was the cause that he, out of his great love and honesty to me, wrote to me what he heard abroad, wishing me to keep a careful watch over myself, for that they would bend all their practices, powers and friends, to the disgracing of the building and ruining of me. But I, being very confident of the goodness of my cause (though I received that admonition as from a dear friend with much acknowledgment of his love and care of me), yet, little regarding what their malicious practices could bring forth, made small reckoning of their plottings till such time as the good honest man, understanding from some of their own mouths what was intended against me, made a purposed journey to me to Woolwich (though he was then scarce able to travel by reason of a tedious<sup>1</sup> sickness) and there thoroughly possessed me of the certainty of what he before by his writing had truly informed me.

I, now perceiving it was no idle flim flam<sup>2</sup> as I before supposed, considered that the goodness of my cause might by my secure<sup>3</sup> neglect either suffer hazard, or be overborne by greatness, began to call my wits about me and to advise what was to be done in the business; at which time, to make good the supposition, I received a message by word of mouth from a worthy gentleman, and good friend of mine, Mr. William Burrell, principal Master Workman to the East India

<sup>1</sup> Troublesome, painful.

<sup>2</sup> Lie.

<sup>3</sup> Careless.

Company, of all their project, which was discovered to him particularly by that Captain Waymouth, being at that instant time between drunk and sober.

The 13th of April this Waymouth was, by consent of the rest, sent to Woolwich to survey my work, and thereupon to deliver his opinion, and I in the mean time was appointed to be at Redriff at a meeting at a court held for the incorporation of Shipwrights, whereof I was then Master, that in my absence he might have the better opportunity to perform his malicious instructions, as he was directed by his great masters; of the which his purpose I receiving certain intelligence, leaving my intended journey to Redriff, I awaited his coming, and, receiving him after a courteous manner, after some discourse and ordinary compliments he returned back to his confederates, frustrate of his great purpose.

Within some few days after, I wrote something to this purpose to my very good friends Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor, being then Treasurer and Surveyor of the Navy, desiring them, for that it was a business highly concerning the honour of our honourable lord the Lord High Admiral and their own particular reputations, they would be pleased to take the pains to make a sudden journey to Woolwich, there truly to inform themselves not only concerning the state of the work but of divers other material business where-with I was to acquaint them at their coming thither. According to my request, they both came the next day; where being thoroughly possessed of all the passages and occurrences concerning the project of our adversaries, after they had carefully also surveyed the work, with all other things necessary to be advised of, leaving with

me, with good deliberation, instructions how to proceed in my defence, they departed again to Westminster the same afternoon.

Presently after the departure of these gentlemen, desiring first the Lord to guide and direct my pen so as might best tend to his glory and the discharge of my duty, I betook myself to my study and in the briefest manner I could I certified the Lord Admiral of the truth of all the whole project plotted against me, with the names of the principalest actors therein, and the reasons inducing them unto it; withal earnestly beseeching his Lordship to be pleased, since the matter so nearly concerned his Majesty's profit, the honour of the state, his Lordship's own safety, and the reputation of his Office, to leave all respect of my particular good and to procure such a view to be presently made of the work, by judicious and impartial persons, as his Majesty might receive no loss, the strength of the kingdom no prejudice, his honour no impeachment, and the Officers of the Navy no just calumnation nor blame.

It pleased his Lordship, then lying at Whitehall, presently after the receipt of my letter (wherewith he was not a little troubled to observe their malicious practises) to send for me to wait upon him, that by conference with me his Lordship might be better informed of each particular passage in this so dangerous information and conspiracy; and after his Lordship had received from me such satisfaction as he desired, comforting me with many noble encouragements, as being (as he said) sufficiently persuaded both of my skill, experience and honesty, wishing me to take a good heart and never a whit to distrust the goodness of my cause, albeit I had strong adversaries, for that God in his mercy would never

permit such a malicious practice to prevail against those that relied upon him, with many other fatherly instructions; and so, being somewhat late, for that night his Lordship was pleased to dismiss me, giving me commandment to attend his further pleasure the next morning; and this was the 20th day of April.

It was no sooner day the next morrow but his Lordship, very careful of doing something in this weighty business, made himself ready, and by 4 of clock, taking my letter in his hand, speeds himself to his Majesty's chamber, lying then also at Whitehall, and sending in word that his Lordship was there to acquaint his Majesty with some business of great consequence, was presently admitted to his Majesty's bedside, and, having in few words given his Majesty a taste of his errand, delivered him my letter and besought him to be pleased thoroughly to peruse the same. The letter his Majesty twice read over, and perceiving how malice was the original of all this stir, seemed greatly to pity the wrong and injury done unto me, using this gracious speech in my behalf, that whatsoever my act was he knew not, but I deserved great commendation for my honest plainness delivered in my letter, and that it was great reason I should be justly proceeded withal.

To the end therefore I might not be wrongfully oppressed, and the works disgraced without just cause, his Majesty took present order with the Lord High Admiral that he should join unto him the right honourable lords, the Earls of Worcester, then Master of his Majesty's horse, and of Suffolk, then Lord High Chamberlain; and repairing to Woolwich, should there, upon their oaths, honours, and faithful allegiance to his Majesty, without respect of any particular person, call before them

my accusers, and, as well by examination of them as trial of the work itself, both in point of sufficiency, as well of matter as manner, should truly inform themselves whether this main accusation so much concerning his Majesty's honour were justly commenced or no; which charge of his Majesty being performed, they should return the true report thereof with all speed to his Majesty, as they would answer it upon their allegiance.

Whilst these things were thus ordering, my malicious adversaries were not idle, but plotting as fast against me, and had so far prevailed with the Lord Northampton that there should be a private warrant directed to the chief of them, *vide*; to Mr. Baker, Bright and Stevens, and to some other whom they should associate with them, which warrant should have been signed with the King's own hand, to authorise them to repair to Woolwich, and there strictly to make a survey of the work; which being done, upon the return of the insufficiency of the same under their hands and confirmation by oath, it was resolved amongst them I should be turned out and for ever disgraced, the work utterly defaced, and I never to come to any personal answer; and one of them that could make his party strongest should undertake the business, about which they were in great contention amongst themselves who should be preferred to it.

But it pleased my good God, that never leaves his servants destitute of his help when all other means fail them, so mightily to work for me by means of my letter sent to my honourable Lord Admiral, and, as is shewed afore, delivered to his Majesty, so far to prevent their purposes, that upon that very day wherein they had determined to have displaced and disgraced me, that they were,

unawares to them, warned by one of his Majesty's messengers to appear before the three Lords before named, to answer them at that very place and time wherein they made their account to have triumphed over me. This was the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes, and this day was appointed to be on Tuesday the 25th day of April, which time was accordingly kept, and the Lords were come to Woolwich by nine of the clock the same morning. The first thing they did was to take a diligent survey of the work, first touching the form and manner of the same, and then concerning the goodness of the materials; which having very carefully perused, they repaired into the house and sat at a little table in the middle of my dining room. Their Lordships being set, first Mr. Baker was called and demanded, for the good of his Majesty's service, to deliver plainly what he could justly except against the ship, either in point of art or in sufficiency of the materials, and leading him from point to point concerning her proportion of length, breadth, depth, draught of water, height of tuck,<sup>1</sup> rake afore and abaft, breadth of the floor, scantling of timber, and other circumstances, after a deal of frivolous arguings to no purpose, their Lordships found by his examination nothing worthy of observing; and directly finding him to be led more out of an envious malicious humour against me than upon any certain ground of error

<sup>1</sup> The Tuck is 'that part of the ship where the ends of the bottom planks are collected together immediately under the stern . . . a square tuck' (as in this case) 'is terminated above by the wing transom and below and on each side by the fashion-pieces' (Falconer, *Marine Dictionary*). According to Sutherland (*Shipbuilder's Assistant*), the 'height of the tuck' was taken from the point where the heels of the fashion-pieces were 'let in upon the posts,' *i.e.* upon the stern post and false stern post.



in the mould, or probability of insufficiency of any the materials used in the frame; whereupon he was dismissed.

After him was Bright called, and then Stevens, who were so tripped in their several examinations as their Lordships found them in their answers clean contrary one to another almost in every question, by which their Lordships concluded, as they did of Mr. Baker, that all this question and infamous report of the business was plotted by them out of some malicious respects to disgrace me and my works, and not of any care or conscientious regard of the good of his Majesty's service; and so they were dismissed.

Then was great killcow<sup>1</sup> Waymouth called, who being examined as the others before him were, was able to say nothing to any purpose, but held their Lordships with a long tedious discourse of proportions, measures, lines, and an infinite rabble of idle and unprofitable speeches clean from the matter, wherewith their Lordships were so tired as he was commanded silence. Then every man being dismissed the room, they consulted in private about some half hour, and then we were all called in again; where their Lordships, addressing their speech to me, delivered that, by all this enquiry, they in their judgments could find no just cause of exception against the business, and this accusation grew for aught they could perceive out of envy and malice, and therefore I had no cause to be discouraged in my service but to go on both comfortably and cheerfully, assuring me they would so effectually return the account of the particulars of this their day's work to his Majesty as should not only give his Majesty satisfaction, but also secure and defend me from all the op-

<sup>1</sup> Bully, swashbuckler.

position any of my adversaries could practise against me, with many other noble speeches of encouragement. And so about 4 of the clock in the evening, taking their caroches,<sup>1</sup> they returned to the Court to Whitehall.

The same night, after their coming to the Court, their Lordships repairing to his Majesty, they there delivered the account of their journey, together with all the particular passages in the same; there offering to prove upon their honours, allegiances, and their lives, the ground of that conspiracy to spring from no other reason than inveterate malice to me, and that they found the business in every part and point so excellent, as befitted the service of so royal a king; with which his Majesty rested marvellous well satisfied.

My adversaries, whose malicious practices nothing could daunt, hunting after nothing so much as my ruin and utter disgrace, were so fired with this prevention that, redoubling their fury, [they] went all together the next morning to their great patron and abettor, the Lord Northampton, who being vehemently incensed before, to have such an affront to the proceeding of his commission, as he termed our courses to have wrought, was willing to entertain anything that carried but likelihood to give him means to be revenged on me for it. After therefore these caterpillars had discovered to his Lordship all the circumstances of the hearing before the Lords, complaining very grievously as they termed it, of their partiality towards me and bitterness to them, and that they were not suffered to speak, nor could be heard in any[thing] they could inform against me, they offering upon their lives to make good all their informations against me to be true,

<sup>1</sup> A coach or chariot of a stately or luxurious kind.—*N.E.D.*

so that they might but gain an equal hearing, his Lordship promised to move his Majesty in the granting of a second hearing; wherein he doubted not, as he said unto them, but they should have amends made to them for the former injuries and obtain their purpose against me in despite of all my friends and upholders.

His Lordship immediately upon this repaired to his Majesty, and there made a grievous complaint against the partiality of the three Lords, which they shewed in the examination of the business; there in the behalf of the plaintiffs—tendering to his Majesty that they did offer upon their lives to prove all their informations true, and besought his Majesty very earnestly there might be a second examination committed to his Lordships care, whereby all partiality should be prevented and his Majesty receive better confirmations of their good service than what the Lords had before, upon their superficial survey and partial examination, exhibited to his Majesty. His Majesty made answer that upon his Lordship's first complaint he had made especial choice of three principal peers of the realm, of whose faithful fidelity he was so confidently assured that he could not but give credit to that account their Lordships had returned upon the serious examination of that so weighty a business. Notwithstanding, seeing his Lordship urged so earnestly a review and second examination, since it was a business of such main consequence, for his better satisfaction and clearing all doubts and scruple, his Majesty resolved to take the pains in his own person to have the hearing of the cause indifferently between all parties; appointing Monday the 8th of May following to be the time for the same hearing at Woolwich in the yard where the ship

was then in building; giving order to the Lord High Admiral of England to provide for the same, and to command all such persons as were any ways interested in that business to give their personal attendance upon his Majesty at the same time and place.

This resolution of his Majesty made known, there was preparation on both sides, to be provided both of information and defence, to give his Majesty satisfaction; but the contrary parties doubting their malicious practices would now be plainly discovered, never dreaming of such a course, they still laboured to bring disgraces upon me; informing, in this interim of ten days, if I might be suffered to continue the workmen upon the frames, I would so handle the matter that all things should be reformed that had by them been formerly found defective, both in point of materials and proportions; and therefore were earnest suitors to have all the workmen presently discharged, and the work to stand. His Majesty, upon the advice of some of the Lords, whereof the then Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil and Earl of Salisbury<sup>1</sup> being chief, would not consent on any condition to have the workmen absolutely discharged, but that order should be taken the work should cease, and the men continued at his Majesty's charge till the hearing should be past, and his Majesty determine what was after to be done. Whereupon his Majesty commanded a letter to be written to me to the same effect, charging me upon my allegiance to follow the directions therein contained, which I accordingly very carefully observed. In the mean time no day almost passed wherein Mr. Baker, Bright,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cecil had been created Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

Stevens, Clay, Graves, Captain Waymouth, with their malicious associates, did not meet at Woolwich to take all the dimensions of the ship, to deface the work by striking aside the shores, and condemning the materials, aggravating continual disgraces upon me, and railing despitefully to my face; which I was forced to endure with patience and put up with silence, flying to God, on whose mercy I wholly depended in these extremities.

The good Lord Admiral was not idle in this interim to provide for to give his Majesty full satisfaction in all things could be objected by the informers, and to that purpose carefully advising with Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor, principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy, together with myself, whom it did most concern, what course was to be held to meet all objections could be any ways produced against me; and for that the adverse part had made choice of a certain number of masters and builders in the river of Thames to strengthen their proceedings, it was held fit and resolved the like course should be taken by us for our better defence; whereupon sundry experienced men known to be honest and impartial of both kinds were nominated and appointed by warrant from the Lord Admiral to attend this service, some inhabiting about the river of Thames and others of remote places, with whom divers consultations were held, as well to inform them of the truth of every particular as also to satisfy their doubts in anything wherein it was fit they should be thoroughly resolved. I, for my own part, confident of mine own integrity, commending my cause to God, provided myself to be able to answer all objections whatsoever could be alleged against me, either in point of art, experi-

ence, or care, in this so weighty service of trust and consequence.

I must not here forget the princely favour of my royal, then master, Prince Henry, of ever famous memory, who in his noble care of me in the interim of the time appointed by his Majesty for my hearing did almost every day send me a comfortable encouragement by some one of his principal gentlemen to heart me on and put life into me, lest I should any ways be disheartened with the apprehension of the power of my great and potent adversary; and when the time grew near for my trial sent me a commandment to wait upon his Grace, the Sunday preceding the day, at St. James, which I accordingly performed; where his Highness vouchsafing to lead me in his hand through the park to Whitehall, in the public view and hearing of many people there attending to see him pass to the King, his father, did in such loving manner counsel me with such comfortable, wise, and grave advice touching my carriage and resolution in my trial, as was no little testimony of his principal care of me, to my great comfort, and joy of all those that were both eye and ear witnesses of it; besides casting<sup>1</sup> the worst that might be, if I had been overthrown by the censure of his Majesty, his Highness had graciously determined to have received me into a place in his house, and resolved to have provided for me whilst I had lived.

The time drawing now near, there was sent from London at the appointment of the Lord Admiral, hangings to furnish the room where his Majesty was to sit, and the next room to it where he was to withdraw, the one being the common

<sup>1</sup> Considering.

dining room of the workmen, and the other my own dining room, both which I caused to be hanged and trimmed up with such furniture as was befitting such a presence, with all convenience the place could any ways afford.

On Monday morning, being the eighth day of May, the Lord Admiral came betimes to Woolwich, attended by Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and others, where his Lordship was met by all those persons which were formerly<sup>1</sup> warned to be there on our part, and his Lordship took those rooms which were fitted for his Majesty. Presently after came the Lord Northampton attended with all the spiteful crew of his informers, and he took Hugh Lydiard's house, being Clerk of the Check, which was fitted for him, and was there attended with all his rabble.

Before his Majesty's coming, Waymouth and his associates pryed up and down the yard, belching out nothing but disgraces, despiteful speeches, and base opprobrious terms, being so confident of their wished ends as they before had given out that I should be hanged and the work defaced at the least; which was likely enough to have proved so, had not God put a hook into their nostrils and by the justice of the King caused themselves to fall into the pit they digged for another.

The noble Admiral spent the time till his Majesty's coming very quietly and privately, consulting advisedly with those appointed for the business, never so much as taking notice of the base usage of them on their side.

All things being in a readiness, about eight of the clock his Majesty came in his caroché attended

<sup>1</sup> Previously.

with Prince Henry and the principal Lords of his Majesty's Council. The Lord Northampton met him before he came to the ordinary gate of the yard, and used all the means he could to have led his Majesty through Lydiard's garden by a back way into his house ; but his Majesty told his Lordship that the Lord Admiral, whom he espied waiting with his train at the ordinary gate of the yard, would justly take exception at his so doing, for that it belonged properly there to his Lordship to receive and entertain him. So alighting, the Lord Admiral, after his duty performed, guided his Majesty in the rooms provided purposely for the business, whom I ushered as belonged to my place.

After his Majesty had a little reposed, he desired the Lord Admiral to bring him to the sight of the work then in hand, which accordingly was done, directing his Majesty to a brow<sup>1</sup> or stage made at the stem of the ship, where he might perfectly take a perfect view of the whole ground work of the frame, being then about half set up and planked as high as the rungheds,<sup>2</sup> no foot-waling<sup>3</sup> as then begun. After his Majesty had satisfied himself sufficiently, he returned back to the place again, and there seated himself in the chair under the state,<sup>4</sup> at a little table standing right before him ; the Prince and Lords taking their stands on his Majesty's right hand, with the Lord Admiral and all those warned on our part ; and the Lord Northampton on the left hand of his

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'brew.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Wrong heads.' The upper ends of the floor timbers.

<sup>3</sup> The inside planking from the kelson to the orlop clamps.

<sup>4</sup> Canopy.



Majesty, with all his crew of informers and others appointed to assist him on his part, of sea masters and shipwrights of the Thames.

These things thus ordered, his Majesty, silence be[ing] commanded by his gentlemen ushers, his Majesty began a very worthy speech ; first to signify the cause of his coming to that place and how much it imported the royal care of a king to take to his personal examination a business of such consequence, as so much concerned the strength and honour of his Kingdom and State, besides the expense of his Treasure. Next he addressed his speech to the actors on both sides, to those that were informers and to those that were defendants ; the substance of his royal speech tending to a religious exhortation that none of both sides should either accuse for malice or other pretence, or excuse for love, favour, or other particular respects, for that his Majesty, in the seat of justice presenting God's person, would not be deluded, nor led by any coloured pretences from understanding the very plain truth of that business which was to be handled ; and therefore willed such on both sides whose conscience accused them either of malicious proceedings, private ends, or partial favour, to give over and depart before they took the oath to be administered unto them ; threatening severe punishments to those should be found offenders herein ; declaring what danger it was to be perjured before the Majesty of God and the King.

His Majesty's speech so effectually delivered to the purpose of the matter in hand to the admiration of the hearers, commandment was given to call the names of those to be sworn on both sides,

On Lord Northampton's side were :

*Seamen.*

Sir Henry Middleton. <sup>1</sup>	Robert Rickman. <sup>8</sup>
Mr. Hugh Meritt. <sup>2</sup>	Thomas Redwood. <sup>9</sup>
Captain Watts. <sup>3</sup>	Captain Geare. <sup>10</sup>
Captain Norreys. <sup>4</sup>	Captain Moore. <sup>11</sup>
Mr. Chester. <sup>5</sup>	Mr. James Woodcott. <sup>12</sup>
Captain Waymouth. <sup>6</sup>	Mr. Mathew Woodcott. <sup>13</sup>
Captain Newport. <sup>7</sup>	Captain Miller.

<sup>1</sup> Of the East India Company, merchant and sea-captain.

<sup>2</sup> One of the six Masters Attendant of the Navy.

<sup>3</sup> Probably John Watts, who was captain of Denbigh's flagship in the Cadiz Expedition of 1625 and was knighted; together with Michael Geere and others, at Plymouth on the return. He was captain of Buckingham's flagship in the Ile de Rhé expedition of 1627.

<sup>4</sup> Captain Thomas Norris (or Norreys) referred to at p. 119 as being one of the Commissioners of 1618 and at p. 120 as one of Pett's 'greatest enemies.' From p. 33 it would appear that at one time he had been a purser.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Captain James Chester referred to in *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, I. xxxiv. and III. 60.

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Captain Christopher Newport, recommended by Mansell and Trevor in 1606 for the reversion of one of the principal masters' places. In 1612 he was captain of the East India-man *Expedition*. He was removed from among the six masters by the Commission of 1618, on account of his employment by the East India Company.

<sup>8</sup> Of Limehouse; master of a merchantman, and a ship-builder.

<sup>9</sup> Probably the 'Thomas Redwood, mariner, precinct of the Tower of London,' whose will was proved in 1613 (*Wills, P.C.C.*)

<sup>10</sup> Possibly the William Geere granted 'the office of an Assistant of the Admiralty' in 1604; or Michael Geere granted 'the place of Assistant to the King's chief officers of the Admiralty' in March 1608, subsequently knighted and a Master of Trinity House.

*Shipwrights.*

Mr. Mathew Baker. <sup>14</sup>	Mr. Clay. <sup>15</sup>
Mr. William Bright. <sup>14</sup>	Mr. Graves. <sup>16</sup>
Mr. Edward Stevens. <sup>14</sup>	Mr. Tranckmore. <sup>17</sup>
Captain Waymouth.	Mr. Lydiard. <sup>18</sup>

*Other Informers.*Thomas Buck.<sup>19</sup>Clifton, a baker.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In 1618 'Captains Geer and Moore' were engaged 'in receiving and inventorying the *Destiny* and her furniture, the goods of Sir Walter Raleigh.'—*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, November 2, 1618.

<sup>12</sup> A servant of the East India Company.

<sup>13</sup> Of Limehouse, mariner.

<sup>14</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>15</sup> MS. 'Cleye.' Referred to at p. 33 as 'Nicholas Clay of Redriff, shipwright and yardkeeper.' Nominated in the Charter of 1605 as one of the 'Assistants' of the Shipwrights' Company. The name is there spelt 'Cley,' but he signed as 'Nycholas Clay.'

<sup>16</sup> Referred to at p. 33 as 'Thomas Graves of Limehouse, shipwright and yardkeeper'; the indictment is, however, signed by 'John Greaves' (see Introduction), and it may be noted that 'John Graves' was nominated an 'Assistant' by the Charter of 1612. Probably Pett has made a mistake in the forename.

<sup>17</sup> Probably Robert Tranckmore, who with Jonas Day was employed in 1627 in making a dry dock, etc., at Portsmouth. These two with Pett were also ordered to report on the faults in the ships built by Burrell.

<sup>18</sup> Clerk of the Check at Woolwich.

<sup>19</sup> Brother of Sir Peter Buck, Clerk of the King's Ships. It appears from p. 33 that he was an under clerk to Sir Peter. In October 1607 Thomas Buck and William Holliday were granted 'protection' for a year, and this was renewed in September 1609. On 31st July 1609 Thomas Buck and John Clifton were granted the moiety of all forfeitures, etc., incurred by officers of the navy for frauds against the Crown.

<sup>20</sup> John Clifton (see preceding note); he had been purser in the *Answer* in the Spanish voyage of 1605.

Sworn on our part :—

*Seamen.*

Mr. William Jones. <sup>1</sup>	Mr. Thomas Fuller. <sup>7</sup>
Mr. William Bygatt. <sup>2</sup>	Mr. Robert Wright. <sup>8</sup>
Mr. Michael Meriall. <sup>3</sup>	Mr. Thomas Johnson. <sup>9</sup>
Mr. John King. <sup>4</sup>	Mr. John Dawes.
Mr. George Ireland.	Mr. Nicholas Diggins. <sup>10</sup>
Mr. Arthur Pett. <sup>5</sup>	Mr. Jorden. <sup>11</sup>
Mr. John Woodcott. <sup>6</sup>	Mr. Michael Edmond.

<sup>1</sup> In October 1604 he was granted with others a reward of 5s. a ton for building five new ships. He was a friend of William Adams, the navigator, who refers to him in his letter from Japan of October 23, 1611, to the East India Company. It would appear that he and Diggins (and possibly Woodcott) would more properly have been included under 'shipwrights.'

<sup>2</sup> Probably the William Bigatt who was master of the *Lion* under William Borough in 1587. See 'The Mutiny of the *Golden Lion*' in Oppenheim, *Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 382 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Of Stepney.

<sup>4</sup> Became in 1610 one of the six principal masters. Newport's reversion (see note 7, p. 54) was granted 'after the placing of John King.'

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Arthur Pett, the navigator of 1580. He was one of the members incorporated by the second charter of the Virginia Company in 1609.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly referred to in Court Minutes of the East India Company (*Cal. S.P. East Indies*, 407) of April 1608: 'Gratifications to Diggins, Burrell, Kitchen and Woodcott.'

<sup>7</sup> This may be the 'old Thomas Fuller' who died in the East India Company's ship *Thomas* in 1612.

<sup>8</sup> MS. 'Write.' In 1604 the Lord Mayor was directed to appoint Richard and Robert Wright joint packers of woollen cloths, &c., and porters of strangers' goods in and out of the port of London. It is not, however, clear that this is the same man.

<sup>9</sup> Of Ratcliff. Mentioned in the grant to the North-West Passage Company. *Cal. S.P. Colonial*, July 26, 1612,

*Shipwrights.*

Mr. William Burrell. <sup>12</sup>	Mr. Thomas Cole. <sup>15</sup>
Mr. Nicolas Simonson. <sup>13</sup>	Mr. Thomas Prime. <sup>15</sup>
Mr. Thomas Jenkins. <sup>14</sup>	

*Carpenters of his Majesty's Navy.*

Lawrence Andrews. <sup>16</sup>	John Elye.
David Duck. <sup>17</sup>	Thomas Hampton.
Robert Bromadge,	Nicholas Surtis. <sup>18</sup>
Thomas Cateroll.	Robert Sharpe. <sup>18</sup>

These several persons being called and appearing, the form of the oath was read unto them by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of

<sup>12</sup> Granted in August 1604 the usual allowance for building five new ships. William Adams, who died in Japan in 1620, had been for twelve years apprenticed to Diggens, and refers to him affectionately in his letters to the East India Company. (See *Letters received by the East India Company*, vol. i.)

<sup>13</sup> Probably the 'Edward Jordan, mariner,' mentioned in the Pipe Office Dec. Acct. for 1613 (No. 2251).

<sup>14</sup> Principal master workman of the East India Company; see Introduction.

<sup>15</sup> Brother-in-law of Phineas. A shipbuilder at Ratcliff; nominated as a warden in the shipwrights' charter of 1605.

<sup>16</sup> Nominated as an 'Assistant' in the shipwrights' charter of 1612.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Cole of Woodbridge and Thomas Pryme of Yarmouth were nominated 'Assistants' in the shipwrights' charter of 1605.

<sup>18</sup> MS. 'Androes.'

<sup>19</sup> Shipbuilder at Gillingham, see p. 24. He was also a shipwright in Chatham Yard.

<sup>20</sup> Referred to at p. 93 as 'friends in the navy.'

Salisbury, and then Lord Treasurer, who personated the Clerk of the Session, and the book was presented to them by the Right Honourable Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England.

These ceremonies performed, his Majesty willed the Lord Northampton to begin his accusation, and then I was called personally to answer and kneeled right before his Majesty, near the side of the table ; the Lord High Admiral standing at my left hand, Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor standing both right behind me. The accusation against me was exhibited by the Lord Northampton in writing,<sup>1</sup> containing sundry articles in point of my sufficiency, art, and experience, and in point of my care and honesty in discharge of my duty in putting in unserviceable materials to the great detriment of his Majesty's Service. His Majesty perceiving the articles to be many and very intricate to answer each particular, very judiciously contracted all the business to three principal heads : the point of art, the point of sufficiency of materials, and the point of charge ; and to these heads I was commanded to frame my answers, and they their accusations. I must confess that at the first I was so daunted with the majesty of the King, the power of my adversary, and the confused urging of the objections, that I was confounded in myself till it pleased God, by the helps of the Lord Treasurer and his discreet directions,<sup>2</sup> I was recollected and recovered my spirits, and so orderly answered to each objection ; his Majesty still holding us on both sides to the proposition.

Much time was spent in dispute of proportions,

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'directed.'

comparing my present frame with former precedents and dimensions of the best ships, for length, breadth, depth, floor, and other circumstances ; in all which they could not fasten anything upon me but reflected to their disgrace and apparent breach of oath, and plain demonstration and expression of combined practice.

One point of proportion was mainly insisted upon and with much violence and eagerness urged on both sides, which was the square of the ship's flat in the midships,<sup>1</sup> they affirming constantly upon their oath it was full thirteen foot, we as constantly insisting that it was but eleven foot and eight inches ; but because this difference was long and could not be tried upon the small plates his Majesty referred the trial to be made upon the great platform, which was purposely framed of planks, to the full scale of the ship, where all the lines of the midship bend<sup>2</sup> were drawn, and the square of the flat truly described, with their centres, perpendiculars, and sweeps ; which trial, because it much concerned the truth or falsity of all the rest, his Majesty would not give trust to any of those that were by oath interested in the same, but made choice of the noble and worthy knight, Sir Thomas Chaloner, then Governor of the Prince's Highness' household, and of the learned reverend gentleman Mr. Briggs,<sup>3</sup> reader of geometry lecture in Gresham College in London, and Master of Art and student in St. John's in Cambridge, who were to decide this controversy.

This thus concluded, we came to the point of charge ; to which was answered that the charge

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The transverse section of the ship at the greatest breadth.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Briggs (1561-1630), mathematician. First Professor of Geometry at Gresham College,

of the building of this ship should not exceed other ships that had been built in her Majesty's times, I mean Queen Elizabeth of famous and happy memory, allowing proportion for proportion, the garnishing not exceeding theirs. This gave full satisfaction to this point of charge, being the second head propounded. It then being almost one of the clock, his Majesty called for his dinner, referring the other points to be handled in the ship, after dinner. All this time I sat upon my knees, baited by the great Lord and his bandogs; sometimes by Baker, sometimes by Bright, Stevens, Clay, gaping Waymouth, and sometimes confusedly by all; and, which was worst, his Majesty's angry countenance still bent upon me, so that I was almost disheartened and out of breath, albeit the Prince's Highness, standing near me, from time to time encouraged me as far as he might without offence to his father, labouring to have me eased by standing up, but his Majesty would not permit it.

So soon as his Majesty and the Lords had dined, the King rose and went into the body of the frame of the ship, to make trial of the goodness of the materials. All the lower futtocks<sup>1</sup> were placed, and many upper futtocks also. The adverse part had chalked with a mark almost half the lower futtocks for red<sup>2</sup> wood, cross-grained, and merely<sup>3</sup> unserviceable, all which timbers his Majesty caused to be dubbed<sup>4</sup> by the workmen

<sup>1</sup> The futtocks or foothooks are the timbers between the floor timbers and the top timbers. The floor timbers, lower and upper futtocks, and top timbers, when put together, form a complete frame-bend.

<sup>2</sup> Redness being a sign that the wood was past its prime and beginning to decay.

<sup>3</sup> Entirely.

<sup>4</sup> To be dressed or smoothed with an adze.



ready with their tools for that purpose, and being tried they were all approved very sound and serviceable ; and touching the cross-grained timber his Majesty protested very earnestly the cross grain was in the men and not in the timber. His Majesty spent much time in the survey of these things, still giving way to what objections the adverse part could allege, and what answer I could make in my defence.

This business performed within board and his Majesty well satisfied in every particular, he openly delivered that the ship would be too strong if one third of the timber <sup>1</sup> were left out ; and then began to give me a princely countenance and encouragement, protesting oftentimes that all this grievous accusation proceeded of nothing but malice. Then his Majesty came without board and curiously <sup>2</sup> surveyed the planks, trenails, and workmanship, all which gave him such good satisfaction as still confirmed his opinion of their malicious proceedings.

All the while his Majesty was intentive upon this search, the gentlemen forenamed, that were appointed for the trial of the point of the true flat of the floor, they were busied in taking off the measures from the ship and bringing them to the platform ; and when they found by due trial all the lines to be truly set off, they acquainted his Majesty that all things was in readiness. His Majesty then, having received satisfaction of all things about the frame, repaired to the platform, attended with the Prince, the Lords, and many thousand spectators besides. His Majesty then caused those gentlemen to measure each dimension of breadth and depth for his own satisfaction,

<sup>1</sup> The timbers, popularly called ' ribs,' forming the frame.

<sup>2</sup> Carefully.

and then coming to the point of the square of the floor, whether it were answering their assertion of 13 foot, or agreeable to ours of eleven foot eight inches, the square of 13 foot was tried from the true centre and perpendicular, which being applied to the sweeps of the mould did differ above 16 inches at the runthead, the like trial made by our true centre and perpendicular fell as just in our lines as could be possibly; which done, his Majesty with a loud voice commanded the measurers to declare publicly the very truth, which when they had delivered clearly on our sides, all the whole multitude heaved up their hats, and gave a great and a loud shout and acclamation, and then the Prince's Highness called with a high voice in these words: 'Where be now these perjured fellows that dare thus abuse his Majesty with these false informations, do they not worthily deserve hanging?'

By that time all these things were thus performed and his Majesty wonderfully satisfied, and it growing somewhat late, his Majesty returned again into the hall where he formerly sat; and being placed, and the room filled as full as it could be packed, his Majesty began a most worthy and learned speech for conclusion of the business, the scope of his words tending first to a full declaration of the satisfaction he had received touching this great business, wherein he expressed with many effectual speeches what content he received in bestowing his pains that day to so good a purpose; next his Majesty addressed himself to give thanks to the Lord Northampton for his great care and diligence to search out such errors in the Office of the Admiralty, wherein his Majesty and the State were abused, with encouragement for him to go forward with prosecuting his com-

mission, notwithstanding his Lordship had been misinformed by being drawn to question this present business ; next, his Majesty directed his speech to Mr. Baker, Bright, Stevens and the rest of the informers, very bitterly reprehending their malicious practices, more to bring to effect their own private ends than out of any conscionable care of the good of his Majesty's Service or benefit of the State, repining at the preferment I had and the countenance of the Prince, his son, and therefore combining together to disgrace and ruin me, though otherwise they envied one another and were at controversy who should be preferred to my business ; with many good exhortations to will them to beware how they did abuse the Majesty of God and himself, his substitute, with malicious informations in which he could do no less than think them perjured, as in the prosecuting of this whole business was too apparent to himself and all the world, whereby they deserved to be severely punished, if he should censure them as they worthily merited.

His Majesty then began to shew me a very pleasing countenance and turned his speech to me, willing me not to be discountenanced with these proceedings against me, since he was now sufficiently persuaded of my honesty, integrity and abilities to perform what I had undertaken, advising me not to refuse counsel of my fellow servants since it was his service, wherein we ought to join together for his good and the honour of the State ; with many other princely expressions of his good opinion of me and readiness, not only to give me countenance, but assurance of future favour towards me ; and lastly he cleared all imputations and aspersions unjustly cast upon

the Lord High Admiral, with recital of all his honourable services performed to the honour of the State and his perpetual fame, commending his great wisdom and impartial carriage of himself in this day's trial, wherein he was never observed to give any impediment to his Majesty's judicial proceedings but all furtherance possible, as was both evidently manifest to his Majesty by the great pains he had endured that day and the noble patience he had given public testimony of to all present which were eye witnesses of it ; with many other gracious speeches to put new life and power into him to go on as he had begun to the perpetual eternizing his name and honour : then, giving general thanks to those that had taken pains in that day's business, with protestation of his princely care in all matters of such consequence for the safety and honour of the State and Kingdom, he concluded his speech.

Then the noble Admiral, as his Majesty was rising, humbly besought his Majesty to license him to speak a few words, as well to declare his own innocency concerning these unjust accusations, as to clear me in the point both of my sufficiency and my care and honesty to perform the service entrusted to me, to which his honourable request (though it grew now to be late) his Majesty most willingly condescended.

The sum of his Lordship's speech tended to admire<sup>1</sup> and extol his Majesty's justice, great wisdom, and princely care of the good of the commonwealth, in that he had refused no pains (as this day's work and honourable assembly could justly witness) to provide to rectify and set straight, to the wonder and admiration of them all, a work of so great a consequence, and of such a kind

<sup>1</sup> Marvel at, Lat. *admirari*.

of intricacy as his Majesty had never been accustomed to before, and yet so clearly to examine and try in so short a space, as if he had only [been] bred and accustomed to such elements, with many other honourable speeches tending to that purpose. His Lordship then laying his hand upon my head, standing next unto him upon his right hand, did there freely offer to pawn all his lands, his honour, and his life, in my behalf for the performance and finishing of this royal work ; which being once perfected, if his Majesty (by the advice of the best experienced artist and seamen of the Kingdom) should dislike, he would willingly, with help of his, take off from his Majesty's hands at his and their proper charge with[out] any damage or loss to his Majesty ; and this did his Lordship deliver with such bold, assured, confident earnestness as gave much content to his Majesty and satisfaction to the Prince, the Lords, and most part of the rest of the standers by.

To this speech his Majesty replied briefly with gracious acknowledgments of his princely acceptance of his Lordship's true, faithful service and zeal expressed in that his worthy speech, of which he had so great assurance as he confidently protested never king could be more happy than himself in the service of such an honourable subject ; and therefore there was no need why he should any ways engage neither himself nor his honour in that which his Majesty had, by the course of upright justice, before the face of God and the world, so apparently cleared ; this said, his Majesty rose.

In passing through the hall, the Lord Admiral going before and leading me in his hand, the Lord Thomas Howard, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, made a motion to his Majesty to lay a

charge upon me that I should not make any quarrel against any person or persons that had that day given information against me, alleging he knew my stomach to be such as, if I were not contained by his Majesty's commandment, I would call them to account for their doings, where-upon blood might ensue.

His Majesty, giving ear to what his Lordship advised, gave him thanks for his worthy counsel ; and calling me unto him before the whole company, I sitting upon my knees, he gave me an especial charge upon my allegiance and life that I should not quarrel or challenge any person or persons whatsoever that had that day given information against me, alleging I had honour sufficient to have been cleared of all questions and objections unjustly laid to my charge by the equity of my cause and his justice.

This speech concluded, his Majesty hastened to take his caroche which attended at the gate : the noble Lord Admiral brought me in his hand to his Majesty, to kiss his royal hand and take my leave. His Majesty gave me his hand to kiss with such an expression of his princely favour and encouragements to proceed cheerfully in my business as did not only infuse new life into me, but also gave great comfort and content to all the standers by.

Then I presented myself upon my knee to the most noble Prince my then master, who, taking me from the ground, did so affectionately express his joy for my clearing and the satisfaction his father had received that day, that he protested he would not only countenance and comfort me hereafter but care to provide for me and my posterity while he lived. I received the like noble courtesy from all the lords, who declared

their joy for the happy success <sup>1</sup> God gave me in this great deliverance.

The great Lord of Northampton, seeing the event of this business, and that all things sorted out clean contrary to his expectation, railing bitterly against his informing instruments, took the back way to his coach and would not so much as take any leave of his Majesty, but posted away with no little expression of great discontentment, as did also the rest of his partakers.

The Lord Admiral attended his Majesty, being never better contented in all his life, and returned to Whitehall with the company, it being almost eight of the clock before they went from Woolwich.

Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, Captain Button,<sup>2</sup> and the rest of my good friends followed, amongst whom was the good old Lady Mansell and Mrs. Button, who had taken the pains to attend the hearing in an inner room all that day.

This day, as it was a very tedious day unto me by reason I was to answer all objections and kneel so long together, so was it a day of jubilee to me, a day never to be forgotten of me nor mine; wherein my good God shewed me wonderful favour and mercy to enable me to endure the frowns of the King, and to strengthen my weak abilities to withstand the malice of such and so many powerful adversaries by the space of one whole long summer's day, for his Majesty (albeit he was sufficiently persuaded of their malice and my integrity) yet till he had cleared all doubts by the course of strict examination, and found me in his justice guiltless, he would show me no countenance at all; but after their malice was discovered, and all those heads and points fully answered and clearly resolved, his Majesty then both in counten-

<sup>1</sup> Result.    <sup>2</sup> Thomas Button. Knighted 1616; died 1634.

ance, words, and all other princely expressions, declared his royal disposition towards me.

The next day, being the 9th of May, I began the work again, every man striving to express his willingness thereunto by reason of the great encouragement his Majesty had publicly and generally given to them; and within two or three days after, the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Mansell, and Sir John Trevor, advising together with me, we resolved to move the Lords of the Council to have two principal men, which were Master Shipwrights, to be by their order appointed to repair twice at least in the week to Woolwich, to survey the provisions, and to foresee that no unserviceable materials should be wrought upon the ship, which we did to clear all suspicions of any ends of our own. This accordingly was consented to of the Lords, and Mr. Mathew Baker and Henry Reynolds were appointed to be the overseers, who for fashion's sake some three or four times came to Woolwich, but finding our care to be more to perform honestly than theirs could be to prevent with their best endeavours, they gave over the trust recommended to them and left me to myself.

The 7th of June following, the Red Lion, which was newly rebuilt by Mr. Baker at Deptford, was launched; where was present the King's Majesty and the Prince, I attending then near the place at the great storehouse end, where his Majesty had his standing; he was pleased very graciously to confer with me and to use me with extraordinary expressions of his princely favour.

The 8th day of June, being the Thursday in Whitsun week, his Majesty began to hear the great and general cause of the Navy in his Presence Chamber at <sup>1</sup> Greenwich, wherein three whole days

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'and.'



was spent in several examinations of the truth and circumstances of the informations delivered by the Lord Northampton and his agents, against Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, Captain Button, Sir Thomas Bludder, Mr. Legatt,<sup>1</sup> myself and many others.

The first day the Lord Northampton made the very entrance into the business a great complaint of the dishonour he reaped by my hearing at Woolwich, insisting very maliciously in incensing his Majesty against me and others, who, as he said, traduced him in every tavern and ale bench, to his great dishonour; and therefore humbly besought his Majesty that business might be again called in question, alleging the confidence of the informers who were ready to maintain the truth of their former informations with their lives.

His Majesty, taking it ill that my Lord should dare to question his just proceedings, which he had taken such pains personally to hear [and] determine, took him short off with a sharp reprehension and willed him no further to insist upon that whereof his Majesty and the whole world were so sufficiently satisfied; but if he had aught else to say he should proceed with that, and he was there ready to hear and to do him all right. Then his Lordship began to deliver sundry particular bitter accusations against Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and the rest, all savouring more of malice than of truth, as was apparent by every man's answer when they were called to speak for themselves.

On Saturday, being the 10th of June and the

<sup>1</sup> John Legatt, or Legate, Clerk of the Check at Chatham, granted in 1604 the reversion of the Clerkship of the Navy after Peter Buck, sen. (*Pat. Roll*, 1655). He appears, however, to have died before Buck, probably in 1615.

last day of hearing, to conclude all, I was called the last man to answer a grievous accusation for my Spanish voyage made in the Resistance, when I attended the Lord Admiral for the conclusion of the peace. Captain Norreys being then the principal informer, it was laid to my charge I had transported and sold to the Spaniards divers tons of brass ordnance and other provisions of powder and shot, but after it came to the trial all proved nothing but *ridiculus mus*;<sup>1</sup> his Majesty being made privy to all the proceeding in that business by the Lord Admiral when he was in Spain, so that I was fully cleared of all those scandalous and false informations by his Majesty's own mouth, to the shame and disgrace of those that were the principal actors and prosecutors of it; and thus was that great hearing fully concluded at Greenwich.

It must not be forgotten how the Lord in his justice <sup>did</sup> revenge my injuries and wrongs even upon <sup>all</sup> those that were sworn against me; but because in modesty I will spare to nominate some, and in what particulars they were afterwards in special matters beholding to me, yet I must not pass over one remarkable accident that happened to one of them in this manner.

Captain George Waymouth before mentioned, being one of the most violent and bitterest adversaries that came against me, happened to have drawn in a knight of Hampshire to be so credulously confident of his special art in building of ships, that he trusted him to have the oversight and direction of building a small ship for him, which was expected to have been so rare a

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the well-known line of Horace (*De Arte Poetica*, 139): 'Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus' (Mountains are in labour, a silly little mouse will be born).

sailer, and every way so well conditioned, as she should run beyond the moon; but in the end, when she came to be tried, she proved the veriest bauble and drown devil<sup>1</sup> that ever went to sea; and so plainly cozened the knight both of his charge and expectation.

The provisions of cordage, anchors, sails, munition, and other furniture were to come from London, and Captain Waymouth was trusted both to ship them and to convey them to the vessel; and for the better security he resolved to embark himself with them, and falling down as low as the North Foreland, there mistaking his course (as he did in the North-west Passage<sup>2</sup>), instead of

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'veryest bable and drowne divell.' This has the appearance of a seaman's saying, but I have not met it elsewhere. 'Bable' (bauble) is used contemptuously for 'a mere toy, applied to a machine, etc., considered too small or weak for actual work' (*N.E.D.*), as in the following passages:

' . . . the sea being smooth,  
How many shallow bauble boats dare sail  
Upon her patient breast . . .  
But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage  
The gentle Thetis . . .  
. . . where's then the saucy boat  
Whose weak untimbered sides but even now  
Co-rivall'd greatness?'

SHAKESPEARE, *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii.

' . . . his shipping  
Poor ignorant baubles—on our terrible seas  
Like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd  
As easily 'gainst our rocks.'

SHAKESPEARE, *Cymbeline*, III, i.

The word 'bawble' is also used by Anson in speaking of the *Tryal* sloop, which the Spaniards at Juan Fernandez could not credit with having rounded Cape Horn.

'Devil' seemingly refers to the 'poor devils' forming the crew: it does not appear to refer to the seam in the ship's bottom to which that name is sometimes given.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to his voyage in 1602. See Introduction.

going to Shoreham in Sussex, he went for Flushing ; and so, pretending some lame excuse to colour his pretence, passed from thence to Antwerp, where it is most certain he proffered to sell all his commodities and his service also, had he not been prevented, albeit he enjoyed a pension<sup>1</sup> of ten groats per diem here in England from his Majesty under the title of Master Engineer.

This his juggling was not so privately conveyed but notice and advertisement was given and sent to the Lords of the Council, and by their Lordships to the Lord High Admiral ; whereupon strict order was taken that he should be apprehended as a pirate if he at any time were found in England.

Upon knowledge hereof, he secretly stole over and got to London, and there very privately, by means of one Mr. Poory,<sup>2</sup> a gentleman having some near dependence upon the right honourable the Earl of Salisbury, then the Lord Treasurer of England, his case was made known to his Lordship to be a means to his Majesty for his pardon. His Lordship, very well remembering what part he played at my hearing at Woolwich, and what particular notice his Majesty and the Prince's Highness took of his dishonest and base carriage, utterly disclaimed him so much as to hear him named ; but being very much importuned by Mr. Poory and one, old Keymer,<sup>3</sup> he advised his safest

<sup>1</sup> Granted October 27, 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently John Pory, who, from his letter to Dudley Carleton of January 3, 1610 (*S.P. Dom.*, *James I*, lii, 1), appears to have been connected with the Lord Treasurer. This would be the traveller and geographer of that name, then M.P. for Bridgwater, but settled in London.

<sup>3</sup> Probably John Keymer, the author of *Observations upon the Dutch Fishing*.

course to be to make his way to the Lord Admiral, in whose power he was now fallen by piracy, and that he had no better or readier way to effect this but to repair to me and to confess his former injuries and truly to deliver by what means and working he was drawn into that business, and so to offer me as public satisfaction as he had done me public injury, that I might be a mean both to the Prince's Highness and to the Lord Admiral he might, upon this submission, be both pardoned and received into favour. This counsel was presently followed, and a great supper bespoken at the Three Cranes in the Vintry by Mr. Poory and Mr. Keymer, to which I was trained by a solemn invitation by them both, by a letter sent to me to Woolwich that very morning before the supper intended.

We met according to appointment, and, after some compliments passed, Poory and Keymer, drawing me aside into a private room, there discovered unto me the cause of their meeting and sending for me, which when I thoroughly understood I refused either to stay or see Waymouth; but at length won by their importunities, and the rather for that they confidently assured me this was done by the advice of my most honourable good Lord, the Lord Treasurer, I was contented to stay supper with them, and Waymouth came in and sat at the same table without any speech concerning the business. Supper ended, Mr. Poory began to break the matter to this effect: that Captain Waymouth there present, acknowledging his error in doing me so great an injury, was purposely come in their company to offer me what satisfaction I would desire, confessing it now lay in my power either to undo him or to

recover his lost reputation, and to perform what I should enjoin him, in what public manner I would require.

To this I answered that, first, I never had any conversation with Waymouth, nor did ever give him any cause to be my enemy in so great a height as to accuse me before a king in the presence of such an audience, wherein no less than my life was questioned, aggra[va]ting each circumstance of his malicious carriage towards me as well as I could then remember.

To be short, Captain Waymouth, there rising from the table, in the presence of all that were there, fell on his knee and desired me as I was a gentleman to pardon what he had inadvisedly done against me ; all the circumstances he would truly discover, if I would give him leave to speak ; and then, rising from the ground, laid down his sword at my feet, there vowing in the presence of God and that company, both himself, his life, and sword, should be ever at my command and service.

He then freely delivered by whom he was first solicited to join in that business against me, which was Mr. Baker, Bright, and the rest, for the space of two months together ; to whom he made flat denial to join in such a malicious practice, and did never condescend till they procured him to be sent for by a letter from the Lord Northampton to come to speak with him, by whose flatteries and fair promises he was enticed to be a party with them ; and this he offered to make good upon his oath whensoever he should be called.

Upon this his submission, I was contented to forgive the injury done to me in my own particular, but I could not promise to mediate betwixt him and the Prince my master, nor the Lord Admiral.

This was accepted upon my promise I would not aggravate anything against him, and thus spending almost the whole night I took my leave, and so took boat and returned that morning to Woolwich ; and this was about the 18th of November.

This meeting was not so private but that his Highness and the Lord Admiral had notice of it, whereupon the Prince sent for me and commanded me to deliver the truth, which I accordingly did in each particular. His Highness disliked that I did not acquaint him with it, but when I assured him of the manner of my training thither, with some little check <sup>1</sup> he was satisfied ; and the Lord Treasurer did so mediate for him to the good Lord Admiral that his pardon was granted, but himself from that time after (till his dying day which shortly followed) was never received to favour, nor good opinion.

In the beginning of January following, there were two new ships, builded at Deptford <sup>2</sup> for the East India Merchants, to be launched ; whereat his Majesty with the Prince and divers lords were present, and feasted with a banquet of sweetmeats on board the great ship in the dock, which was called the Trade's Increase <sup>3</sup> ; the other was called the Peppercorn, <sup>4</sup> the names being given by his Majesty. I did there attend, and received gracious public usage from his Majesty, the Prince, and the Lords ; but the tide was so bad that the great ship could not be launched out of the dock, and the smaller, which was built upon the wharf, was so ill stricken <sup>5</sup> upon the launching ways that

<sup>1</sup> Reproof.

<sup>2</sup> By William Burrell.

<sup>3</sup> Of 1100 tons ; wrecked on her first voyage in 1613 and burnt by the Javanese.

<sup>4</sup> Of 250 tons.

<sup>5</sup> MS. 'strokes.' The ship is struck (lowered) upon the

she could by no means be put off, which did somewhat discontent his Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

The last day of January, the Prince's Highness came to Woolwich, to see in what forwardness the ship was in, where I gave him and his followers entertainment.

The 7th day of January, by commandment from the Prince's Highness, I attended at the great feast made by him at St. James's to the King, Queen, Duke of York, Lady Elizabeth, the Lords of the Council, and all the Knights that were actors at the barriers.<sup>2</sup> The supper was not ended till after ten at night, from whence they went to the Play, and, that ended, returned again to a set banquet in the gallery where the supper was, the table being above 120 foot long, and it was 3 of the clock in the morning before all was finished.

The 9th of February, my wife's brother, John Nicholls, being a linen draper dwelling in Friday Street, died of the sickness.

The 25th April the Prince's Highness came to Woolwich and dined there, with all his train, in my dining room.

The 27th April, my sister Lydia, whom I was glad to maintain a long time before, with a poor

launching ways when the blocks and wedges on which the keel is supported are driven out and the weight of the ship taken upon the cradle, the bottom of which rests upon, and slides along, the launching ways.

<sup>1</sup> According to the account of the captain of the *Peppercorn* (Egerton MS. 2100) this was on 30th December. The *Peppercorn* was launched on 1st January, 'and the great ship the *Trade's Increase* . . . a little removed, but not launched. The 2nd day Tuesday the *Trade's Increase* was half her length removed but not launched for the dockhead was too narrow for her passage. The 3rd day . . . she was launched.'

<sup>2</sup> An account of this tournament is given in Birch, *Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, p. 182 *et seq.*



man that was her husband, died at Plumstead, and was there buried at my charge.

The 30th of this month, the Resistance was launched out of my brother Simonson's Dock at Ratcliff, where she was newly repaired.

The second of May, the Lady Elizabeth with her train came to see the great ship at Woolwich, and was entertained by my wife, I being then at London.

About the 10th of May, this present year, I bought Sir John Trevor's third part of the Resistance, so that I had two third parts of her to myself.

The 18th of June the Prince's Highness came to Woolwich, to see the ship, who was now in great forwardness and almost ready; and the next day after he came thither again in company of the King his father, and a great train attending on them, in the afternoon. His Majesty spent almost two hours in great content in surveying the ship, both within and without, protesting it did not repent him to have taken such great pains in examination of the business of that work, since the fruit thereof yielded him such contentation.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty then did me the honour to come into the house, where my wife had prepared a banquet of sweetmeats and such fruits as were then to be had, whereof he was pleased to taste plentifully and did very graciously accept of his homely entertainment, giving me especial commandment not to launch the ship till his progress was ended.

Between Easter and Michaelmas that the ship began to be garnished,<sup>2</sup> it is not credible what numbers of people continually resorted to

<sup>1</sup> Satisfaction, content.

<sup>2</sup> Completed with her ornamental work.

Woolwich of all sorts, both nobles, gentry, citizens, and from all parts of the country round about; which was no small charge to me, in giving daily entertainment to all comers, which could not be possibly avoided in that place at such a time.

In the beginning of August I was summoned to Chatham with my fellow Master Shipwrights, there to take a survey of the Navy [according to the yearly custom. Sir John Trevor, then Surveyor, attended that service personally; where we spent four days in performing that business, and so returned to Woolwich.

The 6th of this month of August, my wife was delivered of her fifth son, at Woolwich in my own lodgings, between the hours of 6 and 7 of the clock in the morning, being Thursday.<sup>1</sup> And the 16th day of the same month he was baptized in the church at Woolwich, upon a Thursday in the forenoon.

The witnesses were my brother Peter and brother William Brooke, godfathers, and my wife's mother, Mistress Katherine Nicholls, godmother.

The 22nd of this month, I let out the Resistance for a voyage into the Straits at the rate of 100*l.* per mensem, with 36 men; Mr. William Gibbons appointed the master.

The 31st day, I rode to Nonsuch,<sup>2</sup> to the Prince, that then was there in hunting, who of his nobleness promised to send me a buck to Woolwich, because he had then given all away that were fallen that day.

The 9th of September, being Sunday, about six of the clock in the evening, divers London maids, coming to see the ship, brought in their company

<sup>1</sup> The 6th August 1610 was a Monday.

<sup>2</sup> Near Cheam. This Palace was commenced by Henry VIII and pulled down by the Duchess of Cleveland.

a little boy of 12 years old, the only child of his mother, a widow woman dwelling in Tower Street, who, carelessly going up and down upon the main orlop,<sup>1</sup> fell down into the hold of the ship and was thereby so broken and bruised that he died before midnight, being the first mischance that did happen in the whole time of the ship's building.

About the middle of this month, being ready to have the ship stroken down upon her ways, I caused 12 of the choice master carpenters of his Majesty's Navy to be sent for from Chatham to be assistance in her striking and launching; and upon the 18th day, being Tuesday, she was safely set upon her ways, and this day Sir Robert Mansell came and dined with me in my lodgings.

The 20th of this month, the French Leaguer<sup>2</sup> Ambassador came to Woolwich, to see the ship, whom I entertained in the best manner I could; and in the time of his being within, the Prince, my royal master, sent me a wonderful fat buck which he killed with his own hand.

Now began we on all sides to make preparation for the launching of the ship, and for that purpose there was provided a rich standard of taffety,<sup>3</sup> very fairly gilt with gold, with his Majesty's arms, to be placed upon the poop, and a very large ensign of crimson rich taffety, with a canton of the Prince's crest, to be placed upon the quarter deck,

<sup>1</sup> 'The Orlopp is no other but the Deck (as we say) the lower Deck, the second Deck, so you may as well say the lower Orlopp, or the second Orlopp: and indeed it is commonly held the proper speech to call them the first Orlopp and the second Orlopp: for this word Orlopp seems to be appropriated only to these two Decks.'—Manwayring, *The Seaman's Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Lyeader.' The Sieur de la Boderie, then engaged in settling the 'League' or Treaty between the two kingdoms.

<sup>3</sup> A silk stuff.

and all other ornaments were carefully provided for, befitting that purpose. There was a standing set up in the most convenient place in the Yard for his Majesty, the Queen, and their royal children, and places fitted for the ladies and Council, all railed in and boarded ; all the rooms both in my own lodgings and at Mr. Lydiard's were <sup>1</sup> prepared and very handsomely hanged and furnished with a cloth of state, chairs, stools and other necessaries ; nothing was omitted that could be imagined any ways necessary, both for ease and entertainment.

Upon Sunday in the afternoon, being the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of September, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Henry Palmer came to Woolwich to see how everything was ordered, and finding all things prepared and fitted to their likings, about three of the clock they returned all to Deptford, where they lodged that night at Sir Robert Mansell's. This evening, very late, there [came] a messenger to me from them, bringing a letter which was sent to them from Court, at Theobalds, to give me order to be very careful to search the ship's hold for fear some treacherous persons might have bored some holes, privily, in the ship, to sink her after she should be launched ; but my care had prevented their fears aforehand, so far as possibly could be searched or discerned.

On Monday morning, assisted by the help of my brother Simonson and sundry other my friends, we opened the dock gates and made all things ready against the tide, but the wind blowing very hard at south-west kept out the flood so as it proved a very bad tide, little better than a neap, which put us afterwards to great trouble and hazard.

The King's Majesty came from Theobalds, though he had been very ill at ease with a scouring

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'withe.'

taken with surfeiting by eating grapes, and landed here about eleven of the clock. Prince Henry attended him, and most part of the Lords of the Council. The Lord Admiral, attended by the Principal Officers of the Navy together with myself, received him on land out of his barge and conducted him to the place provided for him in Mr. Lydiard's house; his dinner was dressed in our great kitchen. After dinner came the Queen's Majesty, accompanied with the Duke of York, Lady Elizabeth, and divers great lords and ladies in her train. The drums and trumpets [were]<sup>1</sup> placed on poop and forecastle and the wind instruments by them, so that nothing was wanting to so great a royalty that could be desired.

When it grew towards high water and all things ready, and a great close lighter made fast at the ship's stern, and the Queen's Majesty with her train placed, the Lord Admiral gave me commandment to heave taut the crabs<sup>1</sup> and screws,<sup>2</sup> though I had little hope to launch by reason the wind over-blew the tide; yet the ship started and had launched, but that the dock gates pent her in so strait that she stuck fast between them, by reason the ship was nothing lifted with the tide as we expected she should, and the great lighter by unadvised counsel being cut off the stern, the ship settled so hard upon the ground that there was no possibility of launching that tide, besides that there was such a multitude of people got into the ship that one could scarcely stir by another. The noble Prince himself, accompanied with the Lord Admiral and other great Lords, were upon the poop, where the great standing gilt cup was ready filled with wine to name the ship, so soon as

<sup>1</sup> A small capstan, placed on the ground.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'scruses.' Placed at the bow to start the ship.

she had been on float, according to ancient custom and ceremony performed at such times, by drinking part of the wine, giving the ship her name, and heaving the standing cup overboard.

The King's Majesty was much grieved to be frustrate of his expectation, coming on purpose, though very ill at ease, to have done me honour, but God saw it not so good for me and therefore sent this cross upon me both to humble me and to make me know that howsoever we purposed, he would dispose all things as he pleased ; so that about five of the clock his Majesty with the Queen and all their train departed away to Greenwich, where then the household were removed. Prince Henry stayed behind a good while after his Majesty was gone, conferring with the Lord Admiral, Principal Officers, and myself what was to be done ; and, leaving the Lord Admiral to stay here to see all things performed that was resolved on, he took horse and rode after the King to Greenwich, with promise to return back presently after midnight.

So soon as the multitudes were gone and things quiet, we went presently in hand to make way with the sides of the dock gates, and having great store of scavelmen<sup>1</sup> and other labourers, we made all things ready before any flood came ; which performed, every man applied himself to get victuals and to take rest. The Lord Admiral sat up all

<sup>1</sup> The 'scavel' was a small spade used for digging clay, etc., as in forming drains. The scavelmen were dockyard labourers whose duty it was to clean and pump out the docks. The name, which disappeared after 1844, probably on the introduction of steam pumping machinery, was no doubt a survival from the time when the 'dock' was formed of piling, wattles, and clay, which was placed round the ship when she had been brought to the shore, or across the mouth of the creek into which she had been hauled, and which had to be dug away in 'opening the dock.'

the night in a chair in his chamber, till the tide was come about the ship ; and Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Henry Palmer made shift in my lodgings to rest themselves.

The beginning of the night was very fair and bright moonshine, the moon being a little past full, but after midnight the weather was sore overcast, and a very sore gust of rain, thunder and lightning, which made me doubt that there was some indirect working amongst our enemies to dash our launching ; this gust lasted about half an hour with great extremity, the wind being at south-west.

In the midst of this great gust, Prince Henry and all his [train] were taken upon the top of Blackheath in their coming to Woolwich, but his invincible spirit, daunted with nothing, made little account of it but came through, and was no sooner alighted in the yard but, calling for the Lord Admiral and myself and Sir Robert Mansell, went all presently on board the ship, being about two of the clock; almost one hour before high water ; and was no sooner entered but, the word being given to set all taut, the ship went away without any straining of screws or tackles, till she came clear afloat into the midst of the channel, to the great joy and comfort of the Prince's Highness, the Lord Admiral, and all the rest of my noble loving friends, which mercy of God to me I pray I may never forget.

His Highness then, standing upon the poop with a selected company only, besides the trumpets, with a great deal of expression of princely joy, and with the ceremony<sup>1</sup> of drinking in the great standing cup, threw all the wine forward towards the half deck, and solemnly calling her by the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this ceremony see Fraser, *The Londons of the British Fleet*, p. 68.

name of the Prince Royal, the trumpets sounding all the while, with many gracious words to me, gave the standing cup into mine own hands, and would not go from the ship till he saw her fast at her moorings: In heaving down to the moorings we found that all the hawsers that were laid on shore for land-fasts were treacherously cut, to put the ship to hazard of running on shore, if God had not blessed us better.

In the interim of warping to the moorings, his Highness went down to the platform of the cook-room where the ship's beer stood for the ordinary company, and there finding an old can without a lid, went and drew it full of beer himself, and drank it off to the Lord Admiral, and caused him with the rest of his attendants to do the like.

About nine the same morning, being very rainy, he took his barge, accompanied with the Lord Admiral and the rest of his train, and, giving us a princely gracious farewell, rowed against the tide to Greenwich, where he made relation of all the business and the circumstances thereof to the King his father.

We then came on shore to refresh ourselves with victuals, and to take some rest, having toiled all the night before; and, amongst the rest of the company, Sir Henry Palmer was pleased to stay dinner, where we drank Prince Henry's health round, to hansel<sup>1</sup> the standing cup given at the launching.

The 8th day of October I began to kill beef at Woolwich for the victualling of the Resistance, for a voyage into the Straits.

The 20th of October were discharged most part of all the workmen which wrought upon the Prince, and were paid at Deptford [the] same day.

<sup>1</sup> To inaugurate the use of. (*N.E.D.*)



The 22nd day of this month, the Resistance fell down to the wall,<sup>1</sup> and the 27th day she came down to Woolwich, and there anchored by the Prince.

This day also I shipped away my household stuff from Woolwich to Chatham.

The 29th day, being Monday, I removed from Woolwich to Chatham, with my wife, children, and my whole family, and the next day I returned again to Woolwich, and the next day divers Straits ships fell down to Woolwich, and we caused them to anchor by the Prince, and to help us with all their men to set the Prince's masts.

The first of November, being Thursday, was set the Prince's foremast, and on Saturday, being the 3rd day, her boltsprit was set also, all the merchantmen's companies helping us.

The 8th day, being Thursday, the Resistance and the rest of the Straits ships set sail for Gravesend, and I went down thither in the Resistance, and that night went to Chatham, and the next day returned to Gravesend and cleared away my ship.

The 10th day, being Saturday, betimes in the morning the Resistance and the rest of the Straits ships set sail from Gravesend, and went over the next tide. I went in the Resistance, Captain John King went in his own ship, the Mathew, and Mr. Jenkins the shipwright went with Mr. Wills in the Althea, and Mr. Newport went master in the Centaur. We all anchored in the Gore,<sup>2</sup> and lay ashore at Birchington that night, old Thomas Punnett in our company. The next day

<sup>1</sup> Presumably of Deptford Yard, but he may mean Blackwall. She had been undocked at Ratcliff.

<sup>2</sup> The Gore Channel, running between the Kent coast and Margate Hook Sand, west of Birchington.

Captain King, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Puniett,<sup>1</sup> and myself, came post to Chatham; they lay at my house all night, and the next day I came up to Woolwich with them in my company.

The Prince by this time was wholly rigged and made ready to go to Chatham, of which having made Prince Henry's Highness acquainted, he was pleased to come on board her at Woolwich on Thursday, being the 6th December, where he stayed some 3 hours, being wonderful desirous to [have] had us set sail, if we could possibly have done it without danger. Sir Robert Mansell that day attended upon the Prince, and was by him commanded to go down in her to Chatham with us. Captain King was master, thereto being appointed by the Prince, old John a Vale was our pilot, Mr. John Reynolds the master gunner, and Lawrence Spencer, boatswain. So soon as it was high water, which was about 3 of the clock, his Highness went on shore at Woolwich where his coach attended; at his landing we gave him eleven pieces of ordnance, which was all we had then aboard.

The 7th day of this month, Sir Robert Mansell sent his bedding and provision on board the Prince, and necessaries for the journey, and that night he came on board and lay there all night; and the next day, being Saturday, the wind being at south-west, we made ready to set sail and got our anchors on board, but it was a great fog all the morning, and at noon it cleared up, but it was so little wind that we could scarce bear ahead with all our sails and boats, yet we with much ado

<sup>1</sup> Thomas; one of the pilots for the river and Downs. The name appears elsewhere as 'Poynett,' 'Punnett,' and 'Poinet.' He signed with a mark 'T.'

got as low as Halfway Tree,<sup>1</sup> and there, the water being much fallen, we anchored all that night.

The next day, being Sunday the 9th December, we set sail about one of the clock, with a fresh gale at south-west, and that night anchored at the lower end of Gravesend. Monday, the 10th day, we set sail into Tilbury Hope, and, for that we wanted a great anchor and cable, Sir Robert thought it fit for us to stay there till we were supplied with all wants, for which purpose Sir Robert went back to London that night, and I went home to Chatham.

On Friday after, being the 14th day, I returned on board the ship into Tilbury Hope, and presently after Sir Robert came on board, and having received the supply of our wants, we made ready to set sail again the next day.

Saturday morning, we set sail from Tilbury Hope and anchored thwart the Nore, where we lay all that night; Sunday, the 16th day, we weighed and anchored within Sheerness; and on Monday we got up as high as St. Mary's Creek;<sup>2</sup> and the next day, being Tuesday and the 18th day, we brought the ship safe to her moorings within the chain at Upnor, for which we gave God thanks.

So soon as the ship was safe moored, Sir Robert Mansell rode away post for London, and I went home to my house. On the Wednesday after I made a journey to London to wait upon the Prince, my master, where I stayed till the Saturday after, being the 22nd day, and then returned home to Chatham; and thus ended the year of 1610.

<sup>1</sup> On the Essex shore, half-way between London and Gravesend.

<sup>2</sup> Now covered by the extension of Chatham Dockyard northwards.

Anno 1611. There passed little worth note till towards the end of April, this present year ; and the 29th day of this month, being on a Monday, I was by the Prince's Highness' command sent for to come to London, to be at Westminster with Sir Robert Mansell that night at supper. The message came to me between 2 and 3 [of the] clock in the afternoon. I presently caused my horses to be taken up and made ready, and presently took horse and according to appointment came thither by seven that night, where I found Sir Robert Mansell and Sir Oliver Cromwell expecting my coming.

The next morning Sir Robert Mansell and myself repaired to St. James's, where I received from the Prince's own mouth his Highness' intent to make a private journey to Chatham, and to go down in his barges round about by Queenborough ; giving me strait charge I should acquaint none with it, but make preparation for his lodging and diet and his small train in Chatham, Mr. Legatt's house being appointed the place to receive his own person. So, being taught my lesson, I returned to Chatham, taking present order for the preparing of all things for his entertainment.

There was a small merchantman bound for the East Country, which was purposely sent down into Tilbury Hope, to ride there, to refresh his Highness on board her and to relieve the watermen ; to which purpose she was quaintly fitted with all things, and a great breakfast prepared for that purpose, Sir William St. John<sup>1</sup> having the charge

<sup>1</sup> A Captain of the Navy, commended by Nottingham to Salisbury in 1609 for having taken Harris, the pirate, on the Irish coast and done good service off the West Islands of Scotland (*Cal. S.P.D.*, July 3, 1609).

of seeing it performed, being as Captain of the ship for present.<sup>1</sup>

The 5th of May, being Sunday, after dinner I took horse to Gravesend, where met me Captain King, who had part of that merchant ship and was commanded to attend, and we lay all night at Gravesend.

On Monday morning, being the 6th of May, the Prince's Highness took his barges at Whitehall by 5 of the clock. He was accompanied with the Earls of Shrewsbury, Arundel, and Earl of Mar, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Robert Mansell, and some others of his household servants. About 9 of the clock his Highness came on board, where we were ready to receive him after the sea manner, with trumpets and drums, and after he had refreshed himself, the Lords broke fast, and the watermen relieved with fresh spells, we went on against the tide till we came within Queenborough water, and it was ebb'd before we could get as high as Upnor; and so, passing along by all the ships, his Highness was landed at the old dock at Chatham a little before 6 at night, and thence walked on foot to Mr. Legatt's house, where his supper was ready prepared for him and his train, to his great content.

The Earl of Arundel was lodged at a boatswain's house next Mr. Legatt's, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Earl of Mar were lodged at my house, the other train in other convenient places.

Tuesday morning betimes, according to his Highness' directions overnight, barges and boats were ready prepared to attend his Highness; who had broke fast and was ready by seven of the clock, and took his barge and went first on board

<sup>1</sup> For the time being.

the Prince, and so from ship to ship of the lower reach, taking particular private information from Sir Robert Mansell and myself (none else suffered to come near) of the state and condition of each several ship in his own table book. This done, landed and went to dinner, where he was very merry and pleasant; we having placed 15 great brass chambers in the garden to be fired when his Highness drunk any healths, and were attended by Mr. John Reynolds, master gunner of his own ship, who carefully performed his charge.

Dinner done, his Highness proceeded again in viewing all the ships and pinnaces in the upper reach, not leaving out any one which he was not on board of, taking <sup>1</sup> the same course with them as was done with the other in the forenoon, by which time the day was far spent, and his Highness returned to his lodging, supper being ready against his coming.

Wednesday, after his Highness had broke fast, he took his barges and went up to Strood by water, all the ships of both reaches giving him a royal farewell with their ordnance, which he commanded to be shot, even over his barge, notwithstanding all the persuasion to the contrary.<sup>2</sup> He was landed at Strood, where his coaches attended him, and thence went to Gravesend, whither I also waited on him, and there his Highness was received by the magistrates of the town with all their small shot and the ordnance of the blockhouses: at his putting in his barge he was pleased to grace me with kissing his hand, expressing how well he was pleased with his journey

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'taken.'

<sup>2</sup> It was customary at that period to fire salutes with shotted [guns], and accidents from the shot were not infrequent.

and entertainment; thence I returned home to Chatham.

The 4th of June, being Tuesday, being prepared to have gone to London the next day, about midnight one of the King's messengers was sent down to me from the Lord Treasurer to man the light horseman<sup>1</sup> with 20 musketeers and to run out as low as the Nore head to search all ships, barks, and other vessels, for the Lady Arabella<sup>2</sup> that had then made a scape and was bound over for France; which service I performed accordingly, and searched Queenborough, and all other vessels I could meet withal, and then went over to Leigh<sup>3</sup> in Essex and searched the town; and when we could hear no news of her went to Gravesend, and thence took post horse to Greenwich, where his Majesty then lay, and delivered the account of my journey to the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command; and so was dismissed, and went that night to Ratcliff, where I lay at Captain King's.

The 10th of June, being at London, I had news of the arrival of the Resistance from the Straits, whereupon I went presently for Chatham, and the next morning returned to Gravesend and shipped myself in a ketch, and was before night set on board the Resistance in Gore End road, where were other ships that came thither in company, and amongst the rest one of the East India ships newly come, of whom one David Middleton<sup>4</sup> was captain. I stayed in the Gore till the 17th day, at which

<sup>1</sup> A light ship's boat or gig.

<sup>2</sup> Arabella Stuart. Placed in custody after her marriage to William Seymour. She escaped dressed as a man, but was captured in the Straits of Dover and committed to the Tower.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Lee.'

<sup>4</sup> Younger brother of Sir Henry Middleton. This was the return from his voyage in the *Expedition*.

time we were purposed to have weighed and come over, but there rose such a storm at west, and so over-blew, that divers ships venturing were cast away, and they that scaped best lost their masts and ground tackle, but God blessed us that we did not lose the ship at all. I then, having earnest business to be at Chatham, was set on shore at Margate, from whence I took post horse and came safely that night to Chatham, giving God thanks for his merciful deliverance.

About this time Sir John Trevor, having sold his place of Surveyor of the Navy to one Captain Richard Bingley,<sup>1</sup> was come down to Chatham to surrender his place unto him at the pay then made; and thereupon there was by the new Surveyor's means a strict survey made of the whole Navy, wherein I denied to join before I knew the Prince's pleasure, but was afterwards persuaded to yield unto it by Sir John Trevor's importunity; whereby I incurred great blame and a sharp check from the Prince's Highness, which I had much ado to pacify by the help of the best friends I had about him, being sent for on purpose to Richmond to give his Highness satisfaction therein.

About the 8th day of July I paid the company of the Resistance for their voyage, and presently graved her for another, and at the same time I was sent for by the Lord Admiral of England, to Hampton Court, to give an account about the proceedings of the survey, made a little before at Chatham, of the state of the Navy; and then I was also sent for to attend the Prince at Richmond, to give his Highness satisfaction concerning the proceedings therein, which he took as an affront, because I had not made his

<sup>1</sup> The grant of this post to Bingley was dated 7th May. He was knighted on 10th November.



Grace acquainted with it, being hindered by Sir Richard Bingley.

The 17th day of this month,<sup>1</sup> being Saturday, having fitted the Resistance in all points for her voyage into the Straits, she set sail to Blackwall, and the next morning came to Gravesend, where I left her and went to Chatham; and next day, being Monday morning, I brought my wife to Gravesend with me, where we lay that night, and having cleared the ship from thence, saw her set sail on Tuesday morning betimes, and then returned home to Chatham.

In the end of this month I caused the little *Disdain*, Prince Henry's pinnace, to be rigged and fitted for me to take the air of the sea to the river's mouth.

The 3rd of September, being Tuesday, I set sail with the *Disdain* betimes in the morning from Upnor, having the ship manned with divers of my friends in the Navy, which voluntary went with me, as David Duck, Nicholas Surtis, Robert Sharpe, cousin<sup>2</sup> Peter Pett, and others, whom I royally victualled, and put out of Queenborough, and with the next flood, the wind westerly, we turned up as high as Hole Haven,<sup>3</sup> where we anchored all night; next morning I turned up to Gravesend, where we anchored in expectance of the company of my friend Captain John King, who was to come from London to meet me there upon his faithful promise, but he failing, I with my company dined on shore at Gravesend, and in the afternoon set sail into Tilbury Hope where we anchored all night.

The next morning, being Thursday and the 5th day, we weighed betimes in the morning with

<sup>1</sup> August: the month is noted in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Nephew.

<sup>3</sup> W of Canvey Island.

a fair gale of wind at west and went down as low as the buoy of the Oase edge, where we anchored till the flood, before which time the wind harted<sup>1</sup> in and blew a very fresh gale, and before a quarter flood it blew so much wind as we could not maintain our topsails abroad, and the sea was so high grown that our little ship would not work, so that we had much ado to get up as high as thwart of Minster Church upon the Island of Sheppey,<sup>2</sup> where, close under the edge of the Cant, we came to an anchor in shoal water; by which time it blew up a very great storm, the wind at west-south-west, and there we were forced to ride it out till the next day at half flood, not without some danger; and then the wind beginning to duller<sup>3</sup> we weighed and got up under Sheerness,<sup>4</sup> where we anchored all night, and the next day, being Saturday and the 7th day, we brought our ship safe to Gillingham, giving God thanks for our safety and deliverance.

About the middle of December, the Honour<sup>5</sup> and Defiance being appointed to be brought into dry dock at Woolwich, the Honour to be repaired by Mr. Baker, who first built her, and the Defiance commended to me, we began to prepare the dock for the receiving of them in after Christmas; and so ended this year of 1611.

The 6th day of January I went from Chatham to Woolwich to dock the Honour and the Defiance.

<sup>1</sup> This word is not in the *N.E.D.*; it is probably derived from 'heart' or 'hearten,' to acquire more energy. See also note on p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Shepeway.'

<sup>3</sup> This word is not in the *N.E.D.*, but it evidently means 'to become more dull or calm.' It is used as a transitive verb by Mainwaring in the *Seaman's Dictionary*, s.v. 'Blowe':— 'the heat of the land, which should duller the wind.'

<sup>4</sup> Sheirenasse.

<sup>5</sup> Merhonour.

On the 9th day we opened the gates and brought in the *Defiance*; the next day proved so much wind as we could not stir the *Honour* from her moorings, so that she was not docked till the night tide; the 11th day the gates were shut in and caulked. About the middle of this month, Prince Henry lying at Greenwich, all the King's Master Shipwrights were commanded by his Highness to attend him about a resolution of building ships in Ireland, and a proposition was made by Mr. William Burrell to undertake to build one of six hundred tons in the room of the old *Bonaventure*, at a rate,<sup>1</sup> to build her in Ireland, myself being appointed to have gone over thither to see him to perform his bargain; and every Master Shipwright brought in plats,<sup>2</sup> to the end his Highness might make the better choice for what proportions and kinds of moulds<sup>3</sup> he did best approve of for fitness of service.

About this time also I did accompany Captain Thomas Button to make choice of a ship<sup>4</sup> for the North-west Passage, in which journey he was to be employed by the appointment of the Prince. Towards the end of this month I attended at Deptford to the docking of the *Dreadnought*.

About the 6th of March, the *Resistance* returned home of her voyage, and the 23rd of the same I paid all her company.

The 14th day of April, being Easter Tuesday, I came to Gravesend to meet Captain Button,

<sup>1</sup> For an inclusive sum.

<sup>2</sup> Plans, draughts.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the curves of the timbers which were to form the frame. Each complete 'mould' would give a transverse section of the ship.

<sup>4</sup> Button sailed as 'Admiral' of this expedition in the *Resolution*, which was lost in the voyage. He was accompanied by the *Discovery* in which Waymouth and Hudson had made earlier voyages to the same parts.

who was then going away upon his voyage, and we parted together<sup>1</sup> on board his ship, from whence I returned to Chatham.

About the middle of June, by the commandment of Prince Henry, I began to make ready a frame for a small new ship, who was to be as a pinnace to the great ship, the Prince, in which the Prince's Highness did purpose to solace himself sometimes into the Narrow Seas; and therefore she was appointed to be fitted with a very roomy cabin and all other accommodations for that purpose; the keel of which ship was laid in the launching place at the old dock at Chatham the last day of June, being in length 72 foot, in breadth 24 foot, and to draw 11 foot water, of the burden 250 tons and tonnage,<sup>2</sup> or thereabouts.

Much about the 10th July, I sold the good ship called the Resistance to one Mr. Henry Mainwaring,<sup>3</sup> brother to Sir Arthur Mainwaring, for 700 and odd pounds, whereof I received 450*l.* down and gave time for the payment of the rest, having Sir Arthur Mainwaring bound for the payment of the same, which was not performed in more than two years after. The cause that I sold this lucky ship was for that Mr. William

<sup>1</sup> This use of 'together' in the sense of mutually, from each other, is not illustrated in the *N.E.D.*, but it is evidently cognate to its use in the expressions 'love together,' 'see together' (= meet) of which examples are given.

<sup>2</sup> The burden in 'tons' represents the net wine-carrying capacity of the ship in Bordeaux casks. The 'tonnage' was an additional allowance equal to one-third of this; the 'ton and tonnage' representing the gross burden (see Oppenheim, *Administration*, pp. 30, 132, 266).

<sup>3</sup> The pirate; subsequently a naval officer; author of the *Discourse of the Beginnings, Practices, and Suppression of Pirates*, and of *The Seaman's Dictionary*; knighted 1618. MS. 'Manwaring'; other spellings of the name are Maynwar- ing, Manwayring, Maynnaring, Mannering.

Gibbons,<sup>1</sup> that was my master in her, was by my consent licensed to go with Captain Button (being his near kinsman) to the North-west Passage.

The 1st of August, being Saturday, the Prince's Highness being to take his progress from Richmond, I rode from Chatham to Richmond, accompanied with Captain John King and Mr. John Reynolds, then master gunner of the Prince. The next day, being Sunday, I waited on his Highness to chapel and at dinner; he had this day a great deal of private conference with me concerning affairs of consequence. After his Highness was risen from dinner and had talked with me awhile at the bay window of the presence,<sup>2</sup> he was pleased to license me to depart to dinner, which was prepared for me and my company by Mr. Alexander, the principal gentleman usher, at Mr. Wilson's house, then his Highness' tailor; from whence I was three times sent for by his Highness in dinner time, to attend him to give him satisfaction about sundry material questions wherein he desired to be satisfied; which done, he sent me to dinner, commanding me after I had dined to wait upon him again. Between two and three of the clock, I attended according to his Highness' commandment, at what time he was pleased to deliver his pleasure to the full unto me, with protestation of the trust he reposed in me and the good opinion of my performance of what he was pleased to commend to my charge, with many princely passages of his

<sup>1</sup> Gibbons, who was Button's cousin, went in the *Resolution* as a volunteer. In 1614 he went out again in the *Discovery* in command, but this voyage proved a complete failure. Button had a very high opinion of him, and so, apparently, had Pett. For an account of the voyages, see Rundall, *Narratives of Early Voyages* (Hakluyt Soc.), and Christy, *Voyages of Foxe and James to the North-west* (Hakluyt Soc.).

<sup>2</sup> Presence-chamber,

gracious favour and intendiments to provide for me. In conclusion, upon my parting, with a most princely loving gravity, he gave me a farewell in these words 'Go on cheerfully' saith he 'in that which I entrust you with, and let not the care for your posterity incumber you any ways, for you shall leave the care both of yourself and them to me, who have a purpose carefully to provide for you'; which gracious speeches took such impression in me, that when I came to kiss his Highness' hands at parting I could not choose but shed some tears, though I little thought (as God knoweth) that had been the last time I should have seen him alive, and those the last words that ever he spake unto me. This night we took our leaves at Richmond and came to Greenwich, and lodged that night with Mr. Reynolds.

At the time of our being at Richmond, it was concluded by Mr. Alexander and some others of the Prince's servants (not without his Highness' knowledge) to come to Chatham with their wives to be merry, and it was agreed also that we would fetch them to Chatham by water in our pinnaces, to go round about by water; which accordingly was by us performed, and upon the 12th day of this month we embarked them at Greenwich, about five of the clock in the morning, to the number of some twenty persons, men and women, being provided of all manner of victuals and store of wine for our passage, and by 6 at night we arrived at Chatham, where they were that night entertained at supper and lodged with me, as many as we could receive; the rest were billeted with Mr. Legatt and other neighbours; they were entertained by none but the Prince's servants. The first day I feasted all the company; the second day they were feasted with great royalty on board the great ship,

the Prince, dinner and supper, accompanied with the Principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy, where the King's, Queen's, and all their children's healths were drunk round with loud report of the ordnance, a noise of music attending us all the day. We took leave on board about ten of the clock at night, our music playing before us, and for our farewell there were 25 pieces of great ordnance discharged after the watch was set. On the Saturday, being the 15th day, all the company were feasted, dinner and supper, at Mr. John Legatt's. On the Sunday we were all invited to Rochester by Doctor Milbourne, one of his Highness' chaplains, and then Dean of Rochester, who bestowed upon us a sermon, himself preaching; with him we dined and supped, and then returned to Chatham.

Monday proved so foul and rainy that the company could not take their journey towards London as was purposed; they all dined with me and supped at Captain King's.

The next proved very fair, so that after breakfast some in coaches, and some on horseback, rode for Gravesend, accompanied with Mr. Legatt, Captain King, and myself; where we saw them shipped in a barge, and then took our leaves, bidding them farewell with some ordnance from both blockhouses.

The 25th day of September, the new charter<sup>1</sup> for incorporating the shipwrights of England, granted by King James, in which by the same charter I was ordained the first Master. I was sworn in my place of Mr. Master, the dinner being kept at the King's Head in Fish Street, Mr. Doctor Pay<sup>2</sup> making the sermon at the next church adjoining.

About this time my picture was begun to be

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Nicholas Pey

drawn by a Dutchman working then with Mr. Rock<sup>1</sup> at Rochester.

The 15th day of October, my eldest and first daughter Ann was born at my house [at] Chatham between one and two of the clock in the afternoon, and at that time I had a little fit of sickness which made me keep house 9 or 10 days.

The 25th day of this month the noble Prince my master, the hope of Christendom, sickened.

The 26th of this month my daughter was baptized in the forenoon at Chatham Church, where Mr. Doctor Milbourne, then Dean of Rochester, preached; where a great company of my friends dined with me and were very merry, little thinking of the calamity that so soon followed to us all in general, but to myself in particular, by the death of that ever renowned branch, Prince Henry, my royal and most indulgent master; at which time began my ensuing misfortune and the utter downfall of all my former hopes, to the ruin of all my poor posterity, being now exposed to the malicious practices of my old enemies, having nothing but the mercies of my good God to trust unto and to comfort me withal.

The 6th day of November, I being the same day come up to London, in the afternoon I came to St. James about four of the clock, where I found a house turned to the very map<sup>2</sup> of true sorrow, every man with the character of grief written in his dejected countenance, all places flowing with tears and bitter lamentations; and about 6 of the clock the same evening, the most renowned Prince of the world, our royal and most loving master, departed this life, not only to the loss and utter undoing of his poor servants, but the general loss of all Christendom of the protestant religion.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas; ship-painter.

<sup>2</sup> Picture, image.



The beginning of December, I had warning to attend at St. James upon the preparation for the funeral of our master, and had black cloth delivered to me according to the place I was ranked in above stairs, which was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber extraordinary; and the 6th day after, being Sunday, all his Highness' servants waited at St. James upon his hearse, then standing in the Chapel, to whom Doctor Price, then one of his Highness' chaplains, directed an excellent sermon, his text being taken out of the 3rd chapter of the second book of Samuel, the 31st verse, in these words:—'Rend your clothes, put on sackcloth, and mourn before Abner.' There were very few present at the sermon that did not bitterly mourn and shed tears in abundance.

The next day, being Monday the 7th December, we did attend his Highness' corpse to the funeral in the Abbey at Westminster, which was the most lamentable march that ever I went. It was three of the clock in the afternoon before his body was placed under the hearse. The Lord of Canterbury's Grace preached the funeral sermon: there, with his body, I burying all my hopes of my future preferments. I came with an exceeding heavy heart that night to Ratcliff, where that time I lodged.

After the ceremonies of the funeral were performed, I returned to my house at Chatham, where I stayed till the 27th day of this month, and then, being sent for by the Lord High Admiral's messenger to attend his pleasure, I rode to London by land, where I stayed till the end of December, and then returned again to my house at Chatham.

The 6th day of January I received a letter from the Lord High Admiral, together with the list of those ships that were appointed to be made

ready for the transportation of the Lady Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> with warrant to put them presently in hand to be graved and fitted accordingly.

The 11th day I was sent for from Chatham by a messenger, to attend the Lord Admiral, lying then at Chelsea; which accordingly I presently performed and rode to London, where I stayed full three days, the Lord Admiral sitting every of those in council, attended by the Principal Officers of the Navy, the Masters and Master Shipwrights, to resolve not only for the preparation of the fleet to attend the transportation, but also for preparing many vessels, to be built upon long boats and barges, for ships and galleys for a sea-fight to be presented before Whitehall against the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth; the manner whereof concluded and ordered in writing, I was licensed to go to Chatham, to take order for the Disdain and sending up of as many long boats and sea barges as could be spared from the Navy; which having ordered, I returned again presently to London, and did there attend daily in overseeing these businesses, which were put out by the great <sup>2</sup> to divers yardkeepers,<sup>3</sup> by reason of the shortness of time limited for making them ready against the marriage. By reason of this my continual attendance, not only upon that service but also upon the Admiral and Sir Robert Mansell (principally entrusted for the ordering of the whole service), I first took a lodging at Westminster, near Sir Robert's house, in St. Stephen's Alley,<sup>4</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of the King, married to Frederick, Elector Palatine, subsequently King of Bohemia. Prince Rupert was her third son.

<sup>2</sup> By contract.

<sup>3</sup> Shipbuilders.

<sup>4</sup> St. Stephen's Alley occupied a site near the position of the present Parliament Street, where Charles Street runs into it.

I continued many years after. Amongst other vessels fitted for this piece of service was an old pinnace of the King's called the *Spy*, of the burden of 60 tons, having 9 pieces of brass ordnance, appointed to serve as an *Argosy*, whereof I was (somewhat against my will, by the Lord Admiral's persuasion) made to serve as a Captain, in which jesting business I ran more danger than if it had been a sea service in good earnest.

After the sea fight was performed, I was entertained by divers gentlemen of the Inns of Court, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was chief, to attend the bringing of a mask by water in the night from St. Mary Overy's<sup>1</sup> to Whitehall in some of the galleys, but, the tide falling out very contrary, and the company attending the maskers very unruly, the project could not be performed so exactly as was purposed and expected, but yet they were safely landed at the Privy Stairs at Whitehall; for which my pains the gentlemen gave me a fair recompense.

The marriage consummate and these royalties ended, the Lord Admiral gave me a present despatch to post to Chatham, to make all possible haste for to make ready the fleet, the Prince being appointed to go Admiral,<sup>2</sup> and to transport the Lady and the Palsgrave's<sup>3</sup> person and the Lord Admiral to command her. So that upon the 21st day of February I took my journey from London to Chatham, and about the middle of the week ensuing I caused the *Anne Royal* and the *Lion* to be brought on the ground and graved.

On the 27th of this month I launched the small

<sup>1</sup> The wharf of that name at Southwark. It lay north-west of the present cathedral (St. Saviour's) which had been the church of the Priory of St. Mary Overy.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the *Prince Royal* to be flagship of the fleet.

<sup>3</sup> The Elector Palatine.

ship I had begun to build the summer before, which the Lord Admiral was pleased to call by the name of the Phoenix, and was also appointed to be one of [the] Fleet for the transportation, being commanded by Sir Allen Apsley, then Victualler of the Navy.

The 5th and 6th days of March I careened the Prince, and might with much ease have brought her keel above the water but that I received a strict commandment from the Lord High Admiral that I should not careen her but within six strakes<sup>1</sup> of the keel, to which purpose Mr. Thomas Aylesbury,<sup>2</sup> then his Lordship's secretary, was sent down to see me perform it.

About the 14th of this month the Lord Admiral, very careful to have all things ordered as befitted the royalty of such a service, came down to Chatham in person, where he stayed two days to direct all things according to his liking; wherein I gave his Lordship much satisfaction, and by the end of this month I had by my care and diligence fitted the whole Fleet to set sail to Gillingham.

The 1st of April, being Maundy Thursday, the Prince set sail over the chain,<sup>3</sup> Captain John King being master. The Lord Admiral, being newly come to Chatham, came on board of us as we were under sail and went down in her to Gillingham,

<sup>1</sup> 'A strake is the term for a seam betwixt two planks (as the . . . ship heels a strake, that is one seam),' Mainwaring (1623). According to Blanckley (1750) the term was applied to 'the uniform ranges of planks on the bottom, decks and sides of the ships.' The ship was not to be heeled over further than would bring the sixth seam, or edge of the sixth plank, above water.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Alsrey.' Mathematician; appointed one of the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1626; Master of the Mint and created baronet in 1627; appointed Surveyor of the Navy in 1628.

<sup>3</sup> At Upnor.

coming to an anchor at St. Mary Creek's mouth. His Lordship lay at Mr. Legatt's.

On Easter day, being the 4th of April, the Lord Admiral with his retinue received the holy sacrament in the parish church at Chatham. Doctor Pay that was chaplain to the Lord William Howard, Baron of Effingham and Vice Admiral in the Anne Royal, preached and delivered the sacrament.

On Easter Tuesday in the afternoon the Lord Admiral with all his retinue removed from Chatham, and came on board their several charges at St. Mary Creek at Gillingham, and lay on board in his own cabin this night. So soon as prayers were done this evening and the tables covered, the Lord Admiral, out of his noble favour to me, called me unto him and there gave me special charge to take my place at his own table all the voyage; and would not commonly have grace said before his Lordship had seen me set down, except I had been upon some earnest business, giving charge also to all his officers to let me have any thing of his own provisions which I should send for at any time. I lay in a settle bed on one side of the master's cabin.

Wednesday being the 7th day, at quarter flood, being about eleven of the clock, we set sail from Gillingham, the wind at south-west, a pretty fresh gale: the ship wrought exceedingly well and was so yare<sup>1</sup> of conduct, as a foot of the helm did steer her: we came to an anchor at Queenborough a great while before high water, where we rode all that night.

The next day, being Thursday, the wind south-west and a very fair gale, the Admiral had given order we should weigh betimes to get out, and

<sup>1</sup> Nimble, quick, ready.

accordingly the Anne Royal, being Vice Admiral, in whom Hugh Meritt served Master, was fitted and prepared for the purpose, having one anchor on board by the time the ship was went up upon the flood, and was ready with his other anchor on peak,<sup>1</sup> supposing we had been so provident to have our ship in the like readiness ; but our master, willing to do his countryman a courtesy, that lay by our side in a hoy with forty tons of beer of our provision to take in, neglected the time so long, being not accustomed to command such great ships, that it was more than half flood before we could get our anchor on board ; by reason whereof, the tide running very strong and the wind harten-<sup>2</sup>ing in, it was almost high water before we were fitted to set sail and our other anchor got up. The wind then having power on our weather quarter, and the tide upon the lee bow, kept our ship from flatting ;<sup>3</sup> and in the setting of our sails, many seamen being with us that were prime commanders and captains, attending the Lord Admiral as his retinue, had every one their voice in commanding and countermanding one another, that they bred a mere<sup>4</sup> confusion and put the master clean besides almost his senses ; so that in fine the ship was put on ground at the top of high water, upon the tongue of the spit of the sand going into Queenborough, where, do what we could with all our wits and endeavours, she sat all the tide of ebb and almost ebb'd dry ; which unfortunate accident gave not only great discouragement to the Lord Admiral, to have such a chance befall

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'pike.' The anchor is a-peak when the cable is heaved in so far as to bring the hawse of the ship right over the anchor, the cable being then perpendicular.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 94 the wind is spoken of as having 'harted.'

<sup>3</sup> Going round ; turning head from wind.      <sup>4</sup> Complete.

him, but also gave great advantage to the enemies of the ship, of whom the Lord Northampton was chief, to persuade the Lady Elizabeth not to venture her person in such a vessel that had so ill a beginning, but rather to embark herself in some other and to return her<sup>1</sup> home.

When we saw we were so fast as there was not hope of getting the ship off that tide, I desired liberty to sound the place where she sat, which the Lord Admiral easily gave his consent to do. I then calling into the boat with me some of the captains that were masters and mariners, amongst which I chose Captain Robert Bradshaw and Captain Geare for two principal, with others, and John Reynolds, then Master Gunner of the ship, taking lead lines with us, we sounded both on head, stern, and sides ; and finding soft ground and little difference in depth, we were satisfied that the ship could take no hurt if she had strength sufficient to bear herself with so massy a weight as she had in her of ordnance, victuals, and other things in hold, and her masts and sails above head, with so much company, both of the mariners belonging to the ship and the Lord Admiral's retinue, being not so few in all as 800 persons ; but God be thanked, the ship took no harm at all ; and we, having sounded the depth of the same furrow she made in running on shore, we caused an anchor to be laid right a-stern as her dock<sup>2</sup> directed us, and so with little difficulty she was heaved afloat into the channel in the morning tide, to the great satisfaction and content of<sup>3</sup> the Lord Admiral and general joy of the whole company, for which we gave God thanks.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the ship.

<sup>2</sup> The ' furrow ' or depression in the ground made by the ship's bottom.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ' to.'

The next days, being Friday and Saturday, we lay still to prytyl<sup>1</sup> the ship and take in such provisions as were wanting.

The 11th day, being Sunday, we weighed and set sail, and anchored for that night at The Spits<sup>2</sup>; next day we weighed and anchored short of the Long Sand head<sup>3</sup>; next day we weighed and anchored middle of the Channel<sup>4</sup>; next day anchored short of the North Foreland.

The 15th day, being Thursday, we came to an anchor in Margate Road.

The next day the Lord Admiral went on shore to Margate, where he lay 3 days at the house of Mr. Roger Morice, one of the 4 Masters of His Majesty's Navy, and then returned on board.

The 21st day, being Wednesday, [the] Lady Elizabeth's Grace [and] the Palsgrave, with all their train, came to Margate; there were embarked in barges and the ships' boats, and were received on board the Admiral, where they lay all the night.

The 22nd day, the wind being got easterly and likely to be foul weather, her Highness, with the Palsgrave and most part of her train, were again carried on shore to Margate and there landed.

The 25th day, being Sunday, they were all again embarked in the barges and boats and

<sup>1</sup> This word, which Pepys transcribes as 'pritly,' is not in the *N.E.D.*, but since it appears to have the same meaning as 'preddy' (or 'priddy') which was in use at sea in the seventeenth century for 'make ready' or 'set . . . in order,' it is not impossible that it may be a variation of that word.

<sup>2</sup> The ends of the Buxey and Gunfleet sands, where the Spitway leads between them from the East Swin to the Wallet.

<sup>3</sup> Eight and a half miles north of Margate.

<sup>4</sup> The entrance to the Thames, opposite the Queen's Channel; not the English Channel.



received on board the ships; presently we set sail and that night anchored without the Foreland.

The 26th day the wind shortened<sup>1</sup> upon us, so that we were constrained to anchor in the midst of the Channel in 25 fathom, being a windy, rainy, foul night.

The 27th day, being Tuesday, was a very wet forenoon, but about 11 of the clock whilst her Highness was at the sermon, it cleared up and the wind veered southerly, so that we weighed, both having fair weather and a fair wind; standing our course, quarter winds, a little before we made the land we lost a man through his own wilfulness. This evening we anchored under Blankenberghe<sup>2</sup> Sconce,<sup>3</sup> being very fair weather.

The 28th day we weighed about noon, and anchored thwart of Sluis,<sup>4</sup> where came on board us with his yachts,<sup>5</sup> the Prince of Orange, Grave<sup>6</sup> Maurice, with a great train of gallantry and followers, who all lay this night on board the Admiral.

The 29th day we weighed upon the flood and turned up to Flushing. Some mile short of the town, her Highness, with the Palatine and most part of her train, were embarked in the barges and boats, being very fair weather, and was saluted with all the ordnance of the whole fleet, and landed at Flushing, where they were received with all

<sup>1</sup> Drew ahead or became 'scant.' The use of 'shorten in this sense is rare and unknown to the dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Blakenborough.' On the Belgian coast.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Scone.' A small fort or earthwork.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'Sluce.'

<sup>5</sup> MS. 'yoathes.' This must be one of the earliest instances of the introduction of the Dutch 'Iacht' into English. The word 'yacht' does not seem to have come into use until after 1660.

<sup>6</sup> Count: Dutch 'Graaf.'

royalty and saluted with all the ordnance of the town and castles and guarded with the soldiers and garrison of the town ; our ships anchored a little above the Rammekens.<sup>1</sup> This afternoon I went on shore to attend the Lord Admiral and lay in Flushing, our charges being defrayed by the town. The 30th day, being Friday, the Count Palatine took leave of her Highness and went post to the Palatinate.

This afternoon I, with others of the Lord Admiral's retinue, took coach to Middelburg and were lodged and billeted for our diet at the English house with him.

This forenoon, being May Day, divers of our retinue took a coach and rode to Camphire<sup>2</sup> to see the Island ; this afternoon her Highness and her train were received into Middelburg with all royalty.

The second day, being Sunday, the Burghers feasted her Highness at the Town House ; this evening the Lord Admiral brought me to take leave of her Highness and to kiss her hand ; the next day her Highness took leave of the Lord Admiral and his train, having attended her to the place where she was embarked ; which done, the Lord Admiral returned from Middelburg in his barge on board the Prince, where he found such a multitude of people, men, women, and children, that came from all places in Holland to see the ship, that we could scarce have room to go up and

<sup>1</sup> Fort Rammekens, east of Flushing, at the entrance of the channel between Walcheren and South Beveland. Rammekens, Flushing, and Brill were then occupied by English garrisons as 'cautionary towns,' in security for the money lent to the Dutch by Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> Campvere, now called Vere, on the north-east side of Walcheren Island, at that time the staple port for Scottish merchants.

down till very night, which confluence of people lasted from the time we anchored at Flushing till we weighed thence.

Fourth day; [the] Lord Admiral gave order we should weigh from Flushing to avoid the trouble of people, which accordingly was done, and we fell down to Cassant Point,<sup>1</sup> where we anchored all that day and next night.

The 6th day, in the morning, we weighed with the wind at east-north-east, a fresh gale and very fair weather, and this evening we anchored under the Gunfleet.<sup>2</sup>

The 7th day, the wind continuing easterly, we weighed and set sail, and by 12 of the clock we came to anchor at Gillingham, from whence I attended the Lord Admiral in his barge to Chatham, where he lay that night at Mr. Legatt's house. I found my wife and family all in health, and gave God thanks for his preservation of us in our journey and safe return home to our mutual comforts.

Sir Robert Mansell lay at my house. On Saturday morning, being the 8th day, the Lord Admiral went from Chatham, on whom I attended to Gravesend, and there taking leave returned back to my house [at] Chatham.

At Whitsuntide Sir Robert Mansell was committed to the Marshalsea,<sup>3</sup> upon some displeasure<sup>4</sup> his Majesty took against him by the instigation of the Lord Northampton, where he was detained prisoner, till the 13th June following [he] was released at Greenwich.

<sup>1</sup> On the (then) I. of Cadzand.      <sup>2</sup> Off the Essex coast.

<sup>3</sup> The prison situated near St. Saviour's, Southwark.

<sup>4</sup> Mansell was accused of taking exception to the Commission for Inquiring into the Abuses of the Navy, in a contemptuous and disloyal manner.

In the latter end of July I received commandment to take the charge of new building the *Defiance*, being then in dry dock at Woolwich. Old Mr. Baker having the charge of new building the *Merhonor* at the same time in the same dock with her, upon which business I was entered the second August.

About the middle of August, old Mr. Baker sickened and, perceiving his sickness was to death, was desirous to recommend the finishing of the *Merhonor* to me, and to that end importuned me to ride to Windsor to the Lord Admiral to signify his earnest suit to his Lordship in that behalf; which was willingly condescended unto, and I had his Lordship's warrant at the same time for it; he deceasing the last of this month, and his funeral was solemnized at Deptford, the second of September, where myself was present.

About the midst of September, my good, faithful friend, Mr. Sebastian Vicars, the carver, departed this life; and the 27th day of this month my second son Henry departed this life at Chatham; and at the very instant my noble, worthy friend, Sir Thomas Button, then Captain Button, alighted at my house, newly being returned from the dangerous voyage of the North-west Passage, where he had wintered.

The 16th of October, I escaped a great danger by the fall of my horse within one mile of Dartford, being riding to Chatham.

The 28th of October, I was taken very sick, going by water from Woolwich to Westminster to accompany the ordinary shipwrights and other of Chatham to move the Lord Admiral about their pay, being much behindhand. I was forced this night to lie at the King's Head in Fish Street, whither I came from Westminster on foot, to

have prevented my sickness. The whole company having appointed to dine there, most part of them waked with me all that night. The next day, accompanied with my brother Peter, I took oars to Gravesend, and from thence rode home, being taken with a fit upon Gad's Hill, with much ado recovering my own house, presently taking my chamber, and being dangerously sick; from whence I did not stir down stairs till Christmas holidays after; which happened ill for my business at Woolwich, where in my absence, through the careless neglect of the foremen, the workmen made wonderful spoil and havoc.

The next week after I took my sickness, and the news thereof, brought to London, came to the ears of the Lord Admiral, who acquainted his Majesty therewith; whereupon I received two several letters from the Lord Admiral by post, and special commandment from his Majesty to be certified the truth, and to let me know that, if I needed, some of his own physicians should be sent unto me; which exceeding great grace from his Majesty and expression of love from the Lord Admiral was no small comfort unto me in my extremity.

The end of this month my wife's cook-maid died in the house, and was buried on New Year's Day.

The seventh of January, I returned from Chatham to Woolwich with my wife and some of my children and family; and because my lodgings at the Dock were not fitted, I lay in the town at the house of a widow woman called Mistress Spicke, for the space of a month, till the lodgings in the King's Yard were prepared and made ready.

The 14th of February, I began to victual all

the shipwrights and workmen employed upon the *Merhonor* and *Defiance* at Woolwich.

The 28th of March it pleased God miraculously to preserve me from loss of life by a fall on board the *Honor*, which was only from deck to deck, by God's merciful providence very hardly escaping to fall into the hold, which would have beat me all to pieces.

The 14th of June, my honourable and implacable enemy, the Earl of Northampton, departed this life at his house at Charing Cross.

The 22nd of July, the King of Denmark came suddenly to Somerset House unexpected.

The first of August, my gracious master, King James, accompanied with the King of Denmark, Prince of Wales, Lord Admiral, and many other lords, came to Woolwich and went on board the *Merhonor*, then being in dry dock and almost finished, which ship liked them wondrous well: here our King took leave of his Majesty of Denmark and returned to Whitehall. From hence the King of Denmark took barge to Gravesend, being accompanied with the Prince and Lord Admiral; Sir Robert Mansell and myself were commanded to attend them.

The second of August, the King of Denmark was entertained on board the *Prince*, riding at her moorings in the river of Chatham, the Prince of Wales and the Lord Admiral of England accompanying him, Sir Robert Mansell and myself attending. The ship was completely rigged and all her sails at the yards, and richly adorned with ensigns and pendants, all of silk, which gave very great content to the King of Denmark; yet it was a very foul rainy day. From thence they returned to Gravesend, where they took leave and the King of Denmark embarked in his own ships.

In the end of November, all the workmen that wrought upon the Merhonor were discharged from Woolwich.

The 6th of March,<sup>1</sup> the Merhonor and Defiance were both launched out of the dry dock at Woolwich in one tide, and the 25th day of April following they set sail from Woolwich, and the next day came to their moorings at Chatham.

In May the dock at Woolwich was prepared for the receiving in of the Elizabeth Jonas and the Triumph, who were appointed to be new built; which ships were accordingly brought from Chatham, and were both brought into the dock, the first and second days of June, and the gates shut again and the ships shored.

The 25th of July, the Lord's Grace of Canterbury lay at Rochester, and went on board the Prince, riding at her moorings, where he was entertained with a banquet of sweetmeats by Sir Robert Mansell, myself attending there.

The 29th of August, I removed from Woolwich to Chatham with my wife and family, and the next day after my wife sickened of a surfeit, eating too many grapes, which had like to have cost her her life.

The 9th of October, my wife was delivered of her 7th child, being a son, between the hours of 10 and 11 [o']clock at night: the 22nd day after he was baptized at Chatham Church and called by mine own name, Phineas; the witnesses were Mr. Robert Yardley and Mr. King, godfathers, and my sister Simonson, the godmother.

About the 27th day of March I bargained with Sir Walter Raleigh <sup>2</sup> for to build him a ship of 500 tons, which I procured leave for from the Lord Admiral, to build her in the galley dock in his

<sup>1</sup> 1615.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Rawly.'

Majesty's Yard at Woolwich, towards which I presently received 500*l.* to begin withal, and the 8th day of April following I began to set men on work upon her.

The 8th day of April, I bought a piece of ground of one Christopher Collier, lying in a place called the Brook at Chatham, for which I paid him 35*l.* ready moneys.

The 18th day of April, I was elected and sworn Master of the Corporation of Shipwrights at our common hall and meeting place at Redriff.

The 13th day of May, I bought the rest of the land at the Brook, of John Griffin and Robert Griffin, brothers, and a lease of their sister, belonging to the College of Rochester.

The 22nd of May, I removed my wife and some of my family from Chatham to Woolwich.

In July Sir Henry Mainwaring caused me to build a small pinnace of 40 tons for the Lord Zouch, being then Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which pinnace was launched the 2nd of August and presently rigged and fitted, all at my charge ; and the 6th day we set sail with her from Woolwich accompanied with Sir Walter Raleigh and his sons, Sir Henry Mainwaring, Mr. Christopher Hamon,<sup>1</sup> cousin William Hawkrige,<sup>2</sup> myself, son, and divers others. The first tide we anchored [at] Gravesend ; next night at the North Foreland ; next tide in the Downs, where we landed and rode to Dover Castle in the Lord Warden's coach, sent purposely for us, leaving the pinnace to be brought in to Dover Pier with the pilot and mariners. We stayed at Dover till the 16th of August and then took leave of the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Raleigh in his testamentary memorandum.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 151.



Warden, and came to Woolwich the 17th day at night.

Towards the whole of the hull of the pinnace and all her rigging and furniture I received only 100*l.* from the Lord Zouch, the rest Sir Henry Mainwaring cunningly received in my behalf, without my knowledge, which I could never get from him but by piece-meal, so that by the bargain I was loser 100*l.* at least.

The 3rd day [of] December following, died my brother Cooper at Chatham. The 16th of December I launched the great ship of Sir Walter Raleigh's called the *Destiny*, and had much ado to get her into the water, but I delivered her to him on float in good order and fashion ; by which business I lost 700*l.* and could never get any recompense at all for it, Sir Walter Raleigh going to sea and leaving me unsatisfied.

This year of 1617 proved a very fatal and troublesome year unto me. The 14th day of March I removed my wife and family from Woolwich to my house at Chatham, she being so big with child that I was forced to carry her by coach, and that very leisurely for that she was with child with two twins. The 20th of this month my wife's own father died at his house at Highwood Hill.

The 15th day of April my wife was safely delivered of two daughters at 12 of the clock at night : they were both baptized in Chatham Church the 22nd day in the afternoon, being Tuesday ; the eldest named Mary ; the other Martha.

About the midst of May, I was sent for by the Lord Treasurer, then Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Fulke Greville, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by them employed in a most troublesome

business into the New Forest in Hampshire, where one Sir Giles Mompesson<sup>1</sup> had made a vast waste in the spoil of his Majesty's timber, to redress which I was employed thither to make choice, out of the number of trees he had felled, of all such timber as was useful for shipping; in which business I spent a great deal of time, and brought myself into a great deal of trouble.

The 6th of November my daughter Mary, the eldest of the twins, departed this life at Chatham, and was buried 2 days after at Chatham.

The 8th day of December my young son Phineas departed this life after he had lived 2 years 2 months and odd days,<sup>2</sup> and was buried at Chatham.

My dear loving wife sickened at Chatham the 29th day of December, and hardly escaped with life, yet it pleased God she did recover.

The last of this month my brother Simonson made himself away in the garret of his own house at Ratcliff, to the utter undoing of his poor wife and children.

In the month of June<sup>3</sup> there was a commission granted by his Majesty to certain Commissioners for the reformation of the abuses in his Majesty's Navy, the names of which Commissioners were Sir Lionel Cranfield,<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Smith,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Politician; degraded 1621. Smiles, *Men of Invention and Industry*, p. 43, says he was the original of 'Sir Giles Overreach' in Massinger's play, 'A New Way to Pay Old Debts.'

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>3</sup> 1618; see Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> A protégé of Northampton and Buckingham. Master of Wardrobe and Court of Wards. Treasurer 1621. Earl of Middlesex 1622. Impeached 1624.

<sup>5</sup> First Governor of the East India Company, member of the Muscovy Company, and Treasurer of the Virginia Company.

Sir Richard Weston,<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Gofton,<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard<sup>3</sup> Sutton, Mr. John Coke,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Pitt<sup>5</sup> of the Exchequer, Sir John Osborne, Sir John Wolstenholme,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Burrell, and Captain Thomas Norreys.

The 6th day of July these Commissioners came to Chatham in great state, having called to assist them divers masters of the Trinity House and divers shipwrights of the river of Thames, where, commanding also the masters and master shipwrights of his Majesty's Navy, they went on board the Prince and there publicly caused their Commission to be read, the Officers of the Navy being present ; which done they proceeded to give order for a general survey of all the ships in the Navy, with all their furniture, and all other things belonging unto them ; in the which was spent a great deal of time, for they returned not to London till the 16th day of the month after. Myself was commanded in particular from his Majesty to give them the best assistance I could, which accordingly I did with all diligence and carefulness ; which proved afterwards to the ruin and undoing to me and all mine, the whole bent of Mr. Burrell tending only to overthrow me and root my name out of the earth, by his means procuring most part of the Commissioners to join with him in his malicious practice ; so that from the time that

<sup>1</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer 1621. Created Earl of Portland 1633.

<sup>2</sup> Knighted in company with Sutton, Pitt, and Osborne in February 1619.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Robert.'

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'Cooke.' Deputy Treasurer of Navy 1591 ; knighted 1624.

<sup>5</sup> William Pitt ; one of the Tellers of Receipt.

<sup>6</sup> MS. 'Worsenam.' Of the East India and Virginia Companies ; knighted 1617.

he was settled, I was sequestered from meddling with any business, and all employments and privileges taken from me, Captain Norreys being brought over me, and I forced to live as a slave under them: the whole of the time of their Commission, undergoing many disgraces and contempts which I could not possibly have undergone had not the Lord been exceedingly merciful unto me in giving me patience to submit myself to his will and pleasure.

The whole year of '18, '19 and part of '20, I attended altogether at Chatham, being employed upon the making of the new dock and other businesses under the command of the Commissioners; the reward of my extraordinary pains was recompensed with no other reward than base usage and continual counsels and plats to ruin me, wherein they obtained the sum of their desires to the utter undoing of me and mine; Mr. Burrell and Norreys my greatest enemies.

The 24th of January in this present year my wife was delivered of a young son at Chatham, who was, the 3rd day of the same month, being Sunday, baptized in Chatham Church by Mr. Pyham; his name called Phineas. The witnesses were my wife's sister Russell and niece Hawkridge, godmothers, my nephews Peter and William Pett, godfathers.

The 19th day of this present month of July in the year 1619, the great Duke of Buckingham, lately made the Lord Admiral of England, came to visit the Navy then riding at Chatham, being accompanied with divers lords and Sir Robert Mansell; who in his being here used me with such extraordinary public respect that wrought me much prejudice in the opinion of the Commissioners, who ever after plotted to ruin me and to

bring me out of favour both with the Lord Admiral and the King himself.

The 20th day of November, attending at Theobalds to deliver his Majesty a petition, his Majesty in his princely care of me, by the means of the honourable Lord High Admiral, had before my coming bestowed on me for supply of my present relief the making of a knight baronet,<sup>1</sup> which I afterwards passed under the broad seal of England for one Francis Radclyffe<sup>2</sup> of Northumberland, a great recusant,<sup>3</sup> for which I was to have 700*l.*, but by reason that Sir Arnold Herbert<sup>4</sup> (that brought him to me) played not fair play with me, I lost some 50*l.* of my bargain.

About this time the Commissioners of the Navy had finished two new ships built by Mr. Burrell at Deptford in his Majesty's Dockyard, and had procured the King's Majesty to come thither and see them, and named<sup>5</sup> the one the Happy Entrance, and the other the Reformation.

The 14th day of May in the year 1620, my wife was delivered of her eleventh child, being the last she had, being a son born at my house in Chatham. The 25th day after, it was baptized and called Christopher. Sir Christopher Cleve<sup>6</sup> and his

<sup>1</sup> This rank was instituted in 1611 by James I. to raise money for the Crown, the sum to be paid being 1095*l.* At first certain restrictions as to numbers and conditions were made. The restrictions were gradually withdrawn, and under Charles I. blank patents were put up for sale. The price seems to have fallen as low as 300*l.* by the end of Charles I.'s reign.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Ratcliff'; ancestor of the Earls of Derwentwater.

<sup>3</sup> A Roman Catholic who refused to attend his parish church. <sup>4</sup> A gentleman pensioner, knighted in 1617.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the King named them. The names allude to Buckingham's entrance into the Lord High Admiralship and his 'reformation' of the Navy affairs.

<sup>6</sup> Or Cleive (Clive), MS. 'Cleave.' Knighted in 1605.

brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Heyward, being god-fathers, and my good neighbour, Mistress Legatt, godmother.

The 12th day of June this present year, Sir Robert Mansell being ordained Lord General of the Fleet for the expedition against the Pirates of Algiers, by his great importunity with his Majesty I was commanded to go in hand with building two new pinnaces for that voyage, whereof the one was to be of burden 120 tons, and the other, 80 tons ; for which I did contract with certain merchants of the city that were appointed Committees for that business, whereof Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Burrell, and divers others of my great enemies were of the quorum ; but I, upon some hopes of thanks and reward, enlarged them to a greater proportion than my contract, making the one wherein I was myself to serve as Captain in the voyage, of 300 tons, called the Mercury, and the other, called the Spy, of 200 tons, wherein Captain Edward Giles served ; and for that I exceeded the contract, the unconscionable merchants and Committees cast upon me all the whole surplusage<sup>1</sup> of the charge, to the value of 700*l.*, notwithstanding I was forced to hasten the business and to keep extraordinary numbers of workmen at great rates, and in a place where the provision and materials were nightly stolen and embezzled to my utter undoing ; whereof I never could obtain any recompense, though to my great expense and charge I made means both to his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, and had warrant against the Committees, but was continually overborn by their greatness and malice.

The 16th and 18th days of October, both the pinnaces were launched at Ratcliff, where they

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'surplage.'

were built, and all expedition was used to rig and make them ready to set sail ; I preparing myself, to my great charge, to proceed in the voyage and to get the ships to Erith, because of ice in the river, where we rode till we were cleared thence by the Committees, which was about the 22nd of December ; at what time Mr. Puniett the pilot came on board me to carry me into the Downs, and Sir John Ferne,<sup>1</sup> that went passenger with me to the Fleet ; my wife also came then on board of me.

The 27th day of December, we weighed and turned down from Erith into Tilbury Hope, where we rode till the 29th day, and then weighed, and anchored at the buoy of the Oaze Edge.<sup>2</sup>

The 30th day of December, I parted with my wife and sent her to Gravesend in a light horseman that came to the ship with some provisions.

We set sail from the buoy of the Red Sand <sup>3</sup> the first of January, being New Year's Day, and anchored in the Gore, where we rode one day, and thence into the Downs, where we landed our pilot.

We rode in the Downs till the 13th day, and then set sail and were put into the Needles, and anchored at the Cowes two days ; then set sail, and the 4th of February we made the South Cape.<sup>4</sup> The 8th day we entered into the Straits of Gibraltar,<sup>5</sup> and the 8th day at night came to an anchor in Malaga Road.

The 19th day of September, 1621, we arrived in the Downs, and the 20th day at night, I came

<sup>1</sup> Captain of the *Marygold* merchantman.

<sup>2</sup> Probably what is now the West Oaze Buoy, about five miles east of the Nore Light.

<sup>3</sup> South-east of the Oaze, on the opposite side of the Oaze Deep.

<sup>4</sup> Cape St. Vincent.

<sup>5</sup> MS. ' Jubellatare.'

safe to my house at Chatham, finding my wife and children all in good health, for which mercy of God I gave God thanks, as did also my whole family.

All the year 1622 I did nothing but follow the Court with petitions, to my infinite charge and trouble, and all to little purpose, for I could never prevail against my adversaries, who detained all my entertainment for the Algiers voyage, both for myself, son, and servants; which cost me 300*l.* setting out, and the expense of the voyage.

I must not forget that in the beginning of the year 1621, before I was two months out of England, [through] the malice of Mr. Burrell and some of the rest of the Commissioners for the Navy, that there were divers master shipwrights of the river of Thames and some masters of the Trinity House sent down to Chatham to survey the state of the Prince; <sup>1</sup> amongst which Commissioners was, beside old Burrell and his son, my fellow, <sup>2</sup> Stevens, Graves, <sup>3</sup> Dearslye, <sup>4</sup> Bourne, <sup>5</sup> Thomas Brunning of Woodbridge, and one Chandler, <sup>6</sup> a creature of Mr. Burrell's, and divers other mariners, who maliciously certified the ship to be merely unserviceable and not fit to be continued, and what charge soever should be bestowed upon her would be lost, which they certified under their hands. But the 24th of February succeeding, by special command from his Majesty, who well understood their malicious proceedings, the selfsame surveyors were again sent

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Stevens was now a master shipwright, associated with Pett at Chatham; see Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> John Greaves; see note, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> John Dearslye.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Bourne, nominated an 'Assistant' in the charter of 1612.

<sup>6</sup> Edward. MS. 'Chandelor.'



to Chatham and under their hands certified that the ship might be made serviceable for a voyage into Spain with the charge of 300 pounds,<sup>1</sup> to be bestowed upon her hull and the perfecting her masts, which certificate was returned under their hands and delivered to his Majesty. Whereupon present warrant was granted to have the ship docked and fitted for a Spanish voyage; which was accordingly done, and brought into the dock the 8th of March, 1623, at Chatham, and was launched the 24th day of the same month.

About the 17th of this month of February, I attended at Theobalds the very morning that the Prince's Highness and the Lord Duke of Buckingham took leave of the King to take their journey for Spain, being carried so privately that few knew of their intent. At their taking horse I kissed both their hands and they only gave me an item<sup>2</sup> that I should shortly come to sea in the Prince.

After the Prince and the rest of the Fleet were all fitted and prepared to set sail from their moorings, the *St. George* fell down to Gillingham with the *Antelope*, being both appointed to go before to Santander with the jewels and other provisions. The noble gentleman, my honoured friend, Sir Francis Steward,<sup>3</sup> commanding in her, whom my eldest son, John Pett, attended as one of his retinue in that journey, and Captain Thomas Love<sup>4</sup> commanded in the *Antelope*.

The 2nd of May being on a Friday, the Prince removed from her moorings to *St. Mary Creek*, where she anchored. Thither came down from

<sup>1</sup> The estimate was 99*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* *Coke MSS. (Hist. MSS.),* vol. i. p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Intimation, hint.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction.—Steward was in command of the rear squadron in the Cadiz expedition of 1625.

<sup>4</sup> Knighted 1625.

London many of the Commissioners of the Navy, with Sir Thomas Smith and the Lord Brooke,<sup>1</sup> who all plotted together to have hindered me from going the voyage which the King had commanded me unto, but their malicious practices were prevented and their purposes frustrated.

The 17th day of May I took leave of his Majesty in the park at Greenwich and kissed his hand, with many expressions of his favour, which was not very pleasing to Sir John Coke, then there present.

The 20th of May, the Prince set sail from St. Mary Creek and anchored at Queenborough; the 21st day we set sail from Queenborough and anchored at Whitaker;<sup>2</sup> 23rd day anchored [at the] Gunfleet; 24th day anchored short [of the] North Foreland; 25th day we came and anchored in the Downs, where we rode till the 28th day of June, having three several times proffered to go on, but were still put room<sup>3</sup> again; but the 28th day, being Saturday, we weighed and got as high as Fairlight,<sup>4</sup> where we anchored all the flood and so plyed to windward all the ebbs, being fair weather. On Tuesday after, being the first of July, we came to anchor in Stokes Bay by Portsmouth. The 20th day of August, his Majesty, then lying in the New Forest at Beaulieu<sup>5</sup> House, embarked himself and train and came on board the Prince, then riding in Stokes Bay, accompanied with Marquis Hamilton,<sup>6</sup> the Lord Chamberlain,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Fulke Greville, created Baron Brooke in 1621.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker Spit, between the Swin and the entrance to the river Crouch.

<sup>3</sup> Obligated to veer, or go large.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'Fayrelye.' East of Hastings.

<sup>5</sup> MS. 'Beawlye.'

<sup>6</sup> James, second Marquis of Hamilton, a commissioner for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta.

<sup>7</sup> William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

Holderness,<sup>1</sup> Kellie,<sup>2</sup> Carlisle,<sup>3</sup> Montgomery,<sup>4</sup> and divers other attendants, who all dined on board the Prince; our Admiral, the Earl of Rutland,<sup>5</sup> being absent at London. His Majesty was very well pleased, and after dinner, again embarking in the barge, lay hovering in the midst of the Fleet till all the ships had discharged their great ordnance, and then returned on shore at Calshot Castle.

In the interim of our stay in Stokes Bay I procured leave of the Admiral to go to London, and the 2nd day of August, being Saturday, I met my wife at Lambeth with my son Richard. There we lay that night, and the next day took oars to Kingston, where we lay till Tuesday following, on which day I went to Hampton Court to take leave of my honoured lord and good master, the Earl of Nottingham, who then lay there in his old lodgings, which was the last time I ever saw him, being the fifth of August. The next day I took leave of my wife and friends at Kingston; she returned home, and myself to Portsmouth on board the Prince again.

The 24th day of August, being Sunday and Bartholomew's day, we set sail out of Stokes Bay in the afternoon; the 25th day, the wind taking us short<sup>6</sup> put us into the grass<sup>7</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Ramsay, created Earl of Holderness in 1621.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Erskine, created Earl of Kellie in 1619.

<sup>3</sup> James Hay, created Earl of Carlisle in 1622.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Herbert, created Earl of Montgomery 1605.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland.

<sup>6</sup> Drawing ahead suddenly and becoming foul; *cf.* 'shorten,' p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> This expression is unknown to the dictionaries, and it is difficult to conjecture its meaning: it may be a synonym for 'bank' or 'shore,' or for 'seaweed,' which would be found in the shallower water near the shore.

Weymouth, where we rode till the 26th at night ; and thence setting sail with the wind easterly, on the 28th day, being Thursday, we came to anchor in Plymouth Sound.

The 2nd day of September, being Tuesday, in the morning betimes we set out of Plymouth Sound, and by contrary winds we beat it up till, the 9th day following, being Tuesday, we made the Cape of Ortegall<sup>1</sup> bearing south-west of us. The 10th day we lay becalmed, and the 11th day about 2 of the clock in the forenoon we came to an anchor in the river of Santander.

The 12th day, it pleased God, the Prince and all his train came to Santander and presently took his barge, being there ready attending for him, and came on board the Prince, accompanied with all the Spaniards that attended him thither, where we all joyfully received him. After some stay on board, his Highness resolving to lie at Santander Town that night, where provision was made to entertain him and his train, he took his barge to go back ; whereinto we, being overjoyed with his safe arrival, forgot to send either master, pilot, or mariner to conduct him to the town, being a dangerous rocky way, and the tide of ebb bent,<sup>2</sup> which runneth there with a very swift stream ; which had likely to have proved a very dangerous accident, for that at the instant of embarking there arose a very great tempest of rain and wind and darkness withal, so that

<sup>1</sup> N.W. Spain. MS. 'Ortingall.'

<sup>2</sup> Apparently 'bent' was in use at this period in speaking of the tide when it had turned and begun to ebb or flow with full force. Cf. Luke Ward's narrative (1582) in Hakluyt (vol. xi. p. 174): 'Being at anchor, I manned our boat and would have gone aboard the Admiral, but could not, the flood was bent so strong.'

the barge could not possibly row ahead<sup>1</sup> the tide, whereby she was in great danger to have been driven to sea out of the harbour's mouth, to the utter loss of all in her, had not God in mercy prevented it by the vigilant care of the captain and officers of the *Defiance*, Sir Sackvill Trevor<sup>2</sup> being the commander,<sup>3</sup> who seeing the danger they were in, veered out casks and buoys with lights fastened unto them, by small warps, of which they taking hold, were rowed and haled on board the ship, where the Prince with all his train were entertained and lodged all this night, the weather proving so stormy and rainy that no provision from any other ship could be brought unto them.

The 13th day, being Saturday, the Prince came on board his own ship and lodged in his own cabin.

The 14th day, being Sunday, the Prince feasted all the Spaniards that accompanied him to the waterside, the Cardinal Zapata and his brother, who was a grandee, being the chief, with Gondomar<sup>4</sup> and divers others of the King of Spain's servants; whom he feasted with no other provisions than such as we brought out of England with us: stalled oxen, fatted sheep, venison and all kind of fowls and other varieties in abundance, wanting no ordnance to welcome them withal, loudly speaking every health; but it was a very foul

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* make way against.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Sir John Trevor, and a naval officer of distinction; knighted in 1604.

<sup>3</sup> The captain, or commanding officer. 'Commander' as a substantive rank dates only from 1793.

<sup>4</sup> MS 'Gundamar.' Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, Count of Gondomar. He played an important part in the foreign policy of Great Britain from 1613, when he was sent to England as ambassador to bring James into accord with Spanish policy. It was Gondomar who secured the execution of Raleigh.

rainy day. Notwithstanding, at their going from the ship all the ordnance was discharged in our ship, all the rest of the Fleet following in order as they passed by to the town of Santander.

The Rainbow, wherein Sir Henry Palmer commanded as captain, and John King, one of the four Masters, being master, by neglect of following the Admiral, could not get within the river's mouth, but was forced to leeward, where she rode three days and nights in such extremity as every hour it was expected when she should drive upon the shore, which she hardly escaped by God's great mercy, and upon the Tuesday after, came safely off and anchored under the Prince's stern.

On Thursday, being the 18th day of September, we set sail out of Santander River, the wind somewhat southerly, from whence we beat it to and fro with contrary winds till the 26th day after, being Friday, at which time a little before noon we had sight of Scilly, which bore north-east of us, about some 8 leagues off.

This day we met 4 Dunkirk men-of-war, very well fitted, chased by Holland men-of-war, whom the Prince caused to come to leeward, and their commanders to come on board; whom his Highness laboured to have accepted a peaceable course, which the Hollanders durst not accept, whereupon they were dismissed, the Dunkirkers having liberty to have the start of the Hollanders, which many disliked.

Saturday all day we plied to and fro, and got within some four leagues of the Islands, the wind at north-east but fair weather.

On Sunday a Council of War was summoned, wherein was principally propounded his Highness landing upon the Island of Scilly<sup>1</sup> in the ketch,

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Sylla.' He means the principal island, St. Mary.

some pilots of the island being come off unto us, but it was generally protested against under all the Council's hands, and so were dismissed to their charges; but after supper, beyond expectation, order was given to make ready the long boat and to call the ketch, and the Prince made choice of all the company should accompany him on shore, and so about one of the clock after midnight, with great danger to his Highness' person and to the Lord Duke of Buckingham, they were put into our long boat, which was veered astern by a long warp, where the ketch, laying the long boat on board, and the sea going somewhat high, they entered the ketch disorderly, without regard to any, but everyone shifting for themselves. Being all shipped, the ketch was so over burdened as she could make but little way, so that after we had taken farewell with the discharge of a volley of our great ordnance we tacked into the sea and left the ketch to ply into the island, which she safely gained by 7 of the morning, and had landed the Prince and all his company on St. Mary's Island.

The next morning our Admiral advised with me what course we should take with ourselves, for the Prince had commanded Sir Henry Mainwaring, who was Captain under the Admiral, and Mr. Walter Whiting, the Master of the ship, to attend him in the ketch, I being left purposely to supply both their places in their absence. After serious consultation with the master's mates and two pilots of the island, who all assured us we might safely go in, the Admiral resolved on that course, and after two or three boards we laid it in quarter winds,<sup>1</sup> and came to an anchor in the best of the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the ship first beat to windward, tacking two or three times, and then laid her course for the anchorage with the wind on her quarter.

road about 2 of the clock afternoon ; the Prince and all his train standing upon the lower point of land, and welcomed us in as we passed close by with much expression of joy and heaving up their hats. The Prince and his train lay in the Castle <sup>1</sup> four nights.

On Friday morning, being the 3rd of October, we set sail out of Scilly, and on Sunday following, being the 5th day, we came into St. Helen's and anchored on Nomans Land,<sup>2</sup> and shipped the Prince and his train into our long boat and other ships' boats, who were safely landed at Portsmouth about 11 of the clock ; we taking our farewell with discharge of all our great ordnance, seconded by all the Fleet, with general thanksgiving to God for our safe arrival, to the joy and comfort of all true hearted subjects.

The 14th day of October, we set sail from St. Helen's Point, being Tuesday. The 16th day after, being Thursday morning, we came to an anchor in Dover Road, where, having leave of the Admiral, I went into a fisher boat, and taking in my son John out of the St. George, wherein he had served the whole voyage under Sir Thomas Steward, we landed at Dover, from whence we took horse to Chatham, where we alighted at my house about 4 of the clock in the evening, finding my wife and family in good health ; for which great mercies in our preservation in the whole journey and safe return we all gave thanks to our good God.

The 24th of May, 1624, being sent for to St. James's, I there received from Sir Robert Carr,<sup>3</sup> by the Prince's Highness' order, a gold chain of

<sup>1</sup> Castle Hugh, near Hugh Town, the capital.

<sup>2</sup> The shoal at the entrance to Spithead, north of St. Helen's.

<sup>3</sup> Gentleman of the Chamber.



the value of 104*l.* in way of reward for my attendance in the voyage into Spain in bringing his Highness home, which chain I was commanded to wear one day, and to wait upon the Prince to the Parliament, which I accordingly did and received very gracious respect from his Highness.

About this time I was joined Commissioner with Captain Love, Captain Edward Giles, and Mr. John Reynolds, the Master Gunner of England, to take up divers colliers, and to put them out to sundry shipwrights to be fitted for men-of-war, for which service I never received allowance.

In the beginning of October this present year, happened a wonderful great storm, through which many ships perished, especially in the Downs, amongst which was riding there the Antelope of his Majesty, being bound for Ireland under the command of Sir Thomas Button, my son John being then passenger in her. A merchant ship, being put from her anchors, came foul of her, and put her also from all her anchors, by means whereof she drove upon the Brakes,<sup>1</sup> where she beat off her rudder and much of the run<sup>2</sup> abaft, miraculously escaping utter loss of all, for that the merchant ship that came foul of her,<sup>3</sup> called the Dolphin, hard by her utterly perished both ship and all the company. Yet it pleased God to save her, and got off into the Downs, having cut all her masts by the board, and with much labour was kept from foundering. My son John was sent post from the ship to Sir Thomas Button, who was presently sent by the Lord Admiral on board, and brought warrant for me to attend him to the ship, to use the best means we could to save

<sup>1</sup> The sands along the Kent coast off Sandwich.

<sup>2</sup> The narrow part of the ship's bottom near the stern post.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'over.'

her. After our coming on board, by placing chain pumps into the steward's room, we kept the water easily under, and then fitted a rudder and jury masts, by which means she was safely brought to Deptford Dock and her defects perfected.

About the end of December this present year, the Prince was docked, to be prepared and fitted to sea, meanwhile the Duke of Brunswick<sup>1</sup> came to Chatham accompanied with divers of the Prince's servants, and went on board the ship in the dock.

The 29th day of January after, the Prince was launched, and soon after had her masts set; and divers other ships graved and made ready for a voyage to sea.

The 28th of March 1625, certain news was brought to Chatham of King James' death; and the next day after, his Majesty was proclaimed amongst us in the Navy at the Hill House;<sup>2</sup> the Masters, Boatswains, Gunners, Pursers, and all belonging to the Navy were present.

All April and May I attended at Chatham, to prepare the Fleet that was then bound to fetch over the Queen. In the latter end of May his Majesty came to Rochester, where I presented myself unto him in the Dean's Yard and kissed his hand and had speech with him, till he came into the house, where he dined and I attended him all the dinner while. Thence I hasted home, and waited his Majesty's coming by towards Canterbury, who alighted at my house and stayed there awhile

<sup>1</sup> Duke Christian of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He arrived in England on December 20 with letters of recommendation from Elizabeth of Bohemia, whose cause he was championing, and was the guest of the Prince of Wales.

<sup>2</sup> The official residence of the Navy Officers on Chatham Hill.

and gave me leave to drink his health, and then returned to his coach, giving me charge to follow him and to hasten on board the Prince, being then in the Downs. According to his command, I presently took horse and followed him, and lay at Sandwich that night, and next day came into the Downs; went on board to the Vanguard, commanded by Captain Pennington, bound for France, where I met Sir Thomas Button, Captain Ned Giles, and other good company; there dined, and after was set on board the Prince.

Saturday the 4th of June, his Majesty came on board the Prince, riding then in Dover Road, where he dined and was safely landed again. Yet this evening we let slip and went room<sup>1</sup> for the Downs with very foul weather.

Thursday the 9th of June, we got over to Boulogne<sup>2</sup> and anchored in Boulogne Road. The 10th day we had a great storm, the wind north-west, where all our ships drove,<sup>3</sup> and we brake our best bower and were forced to let fall our sheet anchor, which put us both to great danger and puzzle<sup>4</sup> of loss of men and boats, and had also one of our men belonging to the steward-room drowned.

Sunday morning, being the 12th day, all things prepared fit and the great storm allayed, about 11 of the clock we received our young Queen on board, and having a fair leading gale, fitting the entertainment of a Queen, we set sail out of Boulogne Road about one [of the] clock, and before 8 had safely landed her and her train at Dover.

Monday morning I left the ship and went on shore at Dover, and missing my horses was forced

<sup>1</sup> Bore large, bringing the wind on the beam or quarter.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Bullen.'

<sup>3</sup> Dragged their anchors.

<sup>4</sup> Predicament.

to go to Sandwich, where I lay all night, and next day hired post horse home. The boatswain of the ship, John Handcroft, died so soon as I was landed upon the beach.

The 14th day of July 1625, my eldest son John Pett was married to Catherine Yardley, youngest daughter to Mr. Robert Yardley, of Chatham, deceased. The wedding was kept at our own house.

The 24th of September my wife's mother sickened at my house [at] Chatham, and the 4th of October she died, and the 6th day, being Thursday, she was buried in the chancel of our parish church: Mr. Pyham<sup>1</sup> made her funeral sermon.

The last part of this Christmas quarter, I was posted to and again from Chatham to London and Hampton Court, about building of small ships and presenting plats<sup>2</sup> of them, both to the King and Commissioners of the Navy, to very little purpose and my great trouble and charge.

In the year '26 I was called to sundry employments, the one to have built a new ship at Chatham of 300 tons, and Mr. Burrell was to have built another, for which I made moulds and sent them into the woods by one Thomas Williams, shipwright,

My son Joseph died in Ireland in February this year.<sup>3</sup>

who hewed the frame in the woods, which was

<sup>1</sup> John Pyham, Vicar of Chatham.

<sup>2</sup> Designs.

<sup>3</sup> This has been added at the bottom of the page, where it has no connection with the context. In the margin Pett has written, 'Son Joseph died in Ireland this year 1625.'

brought into the yard with an excellent provision of long straight timber ; but by the malice of Mr. Burrell the business was hindered, and not suffered to go forward, so that the frame was kept in the yard till it was good for no use of shipping ; but afterward I was employed to build two small pinnaces of 70 tons a piece or thereabouts, which I performed accordingly at Chatham, my son Richard being my principal foreman. They were called, the one the Henrietta, the other Maria, after the Queen's name.

Also, the Commissioners of the Navy growing to be called in question for their actions, in the latter end of this year,<sup>1</sup> there was a great commission of Lords and divers other experienced captains granted under the Broad Seal<sup>2</sup> for inquiry of their actions, amongst which number I was chosen one : much doing was about it, but in the end it trenched so far upon some great personages, that it was let fall and nothing to any purpose done in it, but divers of the Commissioners came to Chatham, and surveyed the state of the ships and other things ; and so in the end of January following returned all to London.

The 14th of February, being Wednesday and St. Valentine's Day, my dear wife Ann departed this life in the morning, and was buried the Friday after in Chatham Church in the evening, leaving behind her a disconsolate husband and sad family. Not long after, I being at London, my only sister then living, Mary Cooper, departed this life the fifth of March for very grief of the loss of my dear wife.

This summer, my son John was made captain of a merchant ship, and served under Sir Sackvill

<sup>1</sup> 12 Dec. 1626. Pett was named last in the list.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Great Seal.

Trevor's command at the taking of the French prize called the *St. Esprit*.<sup>1</sup>

In July, I was contracted to my second wife, Mistress Susan Yardley, the widow of Mr. Robert Yardley, whose daughter my son John had formerly married. The 16th of the same month we were married at St. Margaret's Church, by Mr. Franklyn; Mr. George Wilson<sup>2</sup> gave her in the church.

The 20th of February, 1627,<sup>3</sup> the Commissioners of the Navy were summoned before the Lords, and their commission called in and dissolved, and the government of the Navy conferred upon the Principal Officers then being, to be carried as in former times.

The 26th of February, attending the Officers of the Navy at Sir Sackville Crowe's<sup>4</sup> house by Charing Cross, Sir<sup>5</sup> John Pennington came thither to acquaint them with a warrant from the Lord Duke, directed to him and myself, for present bargaining with the yard-keepers<sup>6</sup> of the river for the building of 10 small vessels<sup>7</sup> for the enterprise of Rochelle, of some 120 tons a-piece, with one deck and quarter only, to row as well as sail. The 28th day of the same month we concluded our bargains with the several yardkeepers and drew covenants between us, and delivered them imprests<sup>8</sup> accordingly. In this business I was employed till the latter end of July, that the ships set sail to Portsmouth. My son John was placed Captain in the sixth Whelp, built by my

<sup>1</sup> Built by the Dutch, but intended for the French Navy. It was captured in the Texel and added to the English Fleet.

<sup>2</sup> One of the four Masters Attendant.

<sup>3</sup> MS. '1637.' 1628 new style.

<sup>4</sup> Treasurer of the Navy.

<sup>5</sup> Knighted in 1634.

<sup>6</sup> Shipbuilders.

<sup>7</sup> The ten *Lion's Whelps*.

<sup>8</sup> Payments in advance.

kinsman Peter Pett; having liberty from the Lord Duke to make choice for him amongst them all, I chose that pinnacle before the rest, supposing she would have proved best, which fell out afterward clean contrary.

The 21st of this month of July, as I was going in London to attend the meeting of the Officers of the Navy, I was arrested at the suit of one Freeman, upon 3 executions for timber delivered to the building of Sir Walter Raleigh's ship and the two pinnaces built at Ratcliff<sup>1</sup> for the expedition of Algier, and was forcibly carried to prison to the Counter<sup>2</sup> in the Poultry, where I was lodged all night. The next morning, the King and the Lord Duke being made acquainted by Sir John Pennington with the business, the Lords of the Council were twice assembled about my clearing, and the care recommended to the Lord Treasurer Weston, who employed his secretary, Mr. John Gibbons, to see me freed, which was done by a habeas corpus to remove me to the Fleet,<sup>3</sup> where I was carried and there put in bond for my appearance the first day of Michaelmas term; so for that time discharged, Mr. Gibbons defraying the whole charge. A little before this his Majesty gave me a blank for making a baronet, which was signed by his hand.

I received warrant from the Lord Duke to go to Portsmouth, there to attend the setting out of the Fleet; which accordingly I did, taking my

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Redcliff.'

<sup>2</sup> More usually spelt 'Compter': one of the debtors' prisons attached to the Sheriff's Court; the last was abolished in 1854.

<sup>3</sup> The prison on the east side of Farringdon Street, taking its name from the Fleet River; burnt down in 1666 and in 1780; it was abolished in 1842.

journey from Lambeth the first of August, accompanied with my son Richard, William Dalton, and some other shipwrights. When I came to Portsmouth, by means of some friends I procured a convenient lodging in a private house, where I lay all the time of my being there, in which I saw many passages and the great disaster happening unto the Lord Duke. After the mutiny upon the Green on Friday in the evening, about the execution of a poor seaman that was hanged upon a gibbet on the beach, and the next day, being Saturday and the 23rd day, about 10 of the clock, the Duke was murdered in Captain Mason's <sup>1</sup>house by a private <sup>2</sup>discontented lieutenant called Felton, being stabbed with a knife to the heart as he was talking with Sir Thomas (*left blank in MS.*) <sup>3</sup>at the parlour door.

The 4th of September, my son John took leave of me in the evening and went on board his ship ; whom I never saw after, being unfortunately cast away in the return from Rochelle ; both ship and men perishing in the sea, as it was supposed foundered in the storm, which was a grievous affliction to myself, my wife [and] his own wife, left great with child at his going to sea.

The 6th September, the service concluded and all the Fleet sent away, I left Portsmouth accompanied with son Richard and returned for Chatham, coming thither on Monday the 8th day, finding my wife and family in good health, praising God for our comfortable meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Treasurer of the Army, with whom Buckingham was lodging.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently used in the sense of 'unemployed.'

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Sir Thomas Fryer. The circumstances are related in detail by Dr. S. R. Gardiner in his *History of England from the Accession of James I.*, vol. vi. chap. lxxv.



After divers passages and journeys from Chatham to London and Hampton Court, to my great expense, and could conclude nothing for clearing my arrest, I was forced, for saving harmless my sureties in the Fleet,<sup>1</sup> to deliver myself a prisoner the first day of the term, going thither in the evening, taking possession of the chamber provided for me with a heavy heart, my son Richard accompanying me. Afterward, being advised by my worthy friend, Captain Pennington, who never forsook me in all my troubles, but furnished my wants continually, way was made to acquaint his Majesty with my case; who very graciously gave order to the Lord Treasurer to see me freed from prison, where I continued, notwithstanding, six or seven days before I could be released and an agreement concluded with Freeman for his debt by the Lord Treasurer; which done, I presented myself to his Majesty who used me very graciously.

In this interim I received certain intelligence of the great loss of my son John, his ship, and all his company, who foundered in the sea about the Seames,<sup>2</sup> in a great storm about the beginning of November; not one man saved to bring the doleful news; no ship near them to deliver the certainty, but a small pink belonging to the Fleet, that was within ken of her, and saw her shoot 9 pieces of ordnance, hoping of succour. This affliction was the greater for that his dear wife was, much about the time of her husband's loss, delivered of a son at my house at Chatham, having a mournful time of lying in, which son was baptized at Chatham Church on Sunday the 23rd day, afternoon, called Phineas. The witnesses:—

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the prison of that name.

<sup>2</sup> Chaussée de Sein, south of Ushant.

my wife, godmother ; myself and good friend, Mr. George Wilson, being godfathers.

Towards the end of December, I was appointed by the Officers of the Navy to take charge of docking the Vanguard at Woolwich, which I presently took order in, to have the dock fitted and prepared for that purpose.

I docked the Vanguard and caused a dam to be made without the gates ; then took down the gates and wharves within the dam, and made all new, both floor, wharves and gates ; which was finished in a short time. About this time, riding from Woolwich to Greenwich, sent for by Captain Pennington, mid way betwixt both, the horse gave me a dangerous fall, close by a ditch side full of water ; by which I received a great hurt upon my right leg and thigh, which was sore bruised by the fall, in so much as I had much ado to get back again, and was not recovered of the hurt in six weeks time, but was forced to use crutches.

About the beginning of June, by Captain Pennington's procurement I passed the baronet given me formerly by the King, for which the Captain received for me 200 pounds, which he sent me to Woolwich in gold.

About this time I gave over my house at Chatham and surrendered the lease thereof to Mr. Isackson,<sup>1</sup> the painter, who renewed it for longer time with Sir Robert Jackson, then Lord of the Manor.

Towards the end of September, I was employed by the Lord Treasurer Weston as a Commissioner for his Majesty to the forests of Shotover and Stowood, near Oxford, which forests were granted from his Majesty by letters patent to

<sup>1</sup> Richard, successor to Paul Isackson.

the Earl of Lindsey ;<sup>1</sup> wherein I discharged my duty so effectually as gained me a good opinion both from his Majesty and the Lord Treasurer ; from which employment I returned to Woolwich the 8th day of November, having finished a tedious and troublesome business.

The 27th day of November, it pleased God to take from me my dear beloved son Richard, who died with me at Woolwich and was buried in the church chancel next day after ; being a great affliction unto me, by reason he was my eldest son then living, being a very hopeful young man, and for his years an excellent artist, being trained by me to that purpose for making of ships.

A little after Christmas, I was employed as a Commissioner with Mr. Treswell,<sup>2</sup> Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods, to view certain parks of his Majesty : as Ditton Park, Sunning Park and Folly John<sup>3</sup> Park, lying near about Windsor ; which we despatched in four or five days, and returned back to Westminster, and delivered in the account and certificate of the business to the Lord Treasurer.

Towards the middle of February, there was a resolution by his Majesty and the Lords of the Admiralty to make an addition of assistants to the Principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy, for the better managing of that great business by experienced men ; to which purpose Mr. William Burrell was nominated as one and myself by his Majesty's own appointment was chosen for the other, not without some strong opposition which

<sup>1</sup> Robert Bertie, created Earl of Lindsey 1626 ; admiral of the second fleet sent to Rochelle in 1628.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Treswell.

<sup>3</sup> Foliejon on the modern ordnance map. 'Folly' appears to be a local name for a clump of trees on a hill.

could not prevail ; so that there was a letter under his Majesty's signet directed to the Officers, and ourselves to sit with the Officers, and to authorise us to proceed together in all businesses concerning his Majesty's Service, which was twice read in public court at their meeting in Mincing Lane, the 8th day of March 1629, and then we took place first with them ; where it was concluded to begin first with a general survey of the whole Navy at Chatham, and all stores within and without doors, and to put out by the great, as we should hold fitting, the repair of all apparent defects in the ships, which was recommended wholly to the care of Mr. Burrell and myself ; which was effectually performed by us, and the works of the ships put to Mr. Goddard,<sup>1</sup> one of the Master Shipwrights, to be done by contract ; which business we fully concluded by the end of March, 1630.

After we had settled all business at Chatham, Deptford and Woolwich, Mr. Burrell and myself took our journey, the 6th of May, to Portsmouth, where we arrived the 8th day after ; taking up our lodgings at [the] Dock with the Clerk of the Stores,<sup>2</sup> where Mr. Burrell lay, and myself at the Clerk of the Check,<sup>3</sup> both Mr. Brookes and brothers ; here we stayed upon despatch of all business concerning the defects of the ships, surveys, and other material business ; which having all ordered, settled, and graved the ships, we returned thence and came to London the 4th day of June following.

The 4th of August, there was a great Commission sent to Portsmouth, to take a view of the harbour and the river running up to Fareham,<sup>4</sup> for the removing of his Majesty's ships to a more

<sup>1</sup> Henry Goddard.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Brooke.

<sup>3</sup> John Brooke.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'Farum.'

safe place of riding ; all the Principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy being Commissioners, together with Mr. Burrell, his Majesty's Masters of the Navy, and six of the chief Masters of the Trinity House. There was much dispute and contrariety about the business, but in the end a fair agreement was concluded. Some of the Masters of the Trinity House there sickened, which hastened both their returns and ours back. In our return home, myself was taken very sick at Farnham, where Mr. Burrell and myself parted, he staying behind about some particular business of his own, but we never saw one another after, being the 13th day of August. It pleased God that I got home to Woolwich that very night very dangerously sick, and stirred not out of my chamber in eight weeks space, in which interim Mr. Burrell died in an inn, as he travelled toward Huntingdon, the end of this present month.

About the 23rd day of November following, I was sent again to Portsmouth with a commission to search and enquire about the worm which was reported to eat the ships in the Road, to their endangering and hazard. There were divers Master Shipwrights joined with me in the business, but upon strict examination upon oath there could be no such matter found, but only a rumour raised to hinder the keeping of any his Majesty's ships in that harbour.<sup>1</sup>

About the end of December his Majesty signed my letters patent for the place of a Principal Officer

<sup>1</sup> The report, signed by Phineas Pett, Jo. Dearslye, Peter Pett, Andrewes Burrell, John Greaves and John Taylor, is preserved (*S.P. Dom. Chas. I. clxxvi. 8*). Mr. Oppenheim (*Administration*, p. 297) points out that 'five years later some of the same men turned round with "we positively conclude that there is a worm in that harbour."'

and Commissioner of his Navy, and the 19th day of January following I had my letters patent publicly read at the meeting of the Principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy in Mincing Lane in London, and accordingly took my place amongst them; the 26th day after, they were publicly read before the whole Navy men at Chatham.

The 23rd of February I brought my wife from Woolwich to Chatham in a coach all the way by land; we alighted at son Yardley's door where we took up our lodging.

The first of March I received from Mr. Robert Smith, Messenger of the Navy, 8 commissions of purveyance and other business concerning the Navy under the Broad Seal of England directed to me.

The 21st day of April, being Thursday, his Majesty, accompanied with divers of the lords, as the Treasurer,<sup>1</sup> Chamberlain,<sup>2</sup> Marquis Hamilton, Holland<sup>3</sup> and others, came to Woolwich to see the Vanguard launched that day, which was performed to his Majesty's great content. I entertained them in my lodgings with wine, cakes and other things, which were well accepted. His Majesty commanded me into the barge with him, purposing to have landed at Deptford to have seen the St. Denis,<sup>4</sup> newly repaired in dry dock, but the rain hindered his landing, and I was taken out of his Majesty's barge into a pair of oars. On Friday morning was launched the Victory, lying above the Vanguard in the same dock [at] Woolwich.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Weston, created Baron Weston in 1628, and Earl of Portland in 1633.

<sup>2</sup> The Lord High Chamberlain was Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey; the Lord Chamberlain was Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had succeeded his brother, William.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Rich, 1st Earl of Holland, beheaded 1649.

<sup>4</sup> A prize of 1625 taken into the Navy.

On Friday, being the 13th of May, I shipped all my goods and household stuff from Woolwich in one Starland's hoy, which were all safely landed at his Majesty's new dock [at] Chatham the next day. On Monday, the 16th day, I brought myself and family into my lodgings at the new dock.

Wednesday, being the 15th day of June, all the ships in the Navy at Chatham being completely trimmed in all points, rigged, and all their sails at yards, and ordnance on board, his Majesty, attended with divers lords, came to Strood<sup>1</sup> about 2 o'clock afternoon, where the Officers of the Navy attended his Highness with barges and boats, and being embarked row<sup>2</sup> down the river on board the Prince, and from her on board all the ships riding in that [place]. At his Majesty's embarking, the ships did orderly discharge their ordnance. The King went to his lodging at the Crown, Rochester.

Next morning betimes, his Majesty took his barge again, and went on board the rest of the ships riding in the upper reach, beginning with the Lion, being the uppermost ship; so to the rest in order, observing the course and order of the discharging their ordnance as the day before; then landed at the old dock and viewed all the ordnance upon the wharves; then walked on foot to the new dock, by the way taking notice of the ropelhouse and storehouses without the dock gates; then came into the yard and viewed the stores and houses; after came into my lodgings, where he stayed a pretty while; then went to the top of the hill on the back side, where his Majesty stood to see the ordnance fired from the ships; from thence walked back to the old dock, where his

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Strowde.'

<sup>2</sup> A very late example of this form of the past tense of 'row.'

Highness took his barge to Rochester, by the way hovering to observe the trained-band placed in two battalions and skirmished in warlike manner, to his Majesty's great content. His Majesty landed at Rochester and went to dinner; then called for the Officers of the Navy, giving<sup>1</sup> them many thanks for their care and pains; then took his coach to Gravesend, thence up by water to Greenwich,

Monday morning, being the 25th of July, I took my journey from Chatham towards Portsmouth, riding through Sussex. We came to Portsmouth [the] 27th day at night and lodged at the Queen's Head. We were sent to provide and prepare all the ships riding at Portsmouth in manner as they were at Chatham, to entertain his Majesty, resolved to view them all; which was accordingly performed.

The second of August, being Tuesday, his Majesty came to Portsmouth accompanied with divers lords, and presently took boat and went on board each several ship, from thence treatably<sup>2</sup> returning, and the ships saluting him with their ordnance. His Majesty was landed by six of the clock and went directly to the Governor's house, where he was lodged, and called for supper as soon as he came. Next day I attended his Majesty for order for removing the ships, which presently was done by his Majesty's own mouth; and waiting at dinner, his Majesty commanded me to attend the Lord Treasurer and others, to transport them into the Isle of Wight and bring them back; which I carefully performed in his Majesty's pinnace, the *Maria*, appointed for that purpose, and safely landed him from the Cowes at Titchfield Haven, being attended with one of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'given.'

<sup>2</sup> Deliberately.



Whelps. I returned to Chatham from Portsmouth the 10th of August after.

The 25th of this month, being Thursday, my son John's wife, lost in the sixth Whelp, was married to Edward Stevens,<sup>1</sup> a shipwright, in Chatham Church, the wedding being at my house in the new dockyard, where we gave entertainment to all his friends till Monday after, when they returned for London.

*In <sup>2</sup> the beginning of this year, 1632, I was commanded from his Majesty to assist my son Peter in the building a new ship at Woolwich, which was begun in February, being of the burthen of 800 tons and tonnage; most part of the frame and provisions being made in the forests of Shotover and Stowood, Oxfordshire; my son had the oversight of the work. About the 8th of June, his Majesty came to Woolwich to see the work, where I entertained him afterwards in my lodgings and attended his Majesty to Deptford in his own barge, where he landed to view the other new ship built by Mr. Goddard.*

*The 30th day of January, 1633, the new ship at Woolwich was launched, the King's Majesty being there present, standing in my lodgings. It proved a fair day and good tide, so that the ship was put out without strain of tackle, which much contented his Majesty, who soon after took his barge and returned to Whitehall. The ship was named the Charles after his own name.*

*The next day the new ship at Deptford built by Mr. Goddard was launched, the King and Queen's Majesties being present, and was called after the Queen's name, Henrietta Maria.*

*By the beginning of March, the Henrietta being*

<sup>1</sup> Son of Edward Stephens, late Master Shipwright. Imprisoned in 1626 for disrespect to Pett and Trevor.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in italics is wanting in the original MS.

come to ride at Woolwich by the Charles, both being ready fitted to set sail for Chatham, his Majesty was pleased to come down in his barge on board the Charles. We presently weighed with both ships and set sail with the wind at south-west and better; his Majesty went in her a little beneath<sup>1</sup> Barking Creek, and then took his barge and returned, we taking leave after the manner of the sea with our voices and whistles, and the King's trumpets upon the poop. By low water we were got beneath the Nore a good distance, and there anchored all night, and the next flood we turned up as high as Oakham Ness<sup>2</sup> and there anchored, and on Monday after came over the chain.

The 22nd of March, I was appointed to make a journey to Portsmouth to take survey of all the business there, both on float and on the shore. Mr. Edisbury,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Goddard, Mr. Goodwin<sup>4</sup> the Master, Mr. Apslyn,<sup>5</sup> and our clerks going along with us. We took our journey from London on Friday morning, and came to Portsmouth on Sunday afternoon. It was the 6th of April following before I returned to home to Chatham. The 11th day, son Peter first time took his journey to Woodbridge in Suffolk to see Mrs. Cole's eldest daughter.

The 15th of June, 1633, I went a journey to Portsmouth from Chatham, through part of East

<sup>1</sup> Below.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Ockum. In the Medway.

<sup>3</sup> Kenrick Edisbury, alias Wilkinson, who in 1626 was Paymaster of the Navy, succeeded Sir Thos. Aylesbury as Surveyor of the Navy in December 1632 and died in 1638. Mr. Oppenheim pronounces him 'perhaps the most observant and energetic of the chief officers.'

<sup>4</sup> John Goodwin, Master Attendant at Portsmouth.

<sup>5</sup> Nathaniel Apslyn. In 1626, when Carpenter of the *Red Lion*; he was recommended by Pett for the post of Assistant Master Shipwright, and was appointed in that capacity at Chatham.

*Kent, accompanied with Sir Henry Palmer, Captain William Hawkridge, newly returned from captivity,<sup>1</sup> our clerks and servants. Saturday and Sunday night we lay at Buckwell,<sup>2</sup> at Captain Moyle's, whose wife was sister to the Lady Palmer. Monday we rode to one Sir William Campion's, where we were very kindly entertained till Wednesday morning; thence taking leave we rode to Lewes to dinner; thence to Shoreham,<sup>3</sup> where we lodged that night; thence to Chichester, there dined; then to Portsmouth where we stayed four days to despatch business there; which done, we came thence to Guildford; so to London; and the 26th day, being Wednesday, I came home to Chatham.*

*The 5th of July, 1633, being a Friday, I began a journey from Chatham by sea into Suffolk in the little Henrietta pinnace commanded by Captain Cook, one of the Master Attendants of his Majesty's Navy, accompanied with young Mr. Henry Palmer, Mr. Isackson, son Yardley, cousin<sup>4</sup> Joseph, my sons Peter and Christopher, man Charles Bowles, and George Parker.<sup>5</sup> We set sail from Gillingham in the morning, having a fair gale at south-west. We anchored against Harwich, between two and three of the clock, afternoon, and from thence shipped ourselves and company in boats for Ipswich, arriving there afore 6 in the evening, and lodged at the Angel Inn, which was then kept by my cousin Bar-*

<sup>1</sup> Hawkridge is said to have accompanied Button in the voyage of 1612. In 1619 he was in command of an expedition in search of the North-West Passage which proved a failure. Subsequently he was captured with his ship and cargo, valued at £2000, by the pirates of Algiers and held to ransom. See Christy, *Voyages of Foxe and James* (Hakluyt Soc.).

<sup>2</sup> Near Wye, on the main road from Ashford to Canterbury.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Shorum.'

<sup>4</sup> Nephew.

<sup>5</sup> Master Carpenter of the *St. Denis* in 1632.

wick. On Saturday morning we were horsed to Woodbridge on hackneys, whither we came about 11 of the clock and were lodged at the Crown. After dinner we went to visit Mrs. Cole and her daughters, with whom we had large discourse about the match of her daughter with my son Peter, and found our propositions entertained, I having great liking to the maid. Sunday, we and our train dined and supped at Mrs. Cole's. Monday, we invited mother and daughters and Mr. Fleming to dine with us at our inn, whither came to us divers of our friends to whom we gave the best entertainment the place could afford. In the afternoon we had private conferences together, and concluded the match and contracted the parties with free consent on both sides; we supped this night at Mrs. Cole's. Tuesday forenoon, having despatched all our business, we took our journey by horse to Landguard Point<sup>1</sup> accompanied with Mistress Cole, her daughters, and other their friends and neighbours, whom we entertained a while on board our pinnace, and there resolved the day of marriage; thence we accompanied them on shore, saw them horsed, and so took leave. My son and some other of our company accompanied them to Woodbridge, being overtaken with a mighty storm of rain, thunder and lightning all the way. All the next day proving very foul and wet weather, the wind contrary, and my son and his company not returned (who came not to us till almost 3, afternoon) we concluded to stay till next morning in the road. Myself and most of our company went on shore to Harwich and there lay that night.

Thursday morning we came on board betimes and set sail, and that tide came up as high as Bishop Ness in our river of Medway, where we

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Langer.' At the entrance to Harwich harbour.

anchored and had boats meet us from Chatham, in whom we embarked, and were safely landed at the new dock about seven, Friday morning, 12th July, giving God thanks for our prosperous voyage and safe return.

About the middle of this month, my son Peter had order to prepare moulds for a frame of a new ship of 500 tons, to be built by him at Woolwich, and was assigned to have the timber of out Stowood and Shotover in Oxfordshire.

About this time also, Sir Henry Palmer and myself were deeply questioned about making sale of brown paper stuff<sup>1</sup> which we claimed as a perquisite to our places, and by the information of Mr. Edisbury, our fellow officer, to Sir John Coke. The information was presented with a great deal of malice, and his Majesty was made acquainted withal; but it pleased God that their malice took no effect, the King giving us a free discharge, only we repaid the moneys received for the commodity to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's use.

The 3rd day of September, my son Peter came to Chatham accompanied with Mr. Sheldon<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Francis Terringham, and the next morning we embarked ourselves at the new dock, accompanied also with Mr. Bostock, cousin Joseph, and son Christopher, and all our provisions, and came on board the Henrietta pinnace at Gillingham, where Captain Cooke attended us ready to set sail; from whence with a prosperous gale, the wind at south-west and very fair weather, we came to anchor before Harwich about six of the clock. All our company went on shore to Harwich, where we lodged that night, and the next day

<sup>1</sup> Old cordage, used for manufacture into brown paper.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Sheldon, Clerk of the Check at Woolwich.

from thence took our journey to Woodbridge, where we were joyfully received and entertained by Mistress Cole<sup>1</sup> and her friends. On Sunday following, being the 8th day of September, my son was married to Mistress Cole's daughter in Woodbridge Church after the sermon. On the Thursday after, all my company took leave at Woodbridge and came to our ship riding at Harwich, where we lodged that night, and on Friday morning embarked ourselves and set sail; having the wind fair, we got up as high as Oakham, where we anchored and took boats to St. Mary Creek, where we landed and walked home on foot, giving God thanks for our prosperous voyage and safe return.

The 8th of December, being Sunday, lying at my lodging in Mincing Lane, London, as I was going to church in the forenoon, I was set upon by six sergeants,<sup>2</sup> who arrested me at the suit of my sister Pett,<sup>3</sup> widow to my brother Peter; by whom I was used uncivilly, but after they were told by Sir Henry Palmer they would be called to account for abusing the King's servant they let me go; which turned me afterward to a great trouble and suit in law, to my great charge.

In the month of February were launched the Unicorn at Woolwich, built by Mr. Boate,<sup>4</sup> and the next spring following was launched the James out of Deptford Dock, built there by my nephew, Peter Pett; the King's Majesty being in person

<sup>1</sup> The wife of Thomas Cole, who was one of the witnesses at the Inquiry of 1610 (*supra*, p. 57). Thomas Cole owned the Manor of Woodbridge, which by 1649 came into Peter's possession. See Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, vol. iv. p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Bailiffs.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Boate, Master Shipwright.

present at both places, where I attended his Highness all the time of that business.

The 22nd day of the same month, Sir Henry Palmer<sup>1</sup> and myself were commanded to attend the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to answer the great information prosecuted against us by the malice of Secretary Coke by intimation of Mr. Edisbury, newly made Surveyor of the Navy, for selling the old brown paper stuff as perquisites of our places; we were not called in till the evening; none but Mr. Fleming<sup>2</sup> and myself appeared, Sir Henry Palmer purposely absenting himself. There were present at [the] council table, Earl Dorset,<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Vane,<sup>4</sup> Secretary Coke and Secretary Windebank.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Secretary Coke delivered his Majesty's pleasure, with despitiful aggravation of the fact and the dangerous precedent<sup>6</sup> to others. The conclusion was that his Majesty's command was we should be suspended our places. We were not suffered to make any reply, but dismissed and referred to his Majesty's further pleasure. On the Monday after, I attended to speak to his Majesty so soon as he was ready in his withdrawing chamber, where his Majesty was pleased to call me to him; and before all the lords there present and my professed enemy, Secretary Coke, his Majesty used me very graciously, with large

<sup>1</sup> Comptroller of the Navy since 1632; son of the Comptroller of the Navy of the same name who died in 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Denis Fleming, Clerk of the Acts.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Sackville, 4th Earl, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty appointed after the death of Buckingham.

<sup>4</sup> The elder (1589-1655), then Comptroller of the Household and Privy Councillor.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Francis Windebank (1582-1646); joint-Secretary of State with Sir John Coke, 1632.

<sup>6</sup> MS. 'president.'

expression and protestation of the continuance of his future favour and continued encouragements ; which though Secretary Coke liked not, yet he made great show of his well wishing to me in his Majesty's presence ; but notwithstanding all this, I repaid the moneys I had received for my share, being 86 pounds, to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's use, out of my yearly entertainment.

About the middle of March, my son brought his wife and his mother, with their family, from Woodbridge to my house at Chatham, where they all stayed with us till the 23rd of April following, and then went all to Woolwich, where my son was employed upon the building of his Majesty's ship the Leopard.

The 22nd of June was finished a little ship, being completely rigged and gilded, and placed upon a carriage with wheels<sup>1</sup> resembling the sea ; was enclosed in a great case of deals and shipped for London in the Fortune Pink, and was out of her taken into a wherry and carried through bridge to Scotland Yard and from thence to St. James', where it was placed in the long gallery and presented to the Prince, who entertained it with a great deal of joy, being purposely made for him to disport himself withal.

The 26th of June, his Majesty came to Woolwich in his barge to see the frame of the Leopard, then half built ; and being in the ship's hold his Highness, calling me aside, privately acquainted me with his princely resolution for the building of a great new ship, which he would have me to undertake, using these words to me :—' You have made many requests to me, and now I will make it my request to you to build this ship,' com-

<sup>1</sup> MS. ' whelles.'



manding me to attend his coming to Wanstead<sup>1</sup> where he would further confer with me about it.

The 29th October, the model made for the great new ship was carried to Hampton Court and there placed in the Privy Gallery, where, after his Majesty had seen and thoroughly perused, he commanded us to carry it back to Whitehall and place it in the Privy Gallery till his Majesty's coming thither; which was accordingly performed.

In March, 1635, the 11th day, his Majesty came to Woolwich to see the launching of the new ship built there by my son Peter, the which ship I caused to have her masts set in the dock and to be completely rigged and ten pieces of ordnance placed in her, with her sails at the yard. The ship being launched betimes, she was, by his Majesty's command, called the Leopard by Sir Robert Mansell. After the ship was clear out of the dock, his Majesty came on board and there stayed almost one hour. We hoped to sail her whilst his Majesty had been on board, but the wind came northerly, that we could do no good to lead it to our moorings. At his Majesty's parting away in his barge we gave nine pieces of ordnance.

In the midst of April, his Majesty was graciously pleased to renew my privy seal for my pension of 40*l.* per annum, payable in the Exchequer, with order for all my arrears due upon it. The 8th of May following, my son Peter received the same arrears, being one hundred pounds.

The 14th of May, I took leave of his Majesty at Greenwich, with his command to hasten my journey into the north, to provide and prepare the frame and timber and plank and trenails

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Waynstead.' A royal manor.

for the great new ship to be built at Woolwich ; and having despatched all warrants and letters concerning that business and some imprests of moneys for travelling charges, I took leave at Woolwich and came to Chatham, leaving my son to see all the moulds and other necessaries to be shipped in a Castle ship, taken up for that purpose, to transport all our provisions and workmen to Newcastle and to send the ships to take us in at Queenborough.

The 21<sup>st</sup> of May, my son with his wife, mother, and sisters, and rest of their company, being come to us to Chatham and in readiness, we, accompanied with cousin Joseph's wife and mine own company, we took leave at Chatham in the morning and repaired by our boats to Queenborough, where the ship was in readiness ; where we embarked ourselves, intending to have set sail presently, but the wind chopping to east and north-east, we could not stir that tide, but rode till the morning ; then weighed and set sail and got down as low as the Blacktail Sand,<sup>1</sup> where we anchored all the flood. At high water, being about 3 [o']clock afternoon, we weighed again and plyed down beneath the Spits and there anchored all that night. Saturday morning we weighed and set sail again, and the next day by five afternoon we came to an anchor against Harwich and landed all our passengers bound for Woodbridge, who got thither that night ; and the next myself and rest of my company went for Woodbridge, where we stayed till Tuesday afternoon and then returned to Harwich to our ship. Wednesday forenoon, we set sail from Harwich, and Thursday morning we came into Yarmouth Road, where we anchored,

<sup>1</sup> On the edge of the Maplin, six miles east of Shoe-buryness.

went on shore and dined, and after dinner returned on board and set sail, plying our course till Saturday morning. Being got within twenty leagues of Newcastle, the wind took us short, and we put room and were landed, not without some danger, at Scarborough where we lay that night, and our ship put room for Bridlington.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday morning we got horse with some difficulty and rode to Whitby,<sup>2</sup> where we were kindly entertained and lodged at one Captain Foxe's<sup>3</sup> house, then lying sick. There we found much kindness at the hands of one Mr. Bagwell, a shipwright and yardkeeper; this was the 31st of May. Monday morning we parted thence and came to Guisborough, a great market town, where we baited. From thence we went to Stockton,<sup>4</sup> where we found but mean entertainment, being lodged in the Mayor's house, being a poor thatched cottage.<sup>5</sup> On Tuesday we came to Durham, where we baited; from thence we came to Newcastle about five of the clock, lodging this night at the posthouse, where we were very homely used; but the next day we removed thence to Mr. Leonard Carr's house, where we were very well accommodated and neatly lodged, in which house we lay all the time of our abode at Newcastle; this was the 3rd of June, 1635.

After our coming to Newcastle and that<sup>6</sup> lodged ourselves conveniently, we advised together how to proceed in our business, [that] no time might be lost; and first viewed the places from whence we were to make choice of our frame and

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Burlington.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Whytebye.'

<sup>3</sup> Luke Foxe, the Arctic navigator. He died at Whitby in July.

<sup>4</sup> M.S. 'Stockdone.'

<sup>5</sup> Stockton had fallen into decay during the sixteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> Sic.

other provisions, which were Chopwell Woods<sup>1</sup> and Brancepeth Park,<sup>2</sup> a good way from one another.

Then, having marked such trees as were fittest our purpose, our workmen were disposed of to their several charges, and began to fell, square, and saw with all the expedition we could. That work being settled, my son carefully followed that business whilst I myself attended the Lord Bishop of Durham<sup>3</sup> with my commission and instructions, whom I found wonderfully ready and willing to give all furtherance to us, assisted by other knights and gentlemen, Justices of the Peace in the county; who with all care and diligence took order with the country for present carriage. God so blessed us in our proceedings that in a short time as much of the frame was made ready as laded away a great collier belonging to Woodbridge, which was safely landed at Woolwich; and as fast as provisions could be made ready, they were shipped away. That from Chopwell Woods was laded from Newcastle; that which came from Brancepeth, from Sunderland.

Having ordered all our business, both for carriage, moneys, and all other needful things to set forward the business, leaving my loving son Peter to oversee all, I took my leave of my friends at Newcastle the 22nd day of July, being Wednesday, and came to Durham where we lodged that night at the posthouse. Next morning I waited upon my Lord of Durham, with whom I dined, and after dinner took leave and returned to my lodging.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Chopple.' On the Derwent, six miles south-west of Newcastle.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Bramespeth.' On the Wear, four miles south-west of Durham.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Duresme.'

Friday morning, being the 24th day, I parted from Durham accompanied with my son Christopher, Charles Bowles,<sup>1</sup> and the guide. We met, also bound our way towards London, three Scottish gentlemen and their attendants, who very kindly accepted of our company, and we rode together to Northallerton where we lodged that night at the postmaster's. Next day we rode to York and lodged at the postmaster's. Sunday, we stayed at York all the day, myself being entertained at dinner by Sir Arthur Ingram<sup>2</sup> and at night by Alderman Sir William Allison.

Monday morning, 27th day, we rode to dinner to Wentbridge, thence to Doncaster to bed. Tuesday we rode to Tuxford,<sup>3</sup> where we dined; thence to Newark upon Trent, there lodged this night.

Wednesday morning we rode from Newark to Grantham<sup>4</sup> where we dined; thence to Stamford, where lodged this night.

Thursday, being the 30th day, we rode from Stamford to Huntingdon, and there dined and met there my old acquaintance and noble friend, Sir Oliver Cromwell. After dinner we took horse again, and at Huntingdon town's-end the Scottish gentlemen and we parted; they took their way for London, myself and company for Cambridge, where I lodged at the Falcon and visited Emmanuel College, where I had been a scholar in my youth.

Friday, being last of July, after I had visited Trinity College and some others, I rode from Cambridge to Bury in Suffolk, where we only baited, and rode that night to Stowmarket,

<sup>1</sup> Pett's clerk.

<sup>2</sup> Comptroller of Customs for Port of London; one time Secretary of the Council of the North.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'Tuckesford.'

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'Grantum.'

coming thither very wet, having rained very hard all that afternoon; there we lay that night. From thence rode next morning to Ipswich, drank only at the Greyhound Inn, and thence came to Woodbridge, alighting at sister Cole's about eleven of the clock, being the first of August.

I stayed at Woodbridge till Tuesday, the 4th of August; thence taking leave, I rode to Witham to bed; from thence next morning taking horse I came to Gravesend ferry; there passing over my horses I stayed their coming, and then taking horse again I came home to my house about 4 clock afternoon, in safety and health, giving God thanks for our safe meeting after eleven weeks absence from thence.

The 4th November, being Tuesday, it pleased God to send my son Peter safely to Woolwich, where we met together to our great comfort; and so gave order for proceeding in our business.

The 21st day of December, the keel of the great new ship was laid in his place upon the blocks in the dock; most part of the frame and other provisions came safely to Woolwich and were landed in the Yard.

The 16th day of January, his Majesty, accompanied with divers of the lords, came to Woolwich to see part of the frame and floor of the ship laid. At that time his Majesty gave order to myself and son to build two small pinnaces out of the wastes of the great ship.

The 28th day of March, his Majesty came again to Woolwich, accompanied with the Palsgrave,<sup>1</sup> his brother Duke Robert,<sup>2</sup> and divers other lords, who all stood in the windows of my

<sup>1</sup> Charles Lewis, the second son of Frederick and Elizabeth, born in 1617. Frederick had died in 1632.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Rupert.

lodgings to see the two pinnaces launched, which was performed to their great content, and named the Greyhound and Roebuck.

About <sup>1</sup> the 10th of April, his Majesty's ship called by the name of the Anne Royal, bound for to be Admiral of the narrow seas, and anchoring in Tilbury Hope, being unmoored,<sup>2</sup> the ship winding up<sup>3</sup> upon the flood, came foul of her own anchor, which pulled out a great part of her keel abaft the mast; and so, in sinking, overthrew so suddenly that some of the company were drowned, amongst whom was the master's wife and one other woman. Myself, amongst others, was commanded by his Majesty to give my assistance for weighing of her, which cost much trouble, great charge and no small danger to them that travelled<sup>4</sup> about it; which was afterwards objected to them as a great fault, and were rewarded with a bitter check from the Lords. The ship was weighed, and carried to Blackwall, and put into the East India Dock about the 10th of August.

The 3rd of February, his Majesty came to Woolwich by water, accompanied with the Prince Elector<sup>5</sup> and divers other lords, where he thoroughly viewed all the works of the ship without; and then went on board and seriously perused all the ship within board, both aloft and in the hold, being very well satisfied in all points; and then retired himself into my lodgings, where

<sup>1</sup> It was the 9th.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* not moored, having only one anchor down.

<sup>3</sup> Swinging round with the tide.

<sup>4</sup> Obsolete form of 'travailed'; laboured.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Lewis, whom, on p. 162, he called the Palsgrave. The title of Elector was, however, not formally accorded to him until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, when the Lower Palatinate was restored.

he stayed till flood, and then took his barge and returned to Whitehall.

Tuesday, the 25th of April, my daughter Martha was married unto John Hodierna, sometimes my servant.<sup>1</sup> She was married at Chatham Church, accompanied with the best sort of our neighbours, who were entertained in the garden under a long tent, set up for that purpose, where they ate, dined, and supped.

On the 21st day [of] July, being Friday, I brought my wife from Woolwich to Chatham in a coach, having been very ill some weeks before. We brought her safe to my house, and the next day she was to our thinking very cheerful, and was visited by divers our good neighbours, but on Sunday she grew very ill, and continued worse and worse all that night. About 3 clock, Monday morning, she fell into a sweet sleep and so like [a] lamb quietly departed this life, and the Wednesday afternoon following was buried in Chatham Church, accompanied with the better sort of all the neighbours about us; Mr. Vaughan, our Minister, preached at her funeral.

Tuesday, being the 29th August, proved a very wet, rainy day, but the shipwrights of the river, which were warned to help to strike the ship upon the ways, being come together, we set on the business, and by God's blessing the ship was struck by eleven of the clock without harm to any man, which we accounted a great mercy of God.

Monday, the 25th of September, was the day

<sup>1</sup> Apprentice. In 1633 he was recommended by Pett for the post of Master Carpenter of the *Charles* on the ground that he had wrought upon the same throughout her being built, and was also 'a pretty mariner.' *S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, ccxxxi. 45.



peremptorily appointed by his Majesty for launching the great ship; and accordingly all things were prepared in readiness for performance thereof. His Majesty, accompanied with the Queen and all the train of lords and ladies, their attendants, came to Woolwich, for the most part by water, landing at the dock stairs about 12 of the clock, and went directly on board the ship, where they stayed about one hour, and thence retired into our rooms, prepared and furnished for their entertainment. About 2 of the clock the tackles were set taut and the ship started as they heaved, till the tackles failed and the water pinched,<sup>1</sup> being a very poor tide, so that we gave over to strain the tackles and began to shore the ship. Then his Majesty with the Queen took their barge and returned to Whitehall, being very sorry the ship could not be launched. We attempted two or three tides afterward to no purpose; it was then concluded to let the ship sit till the next spring,<sup>2</sup> sitting so easily and safely that she could take no hurt.

After, it was resolved the ship should lie till the spring after, which was about the 12th or 13th October following. In the interim many malicious reports were raised to disable the ship, and to bring as much disgrace upon me as malice itself could possibly invent; all proceeding from the Masters of the Trinity House and other rough-hewn seamen, with whom William Cooke, one of the four Masters of his Majesty's Navy, enviously adhering to pleasure Secretary Coke, and Mr. Edisbury, then newly made Surveyor of his Majesty's Navy, all professed enemies to the building of the ship, and more to myself, joined

<sup>1</sup> Became too shallow.

<sup>2</sup> Spring tide.

together to cast what aspersions upon both as far as they durst (for fear of the King's displeasure); but the time of the spring drawing on, there was a meeting called by Sir Robert Mansell's means at Woolwich of such Trinity House Masters as were formerly employed on the business, with the Officers of the Navy, to resolve of the certain day and time of launching, which was generally concluded to be on Sunday following, being the 14th October, and that I should not attempt to stir the ship before; but on the Saturday night tide, the wind chopping up for westerly, and a fair night in hand promising a great tide to follow, I caused the two Masters of the Navy there attending to be ready, commanding all we could on the sudden get together to attend us, contrary to the mind of Mr. Cooke, who was very unwilling to meddle with the ship in the night, though Mr. Austen,<sup>1</sup> the more resolute man, was very willing to take the benefit of the first opportunity to launch. The tide came in so fast that the ship was on float by three-quarters flood, which I perceiving thought it fit to command the ship to be heaved off, the night being fair and calm; which accordingly was presently performed, and the ship brought into the channel and from thence by several warps conveyed safely to her moorings by high water; keeping lights with reed<sup>2</sup> all alongst the shore till the mooring cables were taken in and made fast to the bitts; which success with much thankfulness we acknowledged an especial mercy of God towards us. This done, I presently dispatched a messenger to Sir Robert Mansell at Greenwich, who came with all speed on board us, and according to his Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Austyne'; Thomas Austen.

<sup>2</sup> Burning reeds.

commandment gave the name to the ship and named her the Sovereign of the Seas. The next morning the company of the Trinity House Masters and others appointed to attend the launching, came according to the appointment to give their attendance, but finding the ship already launched, and at her moorings in the midst of the river, they seemed to be much discontented that they were so disappointed and prevented, which they expressed as far as they durst.

This morning Sir Robert Mansell rode away post to the King, lying then at Hampton Court, and acquainted his Majesty with our proceedings, who was wonderfully pleased with it.

The week following we reared the sheers to set the masts, which was performed with much safety and expedition, and all the masts set within fourteen days; and so soon as the rigging could be in some reasonable complete manner fitted, and sails brought to the yards, the ship was removed from Woolwich to Erith, by reason there was a greater depth of water to ride in. His Majesty had been on board of her before she went thence.

The 12th of May, 1638, the Sovereign set sail from Erith to Greenhithe,<sup>1</sup> where she anchored to take in her ordnance and provisions. The 6th of June after, his Majesty, accompanied with the Queen, Duchess of Chevreuse,<sup>2</sup> Duke and Duchess of Lennox,<sup>3</sup> with divers other lords and ladies more, came on board the ship at Greenhithe, where they dined to their great content.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Grenhyve.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Shevarees.' Marie de Rohan; exiled from France in 1626.

<sup>3</sup> James Stuart, 4th Duke; created Duke of Richmond, 1641.

At their going from the ship, we gave them 17 pieces of ordnance.

The 10th of February before, I received particular warrants from his Majesty at council table, being himself there present, for bringing the ship from Chatham to Woolwich dock; which was by my care speedily performed, and the ship safely dry docked, the 21st day of March following.

About the 12th of July, the Sovereign weighed from Greenhithe and anchored a little beneath Gravesend, where she rode till the King's Majesty came on board her, which was upon the 21st day of July, being Saturday, coming down in his barge, and rowed some part of the way against the tide. In the time of his being on board, his Majesty observed the condition of the ship as she now rode ready to sail, vidt. the draught of water, the distance of the ports of the lower tier from the water, number of the ordnance, and all other circumstances to her complete furnishing; wherewith he was so well satisfied and pleased that he parted from her with as much expression of content and satisfaction as we could expect from him, to the general comfort of us all.

Before his Majesty took barge I had placed my then wife, Bylande,<sup>1</sup> daughter Ann,<sup>2</sup> and many other gentlewomen, my special friends, in the great cabin to kiss his Majesty's hand, and prevailed with his Majesty to walk aft into the cabin, where his Highness most graciously gave each

<sup>1</sup> Married on 7th January. On p. 171 his wife's father's name is given as 'Etherington'; her Christian name was Mildred. The use of two forenames was practically unknown at this period; evidently she had been married before.

<sup>2</sup> Wife of Christopher Pett.

of them his hand to kiss. His Majesty then took his barge, and at his going from the ship we gave him 72 pieces of great ordnance. I then with my wife and friends went on shore and took the coach and came directly home.

Thursday, 2nd of August, I took leave of my wife and friends at Chatham after supper; so rode to Gravesend, thence on board the Sovereign and lay on board in mine cabin, being the first night I lodged in her.

Friday, my son Peter came on board from Woolwich; then about 10 of the clock we weighed from Gravesend, and stood down beneath Hole Haven, and there anchored that night, being little wind.

Saturday morning, 4th August, we weighed from Hole Haven and stood down beneath the buoy of the Gunfleet, where we anchored all that night.

Sunday we came to an anchor right before Margate town, where we rode till Thursday morning following, then weighed and set sail with the wind at west; but coming about the Foreland we met the wind so far southerly as put us to go without the sand, and blew so much wind as we could bear our topsails but half mast high, so that we could not possibly weather the South Sand Head;<sup>1</sup> the tides running also dead, we were forced to anchor in 32 fathom and there rode that night, which proved reasonable fair.

Friday morning, the 20th August, we weighed; having the benefit of a whole tide of ebb, we weathered the South Sand Head and stood in right thwart of Dover; but neither the town nor Castle took notice of us. So we put room into the Downs and anchored as near Sir John Penning-

<sup>1</sup> The south end of the Goodwin Sands.

ton, then riding Admiral, as we conveniently could do, being about 8 of the clock in the morning; we were saluted by the Admiral and all the ships in the road, whom we answered again, giving the Admiral 21 pieces. This done we went on board the Admiral, Sir John Pennington, to whom we were continual guests while we stayed in the Downs.

Wednesday morning, being the 15th of August, we set sail out of the Downs, the wind at south and sometimes south-west. We turned to [and] fro with very foul weather till we came as high [as] thwart of Shoreham, or thereabouts (the Garland attending us, who was not able to keep way with us); which course we held till Saturday the 18th day [of] August; then finding in that time we had sufficient trial of the condition and working of the ship in all respects, and having but a small proportion of victuals to stay out longer, we resolved to bear up again for the Downs; which accordingly was done, and about 3 clock, afternoon, we anchored close to the Admiral, Sir John Pennington entertaining us on board his ship all the time we rode by him.

Tuesday morning, the 21st of August, I took leave of the Sovereign and the Admiral, and went on shore at Deal, where I found my man attending ready with my horses, being the *night*<sup>1</sup> before come thither, where I presently took horse and rode directly to Canterbury, having visited Sir Henry Palmer by the way. I baited some hour or more at Canterbury, and took horse again and came home to my house [at] New Dock<sup>2</sup> a little after four in the afternoon; giving God hearty

<sup>1</sup> This word is lost, the margin being torn away; these six words are not in the Harleian copy.

<sup>2</sup> Chatham.

thanks for my safe return, finding my wife, family and friends in a reasonable health.

The 28th of August, the Sovereign came safe to her moorings at St. Mary Creek, being Tuesday.

The 8th of September my dear wife sickened, taken with a violent fever, being then great with child.

The 19th of September, being Wednesday, between 8 and 9 clock in the morning, she departed this life in a most Christian manner, surrendering up her spirit into His hands that gave it her; the next day after, being Thursday, she was buried in a seemly manner in Chatham Church, close by the side of my first wife, leaving me a sorrowful and disconsolate husband.

Within few days after, deceased also my wife's one <sup>1</sup> sister and next neighbour, wife to Mr. John Short, Clerk of the Check to his Majesty's Navy.<sup>2</sup> They sickened together, she also being with child, and knew not of one and tother's death. Soon after died Mr. Etherington, their own father, at Mr. Short's house, who came thither purposely to visit them.

After I had a little passed over this great and sudden affliction, I prepared myself to go for London; and having set all things in order, on Thursday morning, the 27th of September, 1638, I took leave of my family at Chatham and rode to Gravesend, thence took boat to Woolwich where I stayed one night, and next day, accompanied with my son Peter, we went by water to Kingston, where we took up our lodging in a private house, the inns being full. The next day, being Sunday, we went by water to Hampton Court, where we presented ourselves to his Majesty, who was pleased to use us very graciously, where we spent

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps intended for 'own.'

<sup>2</sup> At Chatham.

that whole day, at night returning by water to our lodging at Kingston.

Next morning, my son and myself rode to Sion,<sup>1</sup> to wait upon the Lord Admiral, and was presently commanded by him to hasten to Chatham to prepare barges and boats to be sent to Dover for the receiving on shore the Queen Mother,<sup>2</sup> expected to arrive and land there

*(Here the manuscript ends.)*

<sup>1</sup> Sion House at Brentford, the seat of the Duke of Northumberland, who had been appointed on 13th April to act for the young Duke of York, declared Lord High Admiral for life at the Council on 18th March.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* of France. Marie de Medicis, widow of Henri IV. and mother of Queen Henrietta Maria ; she landed at Harwich on 18th October.



## APPENDICES

### I

Grant to Phineas Pett. 26th April 1604

(*In Latin*)

[Pat. Roll 1646]

The King<sup>1</sup> to all to whom etc. greeting. Whereas our dearest Sister Elizabeth late deceased Queen of England by her letters patent under the great seal of England bearing date at Westminster the twenty-third day of January in the twenty-sixth year<sup>2</sup> of her reign gave and granted for herself her heirs and successors unto Mathew Baker and John Addey Shipwrights and to the longer liver of either of them among other<sup>3</sup> things a certain annuity or annual rent of twelve pence sterling a day : to have and to receive yearly the said annuity or annual rent of twelve pence sterling a day to the aforesaid Matthew Baker and John Addey and their assigns and to the longer liver of either of them from the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord then last past before the date of the same letters patent during the natural life of the same Mathew Baker and John Addey and the longer liver of either of them from her Treasury and that of her heirs and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster of herself her heirs and successors at the

<sup>1</sup> In the enrolment this is given simply as 'Rex'; in the original the commencement would be 'Jacobus Dei Gratia,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> 23 Jan. 1584

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the office of Master Shipwright with its emoluments.

hands of the Treasurer and Chamberlain of her her heirs and successors there for the time in being at the four terms of the year namely at the Feast of the Annunciation of the B.V. Mary of St. John the Baptist of St. Michael the Archangel and of the Nativity of the Lord in equal portions. And whereas also our same dearest Sister Elizabeth by other letters patent under the great seal of England bearing date at Westminster the twenty-ninth day of July in the thirty-second year of her reign<sup>1</sup> gave and granted for herself her heirs and successors to Joseph Pett Shipwright another annuity or annual fee of twelve pence a day of lawful money of England ; to have hold and receive unto the same Joseph Pett and his assigns during the natural life of the same Joseph Pett from the Treasury of her her heirs and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster by the hands of the Treasurer and Chamberlain there and from time to time existing, as by the several said letters patent more plainly doth appear. Which said Mathew Baker and John Addey and Joseph Pett to this day remain alive and to this present have and enjoy the said several annuities by virtue of the several letters patent aforesaid. Know ye that we of our special grace and sure knowledge and mere motion also in consideration of the good true and faithful service to us done and hereafter to be done by our beloved and faithful subject Phineas Pett now serving our dearest son Henry Prince of Wales both in the building of the ships of us our heirs and successors and in his attendance on our marine affairs and causes have given and granted and by these presents for ourself our heirs and successors do give and grant to the same Phineas Pett that annuity or annual fee of twelve pence sterling a day of good and lawful money of England out of the two above named annuities whichever first after the date of these presents by death resignation surrender or composition of any one of the aforesaid Mathew Baker and John Addey and Joseph Pett or in any other manner shall have become vacant or determined or shall hereafter become vacant or cease. To have hold enjoy

<sup>1</sup> 29 July 1590.

and receive the said annuity or annual fee of twelve pence a day as is in manner aforesaid vacated or determined or shall hereafter determine to the aforesaid Phineas Pett or his assigns for the term of the natural life of the same Phineas immediately from the time at which either of those annuities shall first become vacant or determine as aforesaid from the Treasury of us our heirs and successors at the Receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster by the hands of the Treasurers and Chamberlains of us our heirs and successors there from time to time in being at the four terms of the year namely at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel the Nativity of the Lord the Annunciation of the B.V. Mary and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in equal portions to the aforesaid Phineas Pett or his assigns during the natural life of the same Phineas Pett annually to be paid the first payment thereupon commencing at that feast of the aforesaid feasts which first and nearest shall fall after one of the two separate aforesaid annuities of twelve pence a day shall become vacant or determined in the mode and fashion above specified. Although express mention etc. In witness etc. Witness the King<sup>1</sup> at Westminster the 26th day of April.

By writ of Privy Seal.

## II

Petition of Shipwrights for Incorporation (?) 1578

*(No signatures or date)*

[S.P. Dom., Eliz., ccxxvii. 63]

To the right honourable the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

In most humble and reverent wise do complain unto your honours as well the M<sup>r</sup>. Shipwrights of her Majesty's Ships, as also all other of the same art, that take charge over any of that faculty, be it in ships,

<sup>1</sup> In the original this would be 'meipso'; myself.

boats, barges, or any such like vessels, both appertaining to her Majesty or her Highness' subjects, specially within the liberty of the Thames and other places near adjoining to the same. In the which place, as all kind of vessels are greatly increased, so are the artificers likewise augmented, only in number, but less in skill, whereby such as do use them are not only deceived but also the work greatly endangered. Besides their manners are mutinous even in her Majesty's service, and their exactions intolerable amongst her Majesty's subjects. These and many other enormities, which daily increase to the great grief of many her Majesty's good and honest subjects, may bring the art to a ruinous state.

In tender consideration of the premises we humbly pray your Honours to be a mean unto her Highness that a Corporation may be granted in such reasonable form as her Majesty's learned Council shall allow of, and be thought meet for us; whereby her Majesty in her own Navy shall be more safely and dutifully served, the whole State through the Realm better furnished, and we daily bound to pray to Almighty God both for her Majesty and your Honours' most happy and prosperous estate.

### III

Charter to Shipwrights, 22nd April 1605.

[Pat. Roll. 1684]

*[Parts in italics abbreviated to save space]*

James &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting. Whereas we are credibly informed as well by our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor Charles Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England and Captain General of our Navy Royal as also by our principal officers of our said Navy how slenderly and deceitfully as well our own ships and barges as also other ships boats pinnaces and like vessels of our merchants and other our subjects used in continual service and traffic are made and wrought to the great loss danger and

prejudice of us and our said subjects and also of the great and wasteful charge and expense which we do from time to time bear and sustain in building and repairing our own ships and pinnaces which are and have been the chiefest and greatest defence of this our Realm from the assaults of such enemies as have practised the overthrow of the same. We weighing the manifold dangers losses and hindrances which may and are likely more and more to ensue thereof if speedy remedy be not therefore had and provided, and to the end that the fittest and ablest shipwrights and workmen may from time to time as cause shall require be made known unto our principal officers of our Navy and to be employed for wages for the building repairing and making of our own ships and pinnaces as also may have the oversight of all such other workmen as shall from time to time be employed or shall intermeddle in building of other ships pinnaces or vessels for other our merchants and subjects for the further more better and continual service of us our Realm and subjects. Know ye therefore that we intending to provide for the better strengthening of this our Realm with shipping for the defence and service thereof and to the intent that as well our self as also our merchants and other our subjects may from time to time hereafter be furnished stored and supplied with skilful shipwrights and workmen of that kind to work upon our Navy and other ships and vessels for the better suppressing of deceits and other abuses which may hereafter be practised by divers persons which shall take upon them without sufficient skill and knowledge to make or repair ships pinnaces and other vessels to the great danger and hindrance as well of our self as of divers other our loving subjects, of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion have given granted constituted and ordained and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do grant constitute and ordain that all and every person and persons being shipwrights or carpenters using the Art or Mystery of building and making of ships within this our Realm of England and Dominion of Wales shall be from henceforth forever one body corporate and body politic in matter deed and name by the name of

Master, Wardens and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of Shipwrights of England. . . . [*To be*] one Master and four Wardens and twelve Assistants . . . do assign name ordain and constitute our well-beloved subject Mathew Baker our servant and ancientest Master Shipwright to be the first Master . . . Joseph Pett and William Bright two other of our Master Shipwrights, Edward Stephens of Limehouse and Nicholas Symonson of Ratcliffe in the county of Middlesex Shipwrights to be the first four Wardens. . . . John Adye of Deptford in our county of Kent, Phineas Pett of Chatham in our county of Kent, John Apslyn of our said town and county, Peter Pett of Wapping in our county of Middlesex, Nicholas Cley of Redriff in our county of Surrey, Thomas Cole of Woodbridge in our county of Suffolk, Robert Wilkinson of Ipswich in our county of Suffolk, James Russell of Southwark in our said county of Surrey, John Head of our City of Bristol, Esau Whitehead of our town of Southampton in our county of Southampton, Thomas Dymocke of Horsey Downe<sup>1</sup> in our said county of Surrey and Thomas Pryme of Yarmouth in our county of Norfolk, Shipwrights, to be the first and present twelve Assistants. . . .

[*Power to hold and dispose of real property ; to plead and defend in any Court ; to have a common seal.*]

[*To meet in a*] convenient house or hall for their use to be by them provided within the City of London or Suburbs<sup>2</sup> of the same or within five miles of the said City . . . Nicholas Rabye Gent. to be the first and present Clerk. . . .

[*Power to meet in their hall and*] to entreat consult determine constitute ordain and make any Constitutions Statutes Laws Ordinances Articles and Orders whatsoever . . . touching or concerning the good estate rule order and good government of the said Master Wardens and Commonalty . . . and in what Order and manner the said Master Wardens and Commonalty . . . and all other person and persons using the said art or mystery within

<sup>1</sup> Horsleydown, below the Tower, on the opposite shore.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'Subberbes.'

this Realm of England or Dominion of Wales shall demean and behave themselves [*with power to punish offenders. . . . Power to*] view search and survey all and every the Works and Workmanship of all and every person or persons whatsoever making working or building or which hereafter shall make work or build any manner of ships, pinnaces or other vessels and all manner of timber and wood appointed provided and fitted for the building of ships . . . [*Ships found to be*] falsely and deceitfully and untruly made wrought and builded [*timber, wood, &c. to be put in safe custody and complaint made to Justices of Peace. . . .*] [*Power to*] buy and provide in any the places beyond the seas all such timber planks masts deals spars and wood and also all pitch, tar, rosin and oil as they shall think necessary and convenient for the building or repairing of ships pinnaces or other vessels [*and bring same to England or Wales on payment of custom and other duties. Since the Master Wardens and Commonalty*] are to be as occasion shall be offered employed and attendant upon the Navigation of Us [*etc., the said Master Wardens and Commonalty shall not*] be enforced put placed or impannelled in or upon any Assises Juries Inquests or Attaints whatsoever [*nor*] be pressed or enforced to serve . . . as land soldiers. . . .

[*Power to elect Beadles to gather fines penalties &c. and distrain. Power to hold land, tithes &c.*]

Witness ourself at Westminster the two and twentieth day of April.

By writ of Privy Seal.

#### IV

#### *Charter to Shipwrights, 6th May 1612*

[Pat. Roll 1951]

[*The first nineteen lines as in the Charter of 1605.*]

. . . if speedy remedy be not therefore had and provided, and intending to provide for the strengthening of these our Kingdoms and Dominions with sufficient shipping

for defence and service thereof, and to the intent that as well ourself might from time to time be furnished stored and supplied with the fittest and ablest shipwrights and workmen for the building making and repairing of our own ships pinnaces and other vessels as also that our merchants and other our subjects might also in their works and buildings from time to time be stored and supplied with skilful and sufficient shipwrights and workmen, and for the better suppressing of deceits and abuses of divers persons which should take upon them without sufficient skill and knowledge to make or repair any ships boats pinnaces or other vessels, to the great danger and hindrance as well of ourself as of divers other our loving subjects, We did by our letters patent under the great seal of England bearing date the two and twentieth day of April in the years of our reign of England France and Ireland the third and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth incorporate the Company of Shipwrights and the persons being shipwrights or carpenters using the art or mystery of building and making of ships within our realm of England and Dominion of Wales by the name of Master Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of Shipwrights of England, and did grant unto them by our said charter or letters patent divers privileges liberties and immunities mentioned and contained in the said letters patent tending to the reformation of the said abuses and deceits. And whereas divers defects and imperfections have been since by experience found to be in the said charter as well in the extent thereof to what persons it should extend as also in the want of sufficient authority and means to govern and order the said corporation and the men and members thereof and the affairs of the same and the shipwrights workmen apprentices and servants using the said art and for want of power and means to reform prevent order and correct many contempts misdemeanours deceits and offences in the said art or mystery and the matters and things thereunto appertaining and to punish stubborn obstinate and disobedient persons of that profession, whereby great and manifold errors deceits and inconveniences are still



practised and continued to the great hindrance of the navigation of this Kingdom the often loss and hazard of men's lives and goods and the special prejudice of our own service and the Commonwealth, know ye that we for reformation amendment and supply of the defects and imperfections aforesaid and for redress of the said great and manifold errors enormities deceits and inconveniences, at the humble petition of the said Master Wardens and Commonalty, and for the great desire we have that good and convenient laws orders and ordinances should be established and used in and about the said Corporation and Company and the said art and mystery, and for the advancement of the good estate of the shipping and navigation of this Kingdom to the good service both of ourself and the Commonwealth, have of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion granted constituted and ordained, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do grant constitute and ordain, that all and every person and persons being shipwrights caulkers or ship-carpenters or in any sort using exercising practising or professing the art trade skill or mystery of building making trimming dressing graving launching winding drawing stocking or repairing of ships carvels hoys pinnaces crayers ketches lighters boats barges wherries or any other vessel or vessels whatsoever used for navigation fishing or transportation within or about our realm of England and Dominion of Wales or of making trimming or repairing of masts tops pullies pumps for ships oars or any other instruments or appurtenances of wood thereunto belonging or any other carpentry work whatsoever belonging to or used occupied or employed in or about any ships pinnaces or other vessel or vessels above mentioned or in any sort appertaining to shipping sailing rowing stocking launching or navigation shall from henceforth for ever be and shall be taken and accounted to be one body corporate and politic in matter deed and name by the name of Master Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith in the County of Surrey and them by the name of Master Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of Shipwrights

of Redrith in the County of Surrey We do for us our heirs and successors really fully and wholly erect make ordain create incorporate constitute and declare by these presents one body corporate and politic in matter deed and name. And . . . the said Master Wardens and Commonalty of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid shall from henceforth have perpetual succession, and . . . shall be at all times hereafter a body corporate and politic able and capable in deed and in law to have hold occupy possess enjoy and retain all and singular usages customs liberties privileges immunities jurisdictions franchises pre-eminences benefits profits and commodities whatsoever to them heretofore granted or belonging or hereafter to be granted or to be belonging or incident requisite or fit to or for them or for such a corporation to have and enjoy of what kind nature or quality soever they shall be to them and their successors for ever.

*[Power to hold and dispose of lands and other properties ; to sue and be sued ; to have a common seal.]*

And further we will and for us our heirs and successors we do grant by these presents, that from henceforth for ever there be and shall be one Master three Wardens and sixteen Assistants of the said corporation art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid to be constituted and chosen in such manner and form as hereafter in these presents is expressed and specified. And for the better execution of the premises and also for the good rule and government of the Master Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of Shipwrights aforesaid from time to time forever we have assigned named ordained and constituted . . . our well-beloved subject Phineas Pett our servant and ancient Master Shipwright to be the first Master of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights, willing that the said Phineas Pett be and shall continue Master of the said art or mystery from the day of the date of these presents until the morrow after the Feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle now next ensuing and then and from thenceforth until some other meet and sufficient man of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights aforesaid be elected and sworn to execute

the said office of Master of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents expressed and limited, if the said Phineas Pett shall so long live, unless the said Phineas Pett shall happen in the mean time for some misgovernment or other just cause to be removed, whom for such just cause we will and ordain to be removable according to the form herein expressed. And also we have assigned ordained named and constituted . . . our well-beloved subjects William Burrell Nicholas Simonson and Thomas Dymock three other shipwrights to be the first three Wardens of the art or mystery of Shipwrights aforesaid. . . . And moreover for the better assistance and counsel of the said Master and Wardens in and about the execution of their several offices, we have assigned named ordained and constituted . . . our well-beloved subjects Mathew Baker William Bright Edward Stephens Nicholas Clay John Apslyn Peter Pett Thomas Jenkins John Graves Robert Bourne James Marsh William Hedger Thomas Wells William Picks John May Edmond Jordon and Richard Watford to be the first and present sixteen Assistants of the said art or mystery, willing that they the said [*names as before*] and all other assistants of the said art or mystery for the time being shall be and continue Assistants of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid for and during their natural lives and shall from time to time be aiding counselling and assisting unto the said Master and Wardens for the better government rule and direction of the said Master Wardens and Commonalty of the said art or mystery and every member thereof, unless they or any of them shall be removed from the said place of assistant or assistants for some misdemeanour or other just cause, whom for such just cause we likewise will and ordain to be removable according to the form herein also expressed. And for the better establishment of this our good intention and purpose and for the perpetual and constant continuance direction rule and government of the whole body of the said art or mystery and every member thereof we will and ordain that on the morrow next after the said Feast

of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle yearly hereafter the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights aforesaid for the time being or the greater part of them for that intent and purpose to be assembled at or in their common house or hall shall elect choose and nominate one person who hath formerly been Warden of the said art or mystery to be Master of the said art or mystery for the next year then following, and shall at the same time and place elect choose and nominate out of the said Assistants three that shall likewise be Wardens of the said art or mystery, which said Master and Wardens so as aforesaid nominated elected and chosen shall be and continue Master and Wardens of the said art or mystery unto the end and term of one whole year then next ensuing and further until some other Master and Wardens shall be respectively elected and preferred and chosen thereunto, they and every of them first taking a corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelist before the Master and Wardens being their last predecessors or any two of them or before the assistants of the said corporation art or mystery or the greatest part of them for the due execution of their several offices respectively, and also the oath commonly called the Oath of Supremacy, which oaths we do by these presents give power and authority to the said Master and Wardens for the time being or any two of them or to the said Assistants or the greater part of them to minister and take of the said person or persons so elected accordingly, and then every such Master Warden and Wardens so removed shall then instantly be chosen and elected to be Assistant or Assistants and so to remain Assistant or Assistants in the room and place of him or them that shall be so chosen out of the said Assistants to be Master Warden or Wardens, first taking his or their corporal oath or oaths. . . .

*[Power to majorities to remove Master, Wardens, or Assistants for misdemeanour and elect others in vacancies caused by removal or death.]*

*[Fine not exceeding 10l. for refusing or neglecting the office of Master or Warden, or not exceeding 20 nobles in case of the office of Assistants.]*

And . . . there shall or may be from henceforth for ever in all and every convenient and needful place and places of our kingdom of England and dominion of Wales one or more honest sufficient and skilful person or persons of the said art or mystery which shall be and shall be called the deputy or deputies of the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Corporation art or mystery, to be from time to time hereafter elected nominated and appointed by the said Master Wardens and Assistants or four of them, whereof the Master and one of the Wardens of the said corporation art or mystery for the time being to be always two, and to continue in the place or places of deputy or deputies of the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said corporation art or mystery for the time being from the time of their said election for the space of one whole year next ensuing or until he be for some just cause removed and some other of the said corporation art or mystery be elected nominated and sworn to the said office or place of deputy or deputies according to the true intent and meaning of these presents. . . . And we will ordain and command that every person that shall be from henceforth named and chosen to be deputy or deputies to the said Master Wardens and Assistants during the time that he or they or any of them shall continue in his or their office or offices place or places of deputyship do and shall from time to time employ the uttermost of his and their endeavours abilities and skill in the due execution of this our charter and letters patent and of every branch article and thing therein contained and of all good and wholesome laws orders and ordinances which at any time hereafter shall be made and constituted by the said Master Wardens and Assistants in every respect according to the true intent and meaning of the same and of these presents, and in all other causes matters and things concerning the good and welfare of the said art and mystery, and that they the said deputies for the time being and every of them shall be from time to time accomptable to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors for all sums of money profits and commodities by them or any of them to be collected or

received by reason or in respect of his said office or offices place or places of deputy or deputies, and shall further before he or they execute or undertake the same office or place of deputy or deputies take a corporal oath . . . for the true and due execution of the said office and place, and also the oath commonly called the Oath of Supremacy. . . . And . . . if any person or persons so named or elected to be deputy or deputies to the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said corporation art or mystery for the time being as aforesaid shall accept the same office and deputation and then after shall wilfully and obstinately without good and just cause or excuse refuse to attend or execute the same, so as no person so nominated be compelled against his will to hold such place of deputation above the space of two years together, that then the said Master Wardens and Assistants or the more part of them shall or may impose upon every such person so refusing to exercise the said office or place after such acceptance thereof as aforesaid a reasonable fine not exceeding twenty nobles, to be levied and paid to the use of the said corporation. And further we will and by these presents . . . do grant unto the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors that they . . . and their successors shall and may have take and entertain one honest and discreet person in manner and form hereafter in these presents expressed to be nominated and chosen which shall be and be called the Clerk of the said corporation art or mystery of Shipwrights. And we have assigned made constituted named and ordained . . . our well-beloved subject and servant Richard Newman gent. to be the present Clerk of the said corporation art or mystery, to be and continue in the said office during the term of his natural life, unless he for some misdemeanour shall be removed or dismissed or shall surrender the same . . . [*with power to company to choose successor*]. [*Power to*] name and appoint any other inferior Officers Ministers and Members as shall be needful and expedient in to or for the said corporation art or mystery or the good government and affairs thereof [*and to remove them*]. [*Power to*] admit receive

and take in whatsoever person or persons being our natural born subjects as well within this our realm of England as in other our Dominions and places being under our obeisance and not otherwise which would be and are or shall be willing and desirous to be of the said corporation as a member or members thereof, and that all and every person and persons so to be admitted received and taken in by the said Master Wardens and Assistants or the more part of them shall from the time of his or their admission be called and accompted a brother and member or freeman of the said Corporation in deed and in name . . . [*and power to remove them*]. And to the intent that as well our self our heirs and successors as also all our merchants and other our subjects may from time to time hereafter be better furnished stored and supplied with cunning skilful and sufficient Shipwrights and workmen of that kind for the making building and repairing of ships pinnaces and other vessels, and for the avoiding suppressing or preventing as much as in us lieth of the manifold abuses and deceits therein daily practised and committed by such persons as are altogether unskilful, having never been trained or brought up as apprentices in the said art or mystery according to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, we do therefore . . . will and grant to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith and to their successors forever that every Freeman of the said company shall and may from time to time hereafter have take and keep one or more apprentice or apprentices to be trained and brought up under him in the said trade art or mystery of Shipwright, and that every such apprentice shall be by covenants bound by and to his master that shall entertain him as aforesaid duly and truly to serve him as his apprentice for and during the full space and term of seven years at the least, and to be ordered and used to all intents and purposes according to the custom of the city of London, and that the same covenant of apprenticeship be made by writing indented and registered or enrolled at their common hall before themselves in their said corporation by their Clerk or his

sufficient deputy or deputies for the time being, and that such enrolment shall be good and effectual in the law to all intents and purposes against us our heirs and successors and against all other person or persons whatsoever, any law statute custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Willing and by these presents for us our heirs and successors straitly charging and commanding that no shipwright caulker or shipcarpenter or any other being a Freeman of the said company and using exercising practising or professing the said trade skill art or mystery of building making trimming dressing graving launching drawing stocking or repairing of any ships pinnaces or other vessel or vessels whatsoever for navigation or traffic shall or may at any time or times hereafter receive have entertain or keep any apprentice or other servant being not already free of the said Corporation or not having served with some other shipwright in the same trade, to be used exercised trained or brought up under him in the said trade art or mystery as aforesaid except he first cause every such his servant or apprentice to be bound unto him by indenture for the said term of seven years at the least or for so many years as together with the years which he hath served in the said trade as aforesaid shall make up the number of seven years, and do likewise cause his said indenture of apprenticeship to be registered or enrolled before the Clerk of the Company or his deputy for the time being as aforesaid within one month next after the taking thereof, upon pain of our heavy displeasure and of such fine or other punishment as by the laws and statutes of this realm or by the laws and ordinances already made or hereafter to be made by the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said art or mystery for the time being or the greater part of them according to the true intent and meaning hereof shall or may be inflicted upon him or them that shall offend therein. [*Power to*] assemble convocate and congregate themselves together at or in their common hall or house being now at Redrith in the County of Surrey or in any other place or places for the same convenient, and then and there to keep Courts and consultation for the said



corporation art or mystery and the affairs thereof, and the perquisites issues and profits of the said Court or Courts so to be held and kept to leave take and perceive to and for the use of the said Corporation for the better maintenance and preservation thereof, without any account to be made or rendered to us our heirs or successors in that behalf. [*And power*] then and there to treat consult commune determine and agree amongst themselves or with any other person or persons whatsoever, of upon and concerning the good estate benefit conversation and wholesome rule government and ordering of the said Corporation art or mystery and the men apprentices workmen workmanship and all other the affairs and things to the same belonging or thereupon in any wise depending, and at in and upon such their assemblies meetings and conferences to make ordain and constitute such and so many good wholesome and reasonable laws statutes articles constitutions orders and ordinances whatsoever as to them or the greater part of them being then and there present, whereof the Master and one of the Wardens for the time being to be always two, shall seem reasonable necessary meet and convenient for touching or concerning the premises, and for the better advancement performance and continuance of the same, and also for the better directing how and in what order and manner the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and all other person and persons using the said art or mystery within our said realm of England or Dominion of Wales shall demean and behave themselves as well in all and singular matters and things touching or concerning the said art or mystery or any thing thereunto appertaining as also in their several offices functions ministries and businesses touching or concerning the said art or mystery as aforesaid, and the same laws orders articles and constitutions so made or any of them to put in use and execute accordingly, and at their will again to revoke alter or change when and as often as occasion shall thereto require. [*The Regulations, &c., when*] entered and registered in some public book to be kept for that purpose . . . shall be holden as laws ordinances and statutes amongst them

to be put in use and execution, and shall bind all persons of the said Corporation art or mystery and all shipwrights and workmen of that profession in any place port haven or town within our said realm of England and dominion of Wales, as well the subjects of the same our realm and dominions as strangers and aliens for and during the time of their being in or upon any part of our said realm coasts or dominions or any creeks or harbours of the same, to observe obey and perform the same from time to time in all things as the same ought to be, upon the pains penalties and punishments in the same to be imposed inflicted and limited so always as the said laws statutes articles orders ordinances pains penalties and punishments and every of them be agreeable to reason and justice and not contrary or repugnant to the laws statutes rights or customs of this our realm of England, nor derogatory to the jurisdictions and pre-eminences of the Lord High Admiral of England for the time being or to the Court of Admiralty of England or the Judges Register or Marshall of that Court for the time being or any of them. [*Power to impose*] pains penalties punishments fines ameracements and forfeitures . . . and for default of payment . . . to distrain the goods and chattels of such offender and the same to keep till they shall be satisfied or otherwise to bring their action for the same according to law. And . . . all and singular fines forfeitures sum and sums of money whatsoever due or hereafter to be due and received by reason of the said decrees orders or ordinances shall be to the use commodity and sole benefit and behoof of the said Corporation without any accompt or other thing therefore to us our heirs or successors to be yielded paid rendered made or done in that behalf, and without any let trouble molestation or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever for the same. [*Powers*] by writing under their common seal . . . to ask levy have receive and take in all and every place and places within our said realm of England and Dominion of Wales as well of every Master Workman Shipwright or other person or persons that shall hereafter make or build or cause to be made or built any new ship or ships vessel or

vessels of the burthen of one hundred ton or more or less all and singular such profits dues duties fees allowances sum and sums of money whatsoever after such rate and in such manner and form as at any time or times heretofore themselves or their predecessors by any name or names of corporation by under or by force and virtue of any former charter or letters patent by them or any of them given or granted or by any other lawful and reasonable way or means have or ought to have received had taken or enjoyed the same by way of tonnage quarterage poundage or otherwise, and also all and every such fines ameracements penalties sum and sums of money as shall be by force and virtue of these our letters patent or any their laws orders ordinances statutes or jurisdictions already made or hereafter to be made for the good government of the said company assessed or imposed upon any person or persons whatsoever . . . [and] to enter and distrain any the goods and chattels of the person or persons so offending denying or withholding the same in any place or places whatsoever where the same goods and chattels or any of them shall or may be found . . . and . . . to sue for and recover the same dues duties allowances fines ameracements penalties impositions sum and sums of money in any of our Court or Courts of Record . . . And to the end that the secret of the said art or mystery and the manner of our English building and new making of ships pinnaces and other vessels should for more strength and safety of our realms and kingdoms be kept secret to and within ourselves and our said realms and dominions and altogether unknown to aliens and strangers of other Nations, our will and pleasure is and we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors straitly charge and command that no person or persons whatsoever of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights do at any time or times hereafter directly or indirectly by any ways or means whatsoever presume or attempt to discover or make known to any foreigner or stranger not being a natural born subject of us our heirs or successors or not being naturalised or indenized nor to any other person or persons not being free and sworn of

and to the said Corporation nor being a servant or apprentice to the said art or mystery the secrets of the said trade art or mystery or the special manner of our English building or new making of ships pinnaces or other vessels as aforesaid, nor do take any alien or stranger born being not naturalised or indenized to be his or their apprentice or servant, upon pain of our high displeasure and of such further punishment as by the laws and statutes of this realm or the ordinances and laws so made or to be made by the said Master Wardens and Assistants or the greater part of them as aforesaid can or may be inflicted upon such offender or offenders for the same. And to the end our will and pleasure herein may be the better observed and performed and the offender punished we do further by these presents give and grant [*power to*] impose upon every such offender a reasonable fine according to the quality of his offence at the discretion of the said Master Wardens and Assistants or the more part of them, the same fine to be forfeited and paid by the person or persons so offending to the sole benefit use and behoof of the said Corporation for the better maintenance and upholding of the same and relieving of the poor of the said Corporation. [*Power*] to examine and punish by fine or such other correction as the quality of the offence shall deserve and require every person which shall unlawfully depart or go away from his work after he hath been hired or agreed withal for wages before the time or times of his retainer or retainers be expired, or shall be found to grow mutinous stubborn or disobedient or in any way a provoker seducer or enticer of any other to any mutiny or disobedience to the hurt injury or likelihood of hurt or injury of the said Corporation or of the good government and order therein or of any service whatsoever, and also to examine hear and order all and every the complaints of or against any shipwright or other workmen of the said Corporation art or profession or of or against any of his or their journeymen apprentices or servants. And of our more ample grace certain knowledge and mere motion and for the better suppressing and reformation of the deceits and abuses first above mentioned [*power*

*given*] to and for the said Master and Wardens or any two of them for the time being and also to and for any two of the said Assistants or other two persons being skilful or which hereafter shall be skilful in the said art or mystery being thereunto deputed and authorised by writing under the common seal of the said Master Wardens and Commonalty, first taking his or their corporal oath or oaths upon the Evangelist . . . for the due execution of their said offices or places . . . at all convenient time or times, taking with them if need so require a constable or any other his Majesty's officer or officers of the city town or place, to search view and survey all manner of timber wood and other stuff provided prepared and fitted for the building making or repairing of any ships pinnaces or other vessels in any place or places whatsoever within our realm of England and dominion of Wales or in either of them, and also to search view and survey all and every the works and workmanship of all and every person and persons whatsoever in making working building or repairing . . . any manner of ships pinnaces boats or other vessels whatsoever within our said realm of England and dominion of Wales or either of them, and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master and Wardens or any two of them or their deputies so authorised as aforesaid all and singular ships pinnaces boats and other vessels hereafter to be built to view search and survey, and such of them whereof the timber work at the time of such search shall not be fully finished and which at the time of such search view or survey so to be made as aforesaid shall be found to be so insufficiently falsely and deceitfully made wrought or repaired as they must needs be by that means dangerous to such as shall use or employ them, to arrest and stay until the same shall be reformed amended repaired and made fit for navigation. And our further will and pleasure is that if the said persons before by these presents authorised to make such search as aforesaid or any of them shall happen to find any sappy wood red wood or other insufficient wood or timber to be put into any ships pinnaces or other vessels or hewn wrought and fitted for that

purpose, that then the said persons or any of them shall forthwith charge and warn the makers or owners of such ships pinnaces or other vessels forthwith to take away the said sappy wood red wood and other insufficient wood and timber and to supply the same with other sufficient timber and wood. And if within convenient time after such charge and warning given as is aforesaid the said sappy wood red wood and other insufficient wood and timber be not taken away and the same supplied with other good and sufficient timber and wood as is aforesaid, that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master and Wardens or any two of them or any two of the said Assistants or any such deputy or deputies as aforesaid to take and deface all such sappy wood and red wood and all and singular such other timber and wood which upon any such search and view and after convenient admonition and warning given to take the same away and to supply it with better and more sufficient wood and timber they shall find to be put in or apparently intended to be put into any ship pinnace or other vessel or hewn and cut out or wrought for that purpose, manifestly tending to the prejudice and damage of us our heirs and successors or of any other our loving subjects merchants and mariners whose goods and lives are hazarded and often lost by reason of such ill stuff, the use of all which sappy and red wood and other insufficient stuff we do hereby for us our heirs and successors straitly prohibit and restrain to be used or employed in any sort in or upon any ship or other vessel. [*Power*] to impose and inflict such punishment upon every offender in that behalf either by fine or imprisonment or both of them as by the laws or statutes of this realm or by any laws or ordinances to be made by the said Corporation as is aforesaid shall or may be imposed or inflicted upon them for their offences in that behalf or otherwise that the said Master and Wardens or any two of them or such other person or persons so authorised as aforesaid and which upon such search shall find any of the deceits and abuses aforesaid shall complain thereof to some Justice or Justices of Peace within that place or county

where such deceits and abuses shall be found. And we do . . . straitly charge and command all and every our Justice and Justices of the Peace whatsoever to whom any such complaint or complaints shall so be made as is aforesaid that they and every of them shall by all good and lawful ways and means examine and find out the truth of the said complaints abuses and deceits, and if upon due examination thereof they shall find that any such abuses and deceits have been committed as aforesaid, that then they cause the party or parties so offending to be indicted or otherwise punished for such his and their abuses and deceits either before our Justices of Peace in the county where the same abuses and deceits shall be committed and found at their Sessions of the Peace or before the Justices of Assize of the same county or before any other lawful judge or judges, to the end that the said person or persons so offending may receive such condign punishment as by the laws and statutes of this realm can or may be inflicted upon him or them for his or their offence or offences in that behalf. And . . . we do . . . straitly charge and command the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said art or mystery and their successors for the time being that once in every month at the least such search be made as is aforesaid, and that the authority hereby in that behalf to them given be put in due execution without any respect of persons or partiality whatsoever. Provided always nevertheless and our will and pleasure is that neither the Master nor Wardens of the said art or mystery for the time being or any their deputy or deputies so authorised to search as is aforesaid shall not by colour of these letters patent meddle with or do anything to the hindrance stay or prevention of any ship pinnace or other vessel that is or shall be at the time of such their search as aforesaid ready to go forth for an intended voyage or journey or the master owner mariners sailors or other officers of the same, any thing in these presents to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. [*Power*] to buy and provide in any the places beyond the Seas all such timber planks masts deals spars and wood and wooden stuff and also

all pitch tar rosin and oil as they shall think necessary and convenient for the building or repairing graving or fitting of ships pinnaces or other vessels, and the same so bought and provided shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter bring or cause to be brought into this our realm of England and dominion of Wales or any part or place thereof and the same discharge and lay on land, paying to us our heirs and successors the full Custom poundage and other duties due or which hereafter shall be due to us our heirs or successors any law statute custom proclamation or any other matter cause or thing to the contrary notwithstanding. And whereas for the better maintenance of navigation and encouragement of our loving subjects to increase shipping within this our realm there is and hath been of ancient time an allowance given by us and our predecessors of five shillings sterling for every ton of any new builded ship to be rated according to the burthen of the said ship did contain in burthen one hundred tons or upwards in ton and tonnage, which laudable custom we being pleased to continue, and finding it also convenient as well for the avoiding of abuses that might be offered in rating and setting down the tonnage of the said ships and otherwise as also that the builder might have his right and due allowance of tonnage, to appoint some person or persons of knowledge and experience for the surveying and overseeing of the true rates and tonnage in that behalf, we did by our letters patent under our great seal of England bearing date the four and twentieth day of April in the third year of our reign give and grant to John Grent gent. for and during his natural life the office and place of surveyor of the tonnage and burthen of all new builded ships of the burthen above mentioned or upwards from time to time within this our realm of England, together with the wages and fee of twelve pence by the day of lawful money of England for the exercising of the said office or place, together with all and singular other fees profits commodities and allowances whatsoever to the same place or office in any wise due incident or appertaining, with a proviso or clause therein contained that the said John Grent in the rating



and setting down of the tonnage and burden of the said new builded ships from time to time should use the advice and assistance of one of our shipwrights to be nominated and appointed by our High Admiral of England for the time being, and that all and every such bill of tonnage as should be presented to us to be signed for the said allowance of five shillings upon every ton of the burden of the said ship should be first allowed under the hand of the said surveyor and signed by the said Admiral or his deputy for the time being as hath been accustomed. And whereas by our letters patent bearing date the eight and twentieth day of January in the fourth year of our reign we did grant or mention to grant unto Humfrey Jobson gent. for and during his natural life the reversion of the said office or place of surveyor of the tonnage and burden of all new builded ships of the burden of one hundred ton above mentioned or upwards from time to time within our realm of England next after the death forfeiture or surrender of the said John Grent, together with the wages and fee of twelve pence a day for the exercising of the said office and place and all and singular other fees profits commodities and allowances whatsoever to the same place or office in any wise due incident or appertaining, as in and by the said two several letters patent more at large appeareth, and whereas of late we have been much wronged defrauded and abused in that sundry of the said ships for want of exact viewing surveying and measuring have been overrated in their burden and tonnage, whereby we have been charged with the payment of a greater allowance than in truth we ought to have been, know ye therefore that we reposing a special trust and confidence in the faithfulness experience care and honest and true circumspection of the Master Wardens and Commonalty of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights, and to the end that we our heirs and successors may not at any time from henceforth in like sort be defrauded wronged or abused, do of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion give and grant to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and to their successors for ever the office function and place of surveyor of the tonnage and

burden of all new builded ships of the burden of one hundred ton above mentioned or upwards from time to time within this our realm of England, together with the said wages and fee of twelve pence by the day and all other fees profits commodities and allowances whatsoever to the said office or place in any wise due belonging incident or appertaining. And them the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors nominate ordain make and appoint surveyors of the tonnage and burden of all new builded ships from time to time within this our realm of England and dominion of Wales, to have hold exercise and enjoy the said office function and place and also to have receive and perceive the said wages and fee of twelve pence by the day immediately when and from and after such time as the estate and interest estates and interests granted or mentioned to be granted to the said John Grent and Humfrey Jobson respectively by death surrender forfeiture or other occasion cause or means whatsoever is are or shall be void ended or determined. And whensoever the said office or place shall first happen or become void unto the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and to their successors forever, and for the better and more exact examination judging and finding out from henceforth of the true burden and tonnage of every ship and vessel that is or shall be capable of or intended to have or require the said allowance, we do hereby for us our heirs and successors ordain decree grant limit and appoint and also straitly charge and command the said Master and Wardens for the time being by themselves or their deputies being honest skilful and sufficient persons as well to go on board every such ship and vessel and there to view and discern whether she be sufficiently and substantially built as is fit and required in that behalf, that is to say with two orlops at convenient distances strong to carry ordnance aloft and alow with her fore-castle and half deck close for fight, as also to cause every such ship and vessel to be brought on ground and by from and according to an exact measure taken of her length breadth depth and draught in water so to rate and set down the true burden and tonnage thereof and to

certify the same by letters testimonial under the common seal of the said Corporation and the hands of the said Master and Wardens of the said art or mystery for the time being as they will ever after be ready upon their oaths and allegiance to approve the same. And our will and pleasure is and we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors straitly prohibit charge and command that no person or persons whatsoever shall or may at any time or times hereafter be capable of or presume to take receive and demand the said allowance of five shillings a ton as aforesaid until such due measuring rating and certificate be first had and made as aforesaid, willing and requiring as well our Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Admiral of England and our Treasurer and Chancellor of our Exchequer as also the said John Grent and Humfrey Jobson and all other persons whom it may concern to take notice of our will and pleasure in this behalf, any former grant provision limitation custom or usage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. And moreover for the better maintaining strengthening and upholding of the said Corporation and the suppressing and reforming as well of the manifold errors deceits and abuses practised in the said profession art and mystery as also of the disorders and misdemeanours of divers wilful stubborn and disobedient persons of the said profession art or mystery, which can very hardly by any other means be redressed restrained or reformed, and for the better continuing settling and establishing of good order discipline and government amongst them for the especial of our own service and the general benefit of all our loving subjects as well merchants as others, we do . . . give and grant to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors for ever by these presents that if any person or persons now practising using or professing or which hereafter shall practise use or profess the said art or mystery or any thing thereunto appertaining shall wilfully or obstinately oppose or resist the order rule and government of the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said art or mystery for the time being, or shall refuse to obey or to submit him or themselves

to this our charter or letters patent and to such wholesome laws orders ordinances and institutions as are or shall be made by force and virtue thereof as aforesaid, tending to the good service of Us and our Commonwealth and to the good estate and preservation of the said art or mystery, or shall not well and honestly carry behave and demean him and themselves towards the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said art or mystery for the time being and their deputy or deputies or other inferior officers respectively according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, but after due and convenient warning notice or admonition given to him or them in that behalf shall still wilfully and obstinately persist persevere or continue in any wilful stubborn obstinate or disobedient course tending to the hurt and prejudice of us our heirs and successors or of any our loving subjects or the order rule and government aforesaid, either by insufficient negligent or deceitful working or not performing of his or their duties or by purloining or embezzling of stuff, by unlawful or disorderly departure from his or their work after he or they have been hired, and such like, or shall do or commit any act or acts directly or indirectly to the prejudice or hindrance of the said Corporation or the good estate and proceedings thereof, either by wilful absenting him or themselves from the common hall and meetings upon due warning, or by denial of ordinary and just duties, or shall by mutinies combinations conspiracies or any such like wicked and unlawful course or practice persist or continue in the wilful breach neglect or contempt of this our charter or any thing herein contained or any law ordinance or institution made by force of these presents, that then in all and every or any of these cases before mentioned it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master Wardens and Assistants or any three of them, whereof the Master and one of the Wardens to be always two, severally to correct and punish such offender or offenders according to the quantity and quality of his or their offence or offences according to the laws and ordinances of the said Corporation and according to the laws and statutes of the realm in that

behalf respectively. And whereas the greatest number of the workmen and other persons employed in the trades aforesaid are so very poor needy and of mean condition as no pecuniary mulct can take hold of them, and likewise so rude and disordered as no ordinary or civil censure can move them to yield obedience to rule or government, and therefore some sharp and severe correction and restraint must necessarily be used towards them in many cases, therefore our will and pleasure is and we do by these presents will and ordain that if any person or persons now using or which shall hereafter use or exercise within the said realm of England or dominion of Wales the said art trade or mystery of Shipwrights or other the works or trade aforesaid shall obstinately resist and withstand the government of the said Master Wardens and Assistants or their lawful deputy or deputies, and shall after admonition and warning given unto them or any of them in that behalf wilfully persist in such disobedient course either by deceitful working or by unlawful departure from their work after they have been hired and within the time or times of their retainer, or shall by combination conspiracies or other unlawful practices seek to overthrow destroy and bring into contempt the powers privileges and authorities by these presents given and granted to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors for the universal benefit and good of our said realm dominion and subjects, that then or in such cases the Lord Admiral of England for the time being upon complaint and proof thereof made to him shall take the body or bodies of all and every such notorious offenders and keep them under arrest until they shall conform themselves and reform what they have done amiss as aforesaid. And forasmuch as a great part of the said art or mystery are continually for the most part employed and attendant upon the service and navigation of us our heirs and successors, we therefore . . . do will and grant . . . that the said Master Wardens and Commonalty or any of them or their or any of their successors shall not at any time or times hereafter be informed put placed or impanelled in or upon any assizes juries inquests

or attaints whatsoever before any judges justices or commissioners of us our heirs or successors out of the cities towns boroughs parishes or places where they or any of them do or shall happen to dwell, unless they have lands or tenements lying out of the said cities towns boroughs parishes or places by reason whereof they or any of them ought to be charged, nor shall at any time be pressed or enforced to serve us our heirs or successors as land soldiers, but do absolutely and freely discharge them and every of them from any such service or attendance. And we do further by these presents for us our heirs and successors straitly charge and command all and every sheriffs bailiffs and other officers of us our heirs and successors, that they and every of them do from time to time forbear to put or impanel any of the said Master Wardens and Commonalty or any their deputy or apprentices in or upon any such juries or inquests as is aforesaid, contrary to our said meaning and intent, upon pain of our displeasure and of such pains penalties and imprisonments as by the laws of this our Realm can or may be inflicted or imposed upon them or any of them for their contempt in doing contrary to our royal pleasure and commandment in that behalf. And whereas the Master Wardens and Commonalty of the said art and mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid and their and every of their deputies and apprentices being continually for the most part charged and chargeable to be ready and provided at an hour's warning upon divers services and employments as well at the sea for the necessary defence and safety of our realms and kingdoms and for the use and employment of our merchants for continuance and increase of trade and commerce with foreign nations for the benefit and profit of us and our subjects, as also to give attendance within our kingdoms for the new building repairing and trimming as well of the ships pinnaces and vessels of us our heirs and successors as of the ships pinnaces and vessels of our merchants and subjects, therefore our will and pleasure is that if it shall happen the said Master Wardens and Commonalty or other persons which by the true intent and meaning

hereof are and ought to be discharged from such service upon juries and inquests shall by sheriffs bailiffs and other officers ignorantly or wilfully be put and impanelled to serve upon juries and inquests contrary to our true intent and meaning in that behalf in certain our former letters patent granted and also in these presents renewed, and that any of the said persons being absent from their houses and places of habitation at such times as they were or shall be summoned or warned to appear upon any such juries or inquests could not nor cannot plead nor alledge the said former letters patent nor these presents or the privileges and authorities hereby given and granted unto them for their discharge in that behalf, whereby divers issues fines and ameracements are many times returned against them contrary to our true intent and meaning, we do therefore grant . . . unto the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and to their successors forever that if any issues fines or ameracements shall be returned forfeited or imposed by or upon any of the said person or persons of the said Corporation trade art or mystery for and in respect of not doing or not performing of any the said services or other things whereof they are hereby exempted or freed or mentioned to be exempted or freed, that then the same person or persons his and their heirs executors administrators and assigns and every of them and all his and their lands tenements goods and chattels shall be forever freed and discharged of and from the said issues fines and ameracements and every of them, and we do require and command the Barons of our Exchequer that in respect of the poverty of many that are to be relieved in this case they give them all expedition and ease in their proceedings and pleadings for their discharge in that behalf. And because this Corporation of Shipwrights hath been principally instituted and made for the maintenance and increase of navigation and for the better and more substantial making building and repairing of ships and also for the training up and instructing of shipwrights ship-carpenters labourers and workmen to make them more ready able and skilful for service, all which things do very greatly concern the defence safety wealth and profit of our self

our kingdoms and subjects; therefore we do not only straitly charge and command all and every person or persons which are or shall be of the Commonalty of this Corporation that they do dutifully submit themselves to such good and wholesome laws statutes and ordinances as shall be hereafter ordained and made by virtue of these letters patent for the government rule order and direction of this Corporation and of all the members thereof, but we do also straitly require charge and command all Masters Wardens Assistants deputies and other the principal officers of this incorporation now being and that hereafter shall be, that they and every of them in their several offices and places do carefully diligently and circumspectly look to the due and severe execution of all such laws statutes and ordinances so to be made as aforesaid, that the same may be truly performed and accomplished according to the tenor and true meaning of the same, upon pain of our heavy displeasure and indignation and of such punishment and imprisonment as by our laws may be inflicted on them and every or any of them, wherein our meaning is to extend the greater punishment upon such as having offices and places of trust and charge committed unto them shall by wilfulness negligence remissness partiality or otherwise offend themselves or suffer others to offend in those things whereof they ought to be the reformers and redressers and at whose hands we expect to receive and have amendment and reformation of all offences that shall be committed by any others in that behalf. And forasmuch as the poverty of Shipwrights and persons belonging to the said Corporation is now much more increased than in former times and not able to be relieved supported and maintained by the duties and revenues of the said Corporation which heretofore they have had or were enabled to have, being so small in yearly value, therefore and to the end the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors may be from henceforth the better enabled from time to time to bear and sustain their charges and expenses drawn and occasioned by reason of the Corporation and to relieve and maintain the poor of the same, we have . . . given and granted . . . unto the said Master Wardens and Commonalty



of the said art or mystery of Shipwrights of Redrith aforesaid and to their successors, especial licence and free and lawful faculty power and authority that they and their successors forever shall and may not only have receive and purchase to them and their successors forever to their own proper use and behoof as well of us our heirs and successors as of any other person or persons whatsoever manors messuages land tenements rectories tithes rents reversions services and other hereditaments whatsoever which are not held of us our heirs and successors in chief or by knight's service nor of any other by knight's service, so always that the same manors [*&c.*] by the said Master Wardens and Commonalty or their successors so to be received purchased obtained or had as aforesaid do not exceed the clear yearly value of forty pounds by the year above all charges deductions and reprises, the statute of lands and tenements not to be put in mortmain or any other statute act or ordinance provision restraint or any other matter cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And further . . . we do give and grant special license and full and free power and authority to any and every of the subjects of us our heirs and successors and to all and every body and bodies corporate and politic and other person or persons whatsoever and to every of them ; that they and every of them shall and may give grant bequeath assign or by any ways or means whatsoever alien devise or assure unto the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and to their successors forever any manors [*&c., as before, with same limitations*]. And finally we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors straitly charge and command as well the Lord Admiral of England for the time being and also the Judge of our Admiralty and principal officers of our Navy and all Vice-Admirals Marshals Serjeants and other officers of our Admiralty as also the Lord Mayor of our City of London and the Sheriffs Justices Constables and other officers and Ministers of the said city for the time being, and also the several Mayors of our cities of Bristol and Rochester and of our towns of Yarmouth Plymouth Dartmouth Ipswich Southampton Woodbridge Hull and Newcastle respectively for the time

being and all other Mayors Sheriffs Justices of Peace Bailiffs Constables and other officers and ministers of us our heirs and successors whatsoever within our said realm of England and dominion of Wales, that they and every of them be from time to time and at all times hereafter helping aiding and assisting to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and to their successors and to every and any of them for the time being and to every of their deputy or deputies officer or officers for the time being forever, as well in and for such search view and survey so to be made as aforesaid as also for and in the execution of all and singular grants ordinances laws constitutions and orders herein contained or hereafter upon or by virtue of these presents to be allowed and approved in all things according to the true intent and meaning of the same, upon pain of our high displeasure and as they will answer the contrary. And these our letters patent or the enrolment thereof shall be good and effectual in the law to the said Master Wardens and Commonalty and their successors to all intents constructions and purposes against us our heirs and successors forever, any Act of Parliament statute law provision proclamation restraint or other matter cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always that these our letters patent or anything therein contained shall not in any wise extend or be constructed to extend or be prejudicial to our Cinque Ports or to the liberties or members of the same or of any of them or to any jurisdiction power or authority of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports for the time being which he hath or in any wise or sort he ought or may lawfully use exercise or claim to or with the office of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports or of any other office or offices belonging incident or appertaining to the said office of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, any grant power privilege matter or thing before in these presents contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention &c. In witness whereof &c. Witness our self at Westminster the sixth day of May.

per breve de privato sigillo.

## V.

## New Building the Prince Royal at Woolwich.

[Pipe Office Declared Account No. 2249]

[*N.B.—Spelling and numerals modernised*]

Mathew Baker, one of his Majesty's Master Shipwrights, for his pains and charges in many journeys between Deptford and Woolwich during the time of the new building of his Majesty's ship the Prince Royal, by special command from the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Admiral of England . . . . . 10*l*.

Robert Beake and Paul Isackson, painters, for painting and gilding his Highness' ship the Prince Royal with fine gold and divers colours wrought and laid in oil, finding at their own charge all manner of stuff and workmanship: viz. the beakhead three times primed and stopped; his Majesty's arms and badges, with divers beasts, and the Prince's arms all gilded with fine gold and wrought in oil colours . . . . . 62*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

For both the sides, and all the carved work on both the sides, as well on the backside as foreshide, three times primed and stopped; with his Majesty's whole arms and badges on the two upper strakes; the Prince's arms and badges on the third strake; the great mask head on the fourth strake; all the foresaid arms, with very much other work, and the lower strake all gilded and wrought in oil colours . . . . . 190*l*.

For the galleries, three on each side, priming three times; the lower galleries with his Majesty's beasts and badges; the third with the like and very much other work; all gilded and wrought in oil colours. . . . . 100*l*.

For the upright in the stern with his Majesty's whole arms and badges; on the first, second and third galleries on the stern, with his Majesty's arms and beasts, and the Prince's also; on the lower counter two great mask heads three times primed and stopped, all gilded and laid in oil colours . . . . . 140*l*.

For all the bulkheads, the first in the poop, the second afore the Master's cabin, the third afore the Prince's cabin, the fourth and fifth in the waist with the bell-house, the sixth and seventh afore the forecastle, thereon some of his Majesty's badges and much other work, three times primed and stopped, gilded and wrought in oil colours . . . . . 45*l.* 10*s.*

For all the timbers within the board, and all the plansers<sup>1</sup> afore and abaft, double primed and stopped and laid in oil colours . . . . . 10*l.*

For the galleries within board, primed and stopped and laid in oil colours . . . . . 6*l.*

For the Prince's lodging cabin, very curiously wrought and gilded with divers histories, and very much other work in oil colours . . . . . 164*l.*

For the state cabin, gilded and very curiously wrought with divers histories, and much other works, wrought in oil colours and varnished . . . . . 90*l.*

For the room abaft the stateroom, wrought overhead and on each side with sundry figures in oil colours . . . 15*l.*

For the Master's cabin wrought and varnished, with his mate's cabins, primed and laid in oil colours . . . 110*s.*

And for all the works under the half deck, double primed and stopped, with very much works, and up the stairs to the half deck, all laid in oil colours . . . . . 40*l.*

In all . . . . . 868*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Sebastian Vicars, for carved works by him wrought and performed aboard his Highness' ship the Prince, lately new built at Woolwich. That is to say, in the beakhead for carving the George, 20*l.*; the trailboard, 10*l.*; the sideboard, 16*l.*; of two boards for the half rail between the planchers, 9*l.*; of 14 brackets for both, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; of two lions for the half rail, 50*s.*; of a serpent for the tacks, 13*s.* 4*d.*; of two great mask heads for the two hawsers, and of two fish heads for steadying the main knee, 30*s.*; for carving the sides without board, viz: of 104 brackets along the sides without board, 12*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; of 47 compartments in the lower strake,

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere spelt 'Planchers' and 'Plansters,' now usually spelt 'Planeshears.' The planks covering the tops of the timbers and forming a shelf below the gunwale.

110s. ; of 14 great lion heads for the round ports, 10*l.* ; of 12 Prince's badges in the middle strake, 12*l.* ; for carving 9 compartments in the same strake, 110s. ; of the King's badges on the sides without board, 22*l.* ; of one pair of the King's arms and another of the King's and Queen's together, 15*l.* ; of four terms<sup>1</sup> on either side the arms, 75s. ; of four ports, two in the bow and two in the quarter abaft, with four taffrails, 110s. ; of 4 scuttles of windows, 4*l.* ; of 8 trophies in the upper strake, 110s. ; of 14 brackets in the narrow strake and 12 compartments, 55s. ; and of four hansing pieces in the waist, 53s. 4*d.* ; for carving the two sides in the lower gallery, 20*l.* ; of 26 brackets, 6*l.* ; of 12 supporters under the galleries, 6*l.* ; and of the frieze round about, 8*l.* ; for carving of 6 panels with stories on the middle of the gallery, 18*l.* ; of 16 arches, 60s. ; of ten great terms, 10*l.* ; of 14 little terms, 6*l.* 10s. ; of two great badges of the Prince's, 8*l.* ; of four of the Prince's letters, 25s. ; of ten Dragons for supporters, 100s. ; of two great arches within the galleries, 13s. 4*d.* ; and of four hansing pieces, 40s. ; for the carving the two sides on the upper gallery, 15*l.* ; of the ten brackets, 40s. ; of eight beasts, 70s. ; of ten taffrails, 25s. 8*d.* ; for carving of four great terms in the stern, 6*l.* ; of three great arches, 60s. ; of two great lions' heads, 33s. 4*d.* ; of the rudder head and tiller, 20s. ; of the planks cross the stern, 6*l.* 13s. 4*d.* ; of the frieze, 4*l.* ; of seven brackets, 33s. 4*d.* ; of two dragons, 40s. ; of seven pendants, 68s. ; of eight terms, 7*l.* 10s. ; of six arches, 25s. ; of the Prince's badges, 4*l.* ; of two letters on either side of the badge, 16s. ; of two pieces of Victory and Fame, 7*l.* ; of the plank cross the stern in the upper gallery, 7*l.* ; of six brackets, 25s. ; of six beasts, 66s. 8*d.* ; and of five taffrails, 15s. ; for carving the King's arms ten foot wide in the upright, 22*l.* ; and of two pyramids with two boys sitting on the top showing for Peace or War, 6*l.* ; for carving four terms for the doors in the forecastle, 35s. ; of a frieze round about, 35s. ; of four terms and four cartowes,<sup>2</sup> 55s. ; and of two

<sup>1</sup> Terminal pieces.

<sup>2</sup> Cartouches ; modillions or corbels.

hansing pieces, 40s. ; for carving of six terms and six cantlappers<sup>1</sup> and two arches for the doors in the fore-castle within board, 6*l.* ; of three orpins,<sup>2</sup> 73s. 4*d.* ; of six brackets, 15s. ; of four badges of the King's, 60s. ; and of the bellhouse and knights' heads, 56s. 8*d.*, for carved work in the bulkhead abaft, viz. of six terms and six cantlappers, 6*l.* ; of four cantlappers and six arches to give light under the half deck, 35s. ; of seven brackets and six compartments in the narrow frieze, 35s. ; for carving twelve arches on both the sides of the half deck and of 28 brackets, 7*l.* ; for carving of six terms for three doors and six cantlappers with three arches on the quarter deck, 9*l.* ; of two terms and two cantlappers, 30s. ; and of two hansing pieces and the knights' heads, 30s. ; and for carving two orpins and two brackets on the roundhouse, 20s. ; and of two hansing pieces, 20s. In all 44*l.* 4*d.*

## VI

## Petition to the Admiralty

[S.P. Dom., Chas. I, cxciv. 47]

NOBLE SIR,—I have nothing to tender you for many favours received from you but the return of my thanks, and particularly for this last courtesy about the petition delivered against me which I have, herein enclosed, returned together with my answer, desiring you to be pleased it may be both presented and read to the Lords Commissioners, whose order herein I shall with all humble submission assent unto, not doubting of your careful favour herein, which I shall study to requite with my best acknowledgments, beseeching you to be pleased so far to mediate for me that the plaintiff may not have power from their lordships to bring disgrace upon me, whereby his Majesty's service may suffer as well as myself, by giving leave to have me intercepted when I am to attend the ordinary meeting of the principal

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* cantilevers, or projecting brackets.

<sup>2</sup> Harpins or ribbands.

officers of his Majesty's Navy, within the city, where they wait for advantage. So leaving myself to your care I take leave and rest

At your service,  
PHINEAS PETT.

*Chatham, 22nd June, 1631.*

I pray, sir, be pleased to return me word by this bearer when his Majesty is to go to Portsmouth.

(*Endorsed*) To my honoured friend Edward Nicholas, Esquire, Secretary to the right honourable Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of England these  
Westminster.

47 I.

To the right honourable the lords and other Commissioners of the Admiralty of England.

The humble answer of Phineas Pett, his Majesty's servant, to the petition of Lewes Tayte, smith.

I do acknowledge I become debtor <sup>1</sup> to this petitioner for ironwork delivered to the building of a new ship called the *Destiny*, built by me for Sir Walter Raleigh, from whom I could never receive satisfaction for the said work by 700*l.*, which I was forced to venture with him in his voyage, wherein he failing, and at his return the ship seized into his Majesty's hands, I suffered the loss of the whole debt.

I was contented to give this petitioner my bond for payment of his debt, notwithstanding my great loss, some part whereof was orderly paid, and the rest I should have easily satisfied had not a greater loss presently befallen me, through the occasion of building two small ships for the expedition of Algiers, wherein I sustained (by the overworks, and charge of the journey wherein I served as Captain in one of those ships) the loss of above 900*l.*, towards which I could never hitherto recover one penny satisfaction.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'dettet.'

By these two great losses suddenly befalling me, almost together, I was utterly disabled either to satisfy the debts arising from these businesses, or to raise means to maintain myself and poor family.

Notwithstanding I have out of the little remnants of my poor fortunes paid above 500*l.* of these debts within the space of 6 years, which I never so much as drank for, and I do yearly still contribute the better half of my small means towards the satisfying the rest as carefully as I can.

I have often entreated this petitioner's patience, as knowing his abilities better able to forbear than others, interested as himself in the same business, he having also made more gain by his commodities than any other. Always tendering satisfaction to him as I could take of other debts, to the utmost my fortunes would extend unto, and am very ready and willing yearly to pay unto him such a sum as your lordships in your honourable considerations of the premises, and my present fortunes, shall order me to do. Humbly submitting myself to your Lordships' favourable construction.

PHINEAS PETT.

## VII

[Stowe MS. 743 f. 50]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—My most humble services presented.

Lest I should be the last in expressing my duty and humblest service, being so infinitely obliged to your most noble favours, I rather choose to incur the censure of presumption, than the just imputation of ingratitude, being hopeful for the first to procure your honourable pardon, for the last it is beyond the plea of all excuse.

Please your lordship to understand that since your posting from Tiballs, receiving direction for making ready the Prince, I brought her into dry dock at Chatham, there thoroughly searched her, and strengthened her in all suspected places, new made and repaired all her masts,



and launched her again within fourteen days, and have in all points been so careful to prepare all rooms for state, ease, convenience, and ornament, as I hope will give your lordship as much content as can be in any ship contrived.

The cook room is by a powerful command (against my consent) removed from the old place in hold into the forecastle, in which I was much overborne, having had the experience of the conveniency thereof, in my personal service in former transportation.

The Prince is at present in such forwardness as if there be no other wants she may be at sea in fourteen days, and is now taking in her beer and other provisions.

All the fleet are in the same readiness, the George and the Antelope making all possible haste to get to sea, and this is the account of the business here under my charge, which in all humbleness I held my duty to present your lordship.

Were it not that I intend to wait upon your lordship in the great ship, I would have procured his Majesty's leave to have come with Sir Francis Steward. I hold myself very unhappy to be from attending your lordship in any sea service.

Thus humbly craving your lordship's honourable construction of this my presumption, and pardon for my boldness, which I cannot but do in zeal of my service, praying God to send your lordship increase of honour, health, happiness, and a prosperous return, in all humbleness I kiss your lordship's hand and ever remain,

Your lordship's creature,

PHINEAS PETT.

*Chatham, 10th April 1623.*

To the Right Hon<sup>l</sup>. Lord Marquis of Buckingham,  
Lord High Admiral of England, give these.

## VIII

Protest of Trinity House against the Building  
of the Sovereign

[S.P. Dom. Chas I. cclxxiii. 25]

RIGHT HONOURABLE, — Being informed that his Majesty is minded to build a great ship of these dimensions (namely) 124 foot by the keel, in breadth 46 and for draught in water 22 foot, these strange and large dimensions gave us cause to fall into discourse, and in our discourse fell on these particulars following, namely :

That a ship of this proportion cannot be of use, nor fit for service in any part of the King's Dominions ; and as unfit for remote service : our reasons—

First, there is no port within this kingdom (the Isle of Wight only) that can in safety harbour this ship, then it followeth, if she be not in port then is she in continual danger, exposed to all tempests, to all storms, that time shall bring. In a desperate estate she rides in every storm : in peril she must ride, when all the rest of her companions (his Majesty's ships) enjoys peace, rides quiet and safe in port : for example, we have the Prince in her voyage to Spain for his Majesty in foul weather, when all the fleet harboured in the Port of Plymouth, the Prince she only might not, for she could not, she too big, her draught too much, the wild sea must be her port ; in the Sound of Plymouth must she ride, her anchors and cables her safety. If either of them fail, the ship must perish, 4 or 500 men must die, and the King must lose his Jewel ; and this will be the state of this ship.

That she cannot harbour is her great draught in water, and less in draught she will not be, but could she be made to draw less water, yet anchors and cables must hold proportion, and being made, they will not be manageable, the strength of man cannot wield nor work them, but could they do it, yet the ship little bettered in point of safety, for we are doubtful whether cables and anchors

can hold a ship of this bulk in a great storm, for we have more in our seas to add stress to cables and anchors than the wind and foaming sea. We have strong tides which strains both cables and anchors equal to wind and sea, besides the particulars there are many things which must concur; for if either fail, the rest hold not, for example if the cables fail, the anchors are of no use, if the anchors fail, then neither cable nor anchor is serviceable, nay if the ground be not good then is all the rest to no purpose, so that if either of these fail all is lost, the ship lost with all her provisions, the men lost, and it may be some great and noble Peer in her.

Thus far so much as may concern the safety of this ship being built.

Now for the force of this ship; it will not any way hold proportion with her bulk or burden, for the aim must be for three tier of ordnance, the lower tier which must carry the greatest ordnance and be of greatest force must lie of necessity so low that in every gale of wind the ports must be shut in, or else the ship will be in great danger, or sink as did the *Mary Rose* in King Henry the VIII's time at Portsmouth.

Or if you will lay them at 5 or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  foot, then must the third tier lie at that height as not to be serviceable, nay this third tier will rather endanger the quality of the ship (as the too high building hath in some of the king's ships lately built, made them unfit for any good service). Therefore three tier of ordnance must not be, neither can the art or wit of man build a ship well conditioned and fit for service with three tier of ordnance.

But if it be force that his Majesty desireth, then shall he do well to forbear the building of this ship, and with the same cost or charge to build two ships of 5 or 600 ton a piece, either ship to have 40 pieces of good ordnance, and these two ships will be of more force and for better service and will beat the great ship back and side.

These particulars, Right Honourable, falling within the compass of our discourse we held it our duty to his Majesty to impart the particulars unto you, and with your wisdom to leave them either to impart them unto

the king, or otherwise as it shall seem best unto your wisdom. And so we rest,

Your honour's ever at command,  
T. BEST.  
WALTER COKE.  
RO. SALMON.

*From Ratcliff,  
9th of August 1634.*

To the Right Honourable Sir John Coke, principal Secretary to His Majesty.

[*Note.*—This protest should be compared with the memorandum, attributed to Raleigh, in which Prince Henry is advised against the building of the Prince Royal. See E. Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Vol. II, p. 330.]

IX  
Ships Built or Rebuilt by Phineas Pett.

Ship.	Year.	Tons.	Length of Keel.		Breadth.		Depth.		No. of Guns.	Remarks.
			Ft.	Ins.	Ft.	Ins.	Ft.	Ins.		
R <i>Moon</i>	1602	74	50	17	0	7	0	13		
R <i>Answer</i>	1603-4	274	65	26	0	13	0	19		
<i>Disdain</i>	1604	..	25	12	0	..	..	..		Merchant.
<i>Resistance</i>	1604	140	..	..	..	..	..	..		
R <i>Ark (Anne) Royal</i>	1607-8	828	107	37	10	15	4	44		
<i>Prince Royal</i>	1608-10	1187	115	43	0	18	0	55		Rebuilt by Peter Pett in 1641.
<i>Phoenix</i>	1612-13	250	72	24	0	11	0	20		
R <i>Merhonour</i>	1613-14	946	112	38	7	16	5	40		
R <i>Defiance</i>	1613-14	700	97	37	0	15	0	40		
<i>Pinnace</i>	1616	..	40	..	..	..	..	..		For Lord Zouch. }
<i>Destiny (Converine)</i>	1616	621	96	32	4	15	0	34		For the Merchant Committee
<i>Mercury</i>	1620	300	..	..	..	..	..	..		of the Algiers Expedition.
<i>Spy</i>	1620	200	..	..	..	..	..	..		
<i>Henrietta</i>	1627	68	52	15	0	6	6	6		
<i>Maria</i>	1627	68	52	15	0	6	6	6		
<i>Charles</i>	1632-3	810	105	33	7	16	3	44		With Peter Pett.
<i>Greyhound</i>	1636	126	60	20	3	7	8	12		" "
<i>Roebuck</i>	1636	90	57	18	1	6	8	10		" "
<i>Sovereign of the Seas</i>	1635-7	1522	127	46	6	19	4	102		" "

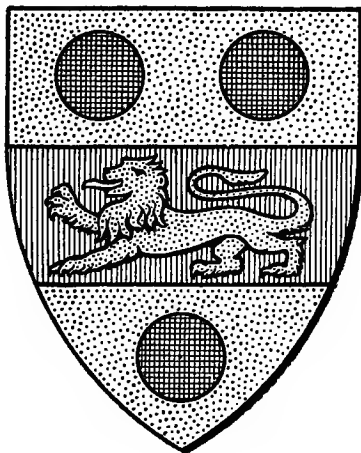
R = Rebuilt.

## X

## The Arms of Pett

The arms granted to Peter Pett in 1583 were :—

Or, on a fesse gules between three roundels sable, a lion passant of the field.



And for a crest : Out of a ducal coronet, or, a demi-pelican wings expanded argent.

Several impressions of Phineas Pett's seal displaying these arms, without the crest, are preserved on his letters in the State Papers.

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