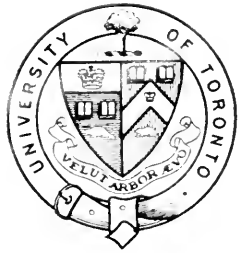


THE FLOWER OF ENGLAND'S GARLAND

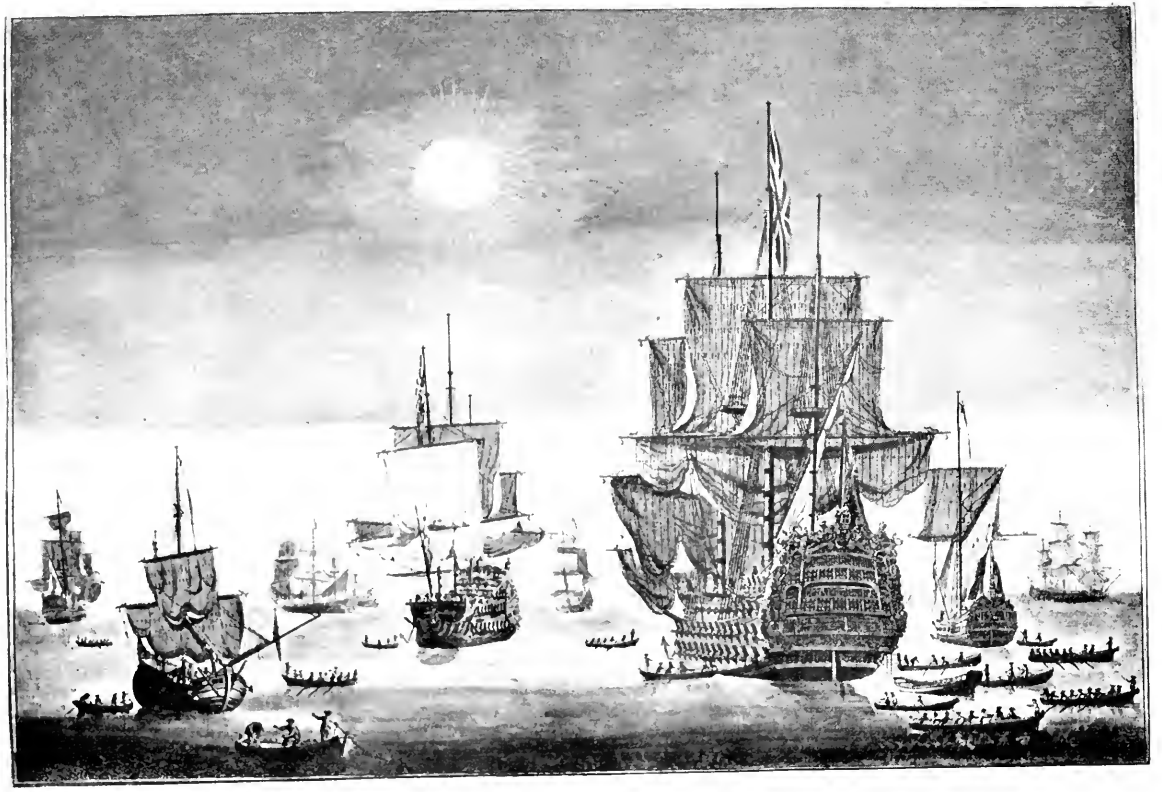
BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE DIARY OF HENRY TEONGE

MY FRIEND THE ADMIRAL

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH NAVAL HISTORY

THE FLOATING REPUBLIC
(in collaboration with Bonamy Dobrée)



SIR GEORGE BYNG'S SQUADRON IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1718

From an engraving by J. Harris after Thomas Baston, in the possession of the Author

THE FLOWER OF ENGLAND'S GARLAND

BY

G. E. MANWARING

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IN THE TEXT

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH many books have been written about the history and achievements of the British Navy, none gives any detailed account of what the foreigner thought of the majesty and strength of our fleet through the centuries. In the early chapters of this book I have attempted to give a picture of the Navy in the past as seen through the eyes of foreign visitors to this country. The story opens about the middle of the fifteenth century, and it is difficult for us to realise that exactly five hundred years ago the estimates for the Navy were under five pounds a year; now they run into sixty millions. In 1436 there appeared the well-known 'Libel of English Policy,' which is believed to have represented the views of the leading statesmen of the day, in which the anonymous author made a powerful plea for England to wake from her lethargy, and establish the commercial and naval supremacy of this country. A little more than a century later, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, our Ambassador in France, made a no less powerful plea to the Secretary of State concerning 'The Flower of England's Garland.' That such a wise and eminent statesman should have so clearly recognised the value of sea power to this country long before the advent of the Spanish Armada, seems worthy of putting on permanent record, and I cannot do better than give my readers the following extract from his letter: 'Bend your force, credit, and devise to maintain and increase your Navy by all the means

you can possible, for in this time, considering all circumstances, it is the Flower of England's Garland. Animate and cherish as many as you can to serve by sea. Let them neither want good deeds, nor good words. It is your best, and best cheap defence.' In such beautiful and decisive prose does this great Elizabethan deliver his message to us to-day. Who will deny the truth or the wisdom of it? The good words were provided by Richard Hakluyt in his great prose epic of the English nation, and the good deeds by Francis Drake and his companions in arms.

'Foreign Impressions of the Fleet' is of special interest for us to-day, in view of the fact that this country has wisely decided to considerably increase the strength of the Fleet, and has determined that the trident of the sea shall not be wrested from her. From the contemporary accounts of these foreign observers we are able to understand more fully the growth and splendour of our Fleet; to realise the respect and admiration with which it was regarded throughout Europe; and incidentally to appreciate its glorious traditions—which inspire and stimulate every branch of the sea service to-day. In these pages you will find that some of the problems which confronted our ancestors are subjects of discussion to-day. How a shrewd observer in the eighteenth century expressed his opinion concerning the huge battleships of his day. He believed the service done by these 'enormous ships' was by no means proportionate to the expense they entailed; that they were built 'more for ostentation than real use,' and that England would stop building them as soon as France thought fit to set the example. The gallant and heroic exploit of the

squadron under Sir Roger Keyes at Zeebrugge in 1918 finds its counterpart in the expedition of Sir Home Popham in 1798; while Napoleon, after his surrender, was forced to admit to the Captain of the *Bellerophon* that 'wherever there is water to float a ship we are sure to find you in the way.'

The other essays in this volume deal with the provision of medical treatment for our sick and wounded seamen; the clothing of the sailor, and the origin of a naval uniform for officers. Finally, there is a biographical study of Woodes Rogers, whose privateering voyage round the world ranks almost with that of Anson; and one on the fight for the liberty of the press during the period when Milton was writing his famous 'Areopagitica.'

The first two of these studies originally appeared in the 'United Service Magazine' (now the 'Army Quarterly'); 'Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth' in the 'Edinburgh Review'; and the other three in the 'Mariner's Mirror.' They have been revised and added to where necessary. For permission to republish them I am indebted to the various editors. I also beg to acknowledge the courtesy of Messrs. Cassell and Company in allowing me to publish the study of Woodes Rogers, originally prefixed to their edition of 'A Cruising Voyage Round the World.'

G. E. MANWARING.

'THE FLOWER OF ENGLAND'S GARLAND'

FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FLEET

I.—1466-1622

'It is to be regretted that the custom of writing travels begun so late, and that among the earlier travellers so few should have visited England.' Thus wrote Southey over a hundred years ago, after studying the accounts of this island, and the good or bad traits of his countrymen as seen through the eyes of a foreigner, for the limited supply of information that was then available on this interesting subject seemed to him a decided lacuna in the literature of early travel.[1] Since Southey's day, however, historical research has progressed by leaps and bounds, and many interesting accounts of this country, which were unknown to him, have been brought to light.

In the 'Calendars of State Papers relating to English affairs in the Archives of Venice' are to be found the 'Relazioni' or descriptions of England which were regularly sent to the Doge and Senate by the ambassadors resident here, and Venice herself being a maritime state of considerable importance (and virtually our only rival on the sea until the close of the sixteenth century), it is not surprising that her ambassadors, keen observers as they were, should have devoted a considerable portion of their 'Relazioni' to

[1] 'Accounts of England by Foreign Travellers,' 1816.

a description of our naval forces both royal and mercantile. It is not, however, from the pen of a Venetian that one of the earliest accounts of our Navy as seen by a foreigner is to be found, that distinction being reserved for no less a personage than a Bohemian nobleman, Baron Leo von Rozmital, who left his native country in 1465 on a pilgrimage 'to search out the western corners of Europe.' The original account of the journey was written by his secretary, Schaschek, in the Bohemian tongue, but has long since disappeared, and a Latin translation, published in 1577, has been re-issued by the Literary Society of Stuttgart.[1]

Rozmital and his companions started on their pilgrimage in November, 1465, and had their first sight of the sea at Calais. Here they were detained by contrary winds for a fortnight, and eventually when they did succeed in crossing the Channel they were landed at Sandwich in a state of collapse from sea-sickness. This, to them, was an unknown discomfiture; but on recovering we can imagine their excitement and wonder, when for the first time in their lives they beheld ships of war, in the shape of a portion of the King's fleet anchored in the Downs. At Sandwich, Schaschek wrote, 'for the first time I saw sea-going vessels'; but unfortunately his pen was incapable of describing the emotions that he and his companions must have felt at the sight. However, he furnishes us with a description of the various kinds of ships, 'naves, galeones, et cochas,' that constituted the fleet. From him we learn that 'a vessel which is driven by winds and sails is called a ship,' while 'a galley is that which

[1] 'Lit. Verein in Stuttgart,' vii. p. 38, 1844, from which this account of Rozmital's journey has been translated.

is propelled by rowing,' some having more than two hundred rowers. 'That kind of vessel,' Schaschek wrote, 'is of superlative size and strength, in so much that it can be navigated both in favourable and contrary winds.' Galleys, he informs us, were vessels in which 'for the most part naval wars are accustomed to be waged, especially as they are able to carry some hundreds of men at the same time.' The third kind 'is that which they call a cog, which is sufficiently large.' The skill of the mariners on board the royal fleet impressed these foreigners more than the sight of the ships themselves, and the dexterity and aptitude of the men who manned our warships nearly five centuries ago was as striking as it is at the present day. 'At nothing was I more surprised,' writes Rozmital's secretary, 'than at the sailors running up the mast, foretelling the approach and distance of winds, anticipating what sails should be spread, and what should be furled.' Among the crews he noticed one seaman in particular who was 'so agile, that scarcely any one could be compared with him.' Though we do not possess a list of Edward the Fourth's fleet at this period to supplement the Bohemian narrative, we know that it must have been of considerable strength, in spite of the decadence in naval affairs which existed in the previous reign. The policy of 'keeping the sea,' as it was called, was at last being seriously considered, and a contemporary thus emphasises the importance of having a part of the fleet in regular commission. 'Though we have not always war upon the sea,' he writes, 'yet it shall be necessary that the king have always some fleet upon the sea, for the repressing of rovers, saving of our merchants, our

fishers, and the dwellers upon our coasts. And that the king keep always some great and mighty vessels for the breaking of an army when any shall be made against him upon the sea.' [1]

Prior to leaving Sandwich an interesting local custom is noted by the Bohemian travellers. Every evening, we are informed, musicians with fiddles and horns paraded the town, announcing which way the wind was blowing in order that merchants might make sail, if it happened to be in the direction they were going.

Unfortunately a period of nearly half a century now elapses before we meet with an account of England from the pen of a foreign visitor in which our ships or sailors are commented upon. This brings us to the reign of Henry VIII, whose interest in sea affairs is well known, and to whose enterprise we owe the development of the Navy as an effective instrument of warfare. Thus in October, 1515, at the launch of his great ship the *Virgin Mary*, he was most anxious to impress the Venetians with the splendour of the latest acquisition to his fleet, and their ambassadors were the only continental representatives invited to the ceremony. The King dressed 'galley fashion' for the occasion in a 'sailor's coat and trousers,' with the insignia of an Admiral of the Fleet, a gold whistle, which he blew almost as loud as a trumpet. The Venetians were handsomely entertained, and a full account of the launch was given by them in their dispatch to the Doge.[2] From this document we get

[1] Fortescue, 'Governance of England,' 1885 ed. p. 123.

[2] Giustinian, 'Four Years at Court of Henry VIII,' i. 138; C. S. P. Ven. 1509-19, No. 662.

a vivid idea of the appearance of one of the biggest battleships of the day, which was as large as 'three Venetian first rate galleys.' On the 25th of October, the King and Queen with the Court, the bishops, and the two Venetian ambassadors went on board. The following morning after Mass had been sung, dinner was served in state. The King, we are informed, dined at a separate table, as did also the bishops, barons, ambassadors, and the ladies. The rest of the company were seated at tables towards the prow. 'Below,' the ambassadors wrote, 'was the place for the rowers, and above them was a deck, on which were five heavy pieces of artillery on each side astern, and two forward, with an innumerable quantity of falconets, harquebuses, and muskets. The ship had four masts, three with tops; above the tops were three masts for three sails; above the mainmast was a mast which had another top, and above this second mast was a third mast for another sail, so that the ship could set eight sails. Around were many banners, all gilt with the royal arms and emblems, and on board were sixty gunners and twelve hundred fighting men.' De Bapaume, the French envoy, though not invited to the ceremony, was able to gain some additional particulars from 'those who were in the galley.' According to his account, it was 'propelled by six score oars,' and the armament consisted of '207 pieces of artillery, large as well as small, of which 70 were of copper and cast, and the rest of iron, with four or five thousand bullets and from four to five hundred barrels of gunpowder.'[1] The reason given by the King for showing the vessel to the Venetians only, was because 'they were able

[1] Brewer, 'Henry VIII,' i. 109.

seamen, and had very fine aquatic "*fustes*." '[1] That they were vividly impressed by what they saw may be judged from the concluding portion of their dispatch, in which they stated that it was 'a galeas of unusual magnitude, with such a number of heavy guns,' that they doubted 'whether any fortress, however strong, could resist their fire.'[2]

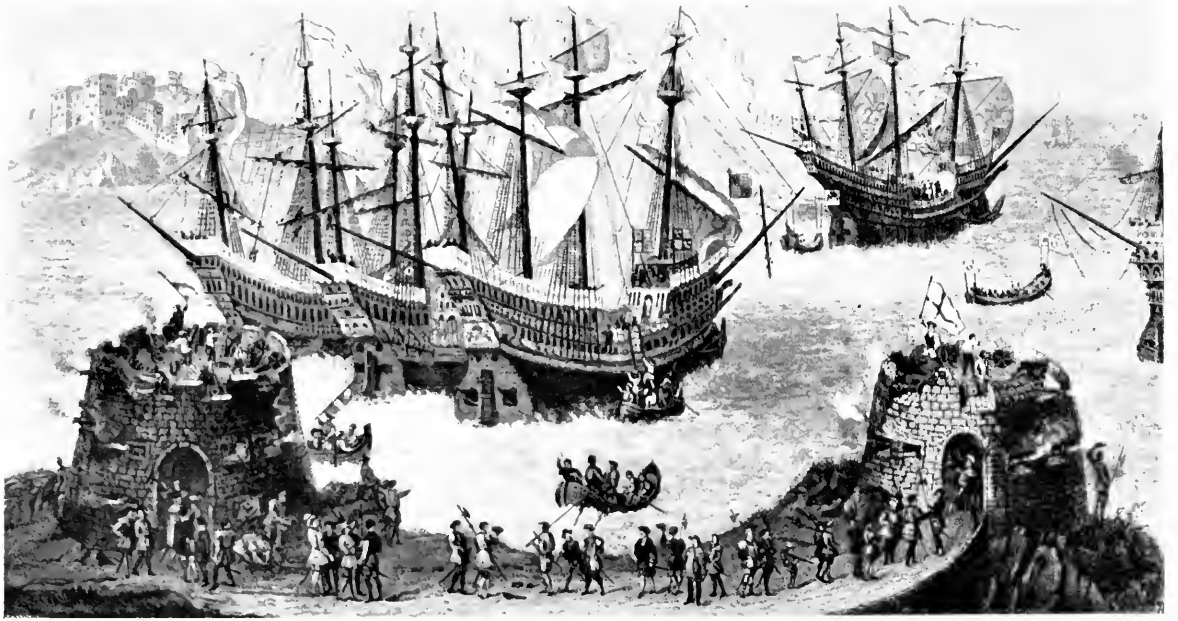
The re-organisation of the Navy formed a prominent feature of the reign, and in 1531, Lodovico Falier, the Venetian ambassador in England, reported that the King 'could arm one hundred and fifty sail by sea.'[3] For the manning of his warships Henry relied largely on the hardy fishermen of the western ports, who, when summoned for the King's service, found capable substitutes in their wives and sweethearts to carry on the fishery. So brave and resourceful were their womenfolk, that a contemporary letter-writer informs us that 'eight or nine of them, with one boy or a man, would sail sixteen or twenty miles into the sea a fishing,' in which peaceful pursuit they were sometimes 'chased home by the French.'

A Navy List of this period shows forty-five men-of-war, varying from a thousand to forty tons. In fact, every year saw a steady increase in the fleet, until in 1546 no less than ninety-eight vessels had either been built or acquired by the Crown. During the reign of Edward VI the Navy was considerably augmented, and in 1551 the Venetian ambassador informed his Government that England had 'a very great quantity both of ships and sailors. In case of need,' he wrote,

[1] 'Fuste,' a light and slender galley.

[2] Mr. Rawdon Brown believed this vessel to have been the *Harry Grace à Dieu*, but Dr. Brewer produces evidence to show that she was launched in the previous year.

[3] C. S. P. Ven. 1527-33, No. 694.



THE EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII AT DOVER, 1520

From an engraving after the picture by Vulp

'they can fit out five hundred vessels, of which a hundred are decked, and many men-of-war are stationed permanently in several places. There are also some twenty ships which they call galleons, not very high, but long and wide, with which in the late wars they fought all their battles.'[1] A Navy List of the following year enumerates forty-nine royal ships. The remainder of the vessels estimated in the ambassador's report were evidently made up of merchant shipping, for during the previous reign, returns were furnished of vessels belonging to the various ports, the King granting a bounty of so much a ton on large ships that could be used in the event of war.[2] Not only was the number of the seafaring population dwelt upon by these foreigners, but their skill in navigation frequently called for high praise. Thus Giacomo Soranzo in his 'relazione' of 1554, besides stating that the naval force of Queen Mary was very considerable, and that ten armed ships were always kept at sea for the protection of merchantmen, emphasised the fact that there were 'great plenty of English sailors, who were considered excellent for the navigation of the Atlantic.' Like his predecessor he also drew attention to the strength of our merchant shipping, and stated that if the Queen were 'to take the vessels of shipowners in all parts of the kingdom, the number would be immense.' Though he reported that the Crown had only eighty of its own, it could, whenever it pleased, 'very easily obtain upwards of one hundred and fifty from private individuals.'[3] Probably the

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1534-55, No. 703.
[2] Oppenheim, 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' p. 88.
[3] C. S. P. Ven. 1534-54, pp. 548, 553.

eighty ships mentioned by Soranzo included merchant ships owned by the State, as the Navy List of 1552 shows only forty-nine warships as being possessed by Edward VI, and of these the *Henry Grace à Dieu* was accidentally burnt at Woolwich in 1553. The next report that deals with naval matters is that of Giovanni Michele in 1557, who states that in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII the Crown possessed about a hundred ships, 'all ready appointed, and provided with officers who received constant pay, that they might be ready for service at an hour's notice.' This evidently refers to the system of bounties previously mentioned. The number of royal ships, he informs us, 'now scarcely amounts to forty, being thus reduced, either by neglect or the necessity of saving expense, some having been sold, and others having become unfit for service.'[1] However, this reduction, on examination, is not so serious as it appears, for on the death of Henry VIII, although he left a fleet of fifty-three vessels, thirteen of them were twenty-ton row-barges which were immediately discarded as useless.[2] Yet even with the forty left, Michele agreed that England's position on sea was so favourable, and her sailors so bold and experienced, that those 'few remaining ships (when joined with those of private owners, which are at the king's disposal as if they were his own), are not only sufficient for defence, but also do considerable execution in offensive operations.' The strength of England at sea depended on the support of her merchant shipping, and scattered

[1] Report on England, in Ellis's 'Original Letters,' ser. 2, vol. 2, p. 217.

[2] Oppenheim, p. 108.

in the different ports of the kingdom, Michele reported that there were an extraordinary number of vessels 'all fit for service, and capable of acting against an enemy.' The number was so great that if they were united together they would form many hundreds. According to Michele, the English themselves estimated them at over two thousand; but, he candidly stated, 'we should even maintain that this was but a moderate estimate.' Even if a portion of that number were furnished with men, artillery, and other necessary things, he believed that England 'would not fear any force, however great, acting either on the offensive or defensive.'[1] Thus we see that England had no reason to fear invasion by a continental power, and certainly she did not intend to relinquish her superiority at sea, for prior to Mary's death in November, 1558, eight ships had either been laid down or rebuilt, making up the deficiency which Michele gave prominence to in his report. The reason for this renewed activity is to be found in the fact that the French Navy during the last few years of the reign looked like becoming a formidable rival to our own, but by the time Elizabeth ascended the throne, all danger from that quarter had ceased to exist.[2] In consequence the Venetian ambassador was able to report three years later—in 1561—that England maintained her supremacy, and was still 'the most wealthy and powerful of all the kingdoms of the north.'

The secret of her success was not far to seek, and the same ambassador informed his Government that the strength of the country was due to 'its numbers of warlike men, and the strength of its fleet, in which

[1] Ellis, ser. 2, vol. 2. [2] Oppenheim, p. 116

respect,' he added, 'this kingdom is superior to all its neighbours.' [1]

No continental power viewed this steady growth of the fleet with more apprehension and jealousy than Spain, and her ambassadors and other emissaries in England kept their Government fully acquainted with any movement and equipment of Elizabeth's fleet; but unlike the Venetian representatives, their reports were frequently of a disparaging character, especially when speaking of the Elizabethan seamen. In 1569 Philip was informed that the English expected to be able 'to repel any attack by means of their fleet,' [2] a home truth which it was difficult for the Spaniard to digest. Nevertheless, the belief underlying the statement had permeated through all ranks of the sea service for centuries, and the sentiment was admirably expressed in the preamble to the Navy Act of 1661, which stated that it was upon the Navy 'wherein under the good Providence and Protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of this Kingdom is so much concerned.' [3]

The same Spanish account stated that the Queen possessed twenty-two great ships, 'but with difficulty she had only been able to equip eleven.' Added to these there were about seventy ships owned by private persons, the crews of which were experienced seamen owing to the fact that the majority of them had been pirates.[4] Piracy in the sixteenth century, however, did not incur the same brand of infamy as it

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1558-80, No. 274.

[2] C. S. P. Simancas, 1568-79, No. 102.

[3] Statutes of the Realm. The preamble is still embodied in our 'Articles of War.'

[4] C. S. P. Simancas, 1568-79, No. 102.

does in the twentieth, and in passing it may be remarked that it was then a school for seamanship in which nearly all the best seamen of the day learnt their profession. The men of the royal ships did not impress the Spanish ambassador. 'They appear bellicose,' he wrote, but were 'really pampered and effeminate, different from what they used to be.'[1] In 1574 there is a Spanish account of the armaments in England, in which the Queen's fleet is stated to consist of thirty sail, twelve or fourteen being 'powerful vessels of 400, 500, 600, and 700 tons burden each, with little top-hamper and very light, which is a great advantage for close quarters, and with much artillery, the heavy pieces being close to the water.' From the same source we learn that the rest of the fleet were 'small vessels of 100, 150, and 200 tons each.'[2] Either the Spaniards were not such keen observers as the Venetians, or they were continually misinformed as to the strength and condition of England's first line of defence. Their estimate of the English sailor as being 'pampered and effeminate' was certainly far from the truth, and proceeded from a personal hatred of the Elizabethan sea-dogs, who for years in their own fearless way had been fighting the galleons and treasure ships of Spain in every sea where they sailed. Two years before the sailing of the Armada, Mendoza informed Philip that only four of the Queen's ships were serviceable, 'all the rest being old and rotten.' Later in the same year he reported that there was a great lack of seamen in England,[3] a statement which is all the more remarkable when read in conjunction

[1] C. S. P. Simancas, 1568-79, No. 102.
[2] Ibid., No. 307.
[3] C. S. P. Simancas, 1580-86, No. 431.

with that of the Venetian ambassador, who described Elizabeth's fleet in 1585 as 'more powerful than all the other Princes of Christendom, so strong that one must see it to believe it.'[1] During the year of Mendoza's report there were actually sixteen ships of the Royal Navy and one galley in commission.[2] However, it is a matter of congratulation rather than otherwise that Philip's ambassadors and spies were continually furnishing their master with such inaccurate details, and the exploits of Drake and his colleagues certainly helped to dispel any illusion that that monarch may have had of the effeminate character of the Elizabethan seamen.

We next come to the Armada year, which teems with reports on the English fleet by Philip's agents. In February a Spanish emissary in England reported that the Queen had fitted out the best ships she had, 'four being of a thousand to 1500 tons burden; three of 900; five of 600 to 800; six of 300 to 400 and up to 500; five of 200 to 250.' The armament of each class was carefully noted and sent to Spain, and was from 48 bronze pieces in the largest ships to 18 in those of the 200 to 250 ton ships. According to the Spanish 'advices from London' on the 15th of February, the trouble was to find sufficient men to man the ships, and although a 'review of sailors' was held, only 7500 were mustered, and some of these refused to serve.[3] A fortnight later Mendoza wrote that the royal ships 'were so ruinous,' that the naval authorities were at a loss to know what to do, and dared not inform the Queen of their true condition.

[1] C. S. P. Ven. vol. 8, p. 110.
[2] Oppenheim, p. 118.
[3] C. S. P. Simancas, 1587-1603, No. 217.

Being old, the great weight of the artillery and stores they carried had told upon them, ' so that it would be dangerous to attempt any great voyage,' besides which the country was very short of powder.[1] As a final stimulant to Philip's ambitions, a Spanish spy in London, less than two months before the Armada sailed, informed his royal master that the English fleet consisted of ' only fifty ships belonging to the Queen, and twenty merchantmen, with twenty pataches.' According to the same source the soldiers and sailors on board did not exceed 8000 men.[2] The only vessel in the fleet which excited the admiration of the Spaniards was the ship built for Raleigh, and she was reported to be made so strong by means of a new invention of castles, that she ' could never be taken alla banda (? by boarding).'[3] This was the *Ark Raleigh* launched in the previous June, and bought by the Crown for £5000. She was the Lord Admiral's flagship, which he reported ' the odd ship in the world for all conditions,' and her record against the Armada and in subsequent operations certainly bore out Nottingham's quaint but emphatic statement.[4]

Whatever Philip may have thought of the information sent to him, it was decidedly misleading and far from the truth. It was the Venetian ambassador's firm belief that the Spanish Government knew only too well ' how much consideration ought to be paid to such a fleet as the English.' The sturdy seamen who manned it were, in the words of the ambassador, ' men

[1] C. S. P. Simancas, 1587-1603, No. 231.
[2] Ibid., No. 255. A ' patache ' was a pinnace or advice-boat.
[3] Ibid., No. 217.
[4] She remained on the active list until 1636.

of another mettle from the Spaniards,' and 'enjoyed the reputation of being, above all the Western nations, expert and active in all naval operations, and great sea-dogs.'[1] Nevertheless it was evident that Philip failed to understand the English temperament, that dogged and determined spirit, so peculiar to the race, which has always fanned itself into flame when danger has threatened these islands. It was so in 1588, for as soon as the menace of a Spanish invasion was realised, a tremendous wave of patriotism swept through the length and breadth of the country carrying everything before it.

From all the batteries of the Tower pealed loud the voice of fear;
And all the thousand masts of Thames sent back a louder cheer.

The result was that, besides the 34 royal ships, there were 34 merchantmen, and 30 from the City of London, to say nothing of numerous other vessels, placed at the service of Elizabeth.[2]

How the Spanish fleet fared at the hands of the Elizabethan seamen is well known, and while the conflict was in progress, the Venetian ambassador sent home an account of the battle. It contained, perhaps, the finest eulogy of English seamanship that has ever been penned by a foreigner—a eulogy which found a resounding and triumphant ring during the last war in the indomitable spirit and bravery displayed by our forces both on sea and land, who willingly sacrificed all in order that England might be free from the foreign yoke. 'The English never yield,' the ambassador

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1581-91, No. 648.

[2] S. P. rel. to the defeat of the Armada, ii. 331. Actually there were employed 197 ships, and 15,925 men.

wrote, ' and though driven back, and thrown into confusion, they always return to the fight, thirsting for vengeance as long as they have a breath of life. In this present case,' he continued, ' they would consider themselves victorious, even if they died to a man along with the enemy, provided they could save the kingdom, as they propose to do by one bloody battle, which shall so weaken the Spanish forces that they dare not venture on a landing.' [1] How truly such noble words might be applied to those who made the supreme sacrifice in 1914–1918 !

By the defeat of the Armada our reputation as the foremost naval power was firmly established, so much so, that every visitor of distinction mapped out his itinerary to include a visit to the fleet which was then anchored in the Medway ' all along the river from Rochester to Upnor Castle, and six miles thence.' [2] On the occasion of the visit of Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, in 1592, there were ' not less than forty ships of war ' ; and among that number was one that bore the name of a famous warship of to-day. This was the *Lion* of 500 tons, which in the words of the Duke's secretary, ' caused immense damage to the mighty Spanish armada.' [3] It is needless to remark that she was an object of particular interest to the Duke, who also inspected another equally famous ship, the *Golden Hind*, in which Drake had circumnavigated the globe a few years before. On her return she was placed in the dock at Deptford by command of the

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1581-91, No. 706.

[2] ' Descr. of England,' 1588, by William Smith.

[3] Rye, ' Eng. as seen by Foreigners,' pp. 48-49. For an account of the action, see Navy Records, Soc. i. pp. 10-13.

Queen, who ordered the ship to be preserved as a memorial of Drake's daring adventure. The Duke found her 'a very large and strongly built ship of several hundred lasts, exceedingly fit to undertake so protracted and dangerous a voyage, and well able to bear much buffeting.' The interior was also strongly constructed and 'the cabins and armouries' were reported to be 'in fine order as in a well-built castle, the middle where the largest cannon are placed being eighteen good paces wide.'[1] The *Golden Hind* remained for a number of years one of the sights of the kingdom, and it is not surprising to learn, on account of the souvenir-seeking propensity of her many visitors, that by 1617 only the 'broken ribs' of Drake's famous ship were left.[2] A memento, however, has been preserved in the shape of a chair made out of her timbers, which may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

By 1596, the year in which Howard, Essex, and Raleigh destroyed the Spanish shipping in Cadiz Harbour, and saved England from the menace of Philip's second Armada, the Elizabethan navy had reached the zenith of its power. Both in ships and men, England predominated over every other country. 'The Queen has every opportunity to muster fleets,' wrote a Venetian nobleman on a visit to England in that year, 'for all the ports are full of ships, especially the Thames, where one sees nothing else but ships and seamen.'[3] How the Elizabethan coastguard kept watch over our shores, and mustered the armed forces of the country in case of a threatened invasion, is vividly

[1] Rye, p. 49. [2] Ibid., p. 219.
[3] C. S. P. Ven. 1592-1603, No. 505.

described by him. 'Against all invasion in force they have this, to me, admirable arrangement,' he wrote. 'The whole country is diversified by charming hills, and from the summits of those which are nearer the sea they sweep the whole horizon. On these summits are poles, with braziers filled with inflammable material, which is fired by the sentinel if armed ships of the enemy are sighted, and so in a moment the news spreads from hill to hill throughout the kingdom, and every one rushes to the place whence the signal comes.'[1]

And the broad streams of pikes and flags rushed down each
roaring street;
And broader still became the blaze, and louder still the din,
As fast from every village round the horse came spurring in.

On leaving England this noble Venetian embarked at Deal in an armed ship, and before he had been at sea many hours, he had reason to be proud of the officers and men he sailed with. 'At midnight,' he wrote, 'we sighted seven ships supposed to be from Dunkerque. We all armed, for our captain resolved to attack; but when we drew near we found they were friends. It was marvellous,' he added, 'to see the courage of the English in going to attack at such a disadvantage. These people fight to the death; and it is their habit before they sail to swear to one another that they will fire the ship rather than yield themselves prisoners, so resolute is this race in battle.'[2] It was the pure love of the Elizabethan seaman for his country that earned for him such a high reputation, and made the English flag feared, if not actually respected, in

[1] Michele in 1557 also comments on these braziers.
[2] C. S. P. Ven. 1592-1603, No. 505.

every sea where it flew. The Queen has been unjustly accused of parsimony towards the fleet, but she maintained to the end of her life a striking personal interest in maritime affairs, and the efficiency of her ships and sailors bore ample testimony to her wisdom and foresight. 'The Queen always keeps her eye on naval affairs,' wrote the Venetian secretary Scaramelli, a little more than a month before her death. 'She has equipped eight new galleons of war to be sent out this year, not in the name of the English nation, but as the Queen's private ships.' They were of considerable size, being upwards of a thousand tons each, and in armament were superior to the ordinary privateers, having a 'large number of guns of bronze exquisitely finished.' They were to have '500 sailors a-piece, besides other troops on board.'[1] Throughout the whole of her reign, Elizabeth was always ready to participate in the maritime expeditions of her subjects, and by doing so she kept alive the splendid spirit of adventure—a spirit which burned with feverish patriotism in the heart of the nation, and stimulated it to deeds of gallant enterprise, from which its menfolk returned 'hardened by peril, tempered by experience, and transformed into splendid seamen.'

When the Queen died in March, 1603, she bequeathed to her successor the finest fleet of men-of-war then afloat.[2] 'For the defence of the kingdom,' Scaramelli wrote, 'the Queen leaves behind her 38 ships. Only 15 of these 38 are fitted out just now with munitions of war,' though the naval stores were sufficiently supplied 'to arm upwards of 200 ships.' If the Scottish fleet were added to these he thought one might 'almost

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1592-1603, No. 1132. [2] Oppenheim, p. 184.

say that the new King could make a bridge of ships across the sea.'[1] James, however, had no intention of using the fleet as Elizabeth had done to check the naval power of the Spaniards, and one of the first acts of his reign was to bring to an end the warlike operations that had been carried on against them since the days of the Armada. In 1604 a peace between the two countries was brought about, and for the purpose of ratifying this the Duke of Frias, Constable of Castile, was despatched as an ambassador to England. On the 5th of September the Duke and his suite visited Rochester, where, according to the Spanish account, 'the shipping consisted of 30 first-rate galleons, and about 50 ordinary ones, together with 4 galleys, each with 24 rowing benches and flatter than those belonging to the King of Spain.' It is pleasing to read that the Spaniards had at last learnt not to despise the English fleet, and that 'the magnificent appearance' of the Admiral's flagship, which they inspected, 'surpassed everything they had before seen or heard of.'[2]

In July of this year James held his first naval review at Rochester, a function which seems to have been marked by an extraordinary lack of interest on the part of the King. Though the Venetian ambassador informs us that the fleet assembled to greet its new monarch 'numbered thirty-seven sail, besides many ships belonging to private owners'[3]—an imposing enough spectacle one would have thought to have stirred the heart of the most apathetic landsman—

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1592-1603, No. 1169.

[2] Ellis, 'Original Letters,' ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 215. Another distinguished Spaniard who visited the fleet in 1604 was the Duke of Osuna.

[3] C. S. P. Ven. 1603-7, No. 238.

James showed no enthusiasm either for his ships or sailors. In fact, an eye-witness records the King 'took so little notice' that the officers and men were offended, and came to the conclusion that his Majesty 'loved stags more than ships, and the sound of hunting horns more than that of cannon.'[1] Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the strength and condition of the Navy seriously declined. First and foremost a peace-loving monarch, and passionately fond of the chase, he looked on battleships as instruments of warfare only, and not as valuable assets whereby the commerce of the country might be protected, and the dangers of invasion prevented. Thus in 1607, Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador here, recorded that the English Navy had 'fallen off greatly from the days of Henry VII and Henry VIII, when it consisted of 100 ships fully manned and found, with officers on full pay, ready to put to sea in force at a moment's notice.' Now, he stated, 'it numbers only 37 ships, many of them old and rotten, and barely fit for service.' What must have been the condition of the naval forces of Spain and France at this period may be judged from the rest of his report; evidently they were infinitely worse than our own, for Molin stated that 'the few vessels' which England possessed, joined with 'those of private persons, would be sufficient not only in defence, but to a certain extent for offence as well.' Though the Royal Navy had declined, the mercantile marine still continued to flourish. 'These ships,' he reported, 'scattered about the kingdom, represent a fleet of upwards of 200 sail, not counting the foreigners.' If necessity required, it would not be difficult to fit

[1] Comte de Beaumont, French ambassador, Arch. Cantiana, vi. 55.

them out, for England was 'as well supplied as any country with artillery, powder and arms, and more important still,' was 'full of sailors and men fit for service at sea.' In conclusion Molin uttered a warning note to the effect that if the country remained long at peace, 'and did not make up her mind to keep up a larger navy, and stop the sale of ships and guns, she would soon be reduced to a worse condition.'[1] Experienced seamen had also given expression to the same opinion, and had endeavoured to impress upon the King the necessity of maintaining a strong Navy even in the time of peace. Prominent among them was Raleigh, who in his 'Observations on the Navy and Sea Service,' dedicated to Prince Henry, thus criticises the little Navy party of his day: 'Some contrary spirits,' he wrote, 'will object, and say unto me, why should his Majesty and the state be troubled with this needless charge of keeping and maintaining so great a navy . . . the times being now peaceable. To this I answer, that this, indeed, may stand (at the first sight) for a pretty superficial argument to blear our eyes, and lull us asleep in security. But we must not flatter and deceive ourselves. . . . Though the sword be put into the sheath, we must not suffer it there to rust or stick so fast, as that we shall not be able to draw it readily when need requires.' During nearly the whole of the reign foreign opinion of the fleet was, without exception, always in the same strain. While drawing attention to the miserable state of the royal ships, these foreigners emphasised the strength and efficiency of our merchant shipping, which really formed an integral portion of the Navy. Nor was their

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1603-7, No. 739.

opinion biassed or untrue. Six years after Molin's report, his successor, Foscarini, expressed his admiration and wonder at what he had seen in the various ports of the kingdom. 'In the port of Bristol,' he wrote, 'I counted 43 vessels with tops, besides 10 of seven to eight hundred tons, and other smaller ones in the part nearest the sea.' Newcastle was also a hive of industry, and in the port the ambassador counted '98 with tops, and they asserted that there were more than as many again further down.' In fact, he found 'all the ports armed with a great number of ships,' and in the opinion of the ambassador, 'these realms' were 'masters of this part of the ocean.'[1] The English merchant ships stood second to none in the eyes of the Venetians, and in 1618 when Venice was in danger of an attack from the Spaniards, their ambassador here hired seven armed merchantmen to assist in the defence of the Republic. Dutch vessels could have been hired at far less cost, but the English were considered to be the better built. No higher praise could have been bestowed on English seamanship than that given by the ambassador in his report to the Doge. The English sailors so excelled all others in battle, he wrote, 'that I did not choose to part with them.'[2] By the following year the condition of the royal ships had evidently gone from bad to worse. The Venetian ambassador draws a gloomy picture of the fleet lying in the Medway simply rotting away. There were 24 great ships 'each like a fallen colossus of the sea, shut up in a ditch of stagnant water, disarmed and abandoned, a prey to the rage and injuries of the

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1613-15, No. 84.
[2] Ibid., 1617-19, Pref. xxiv.

weather.' A more sorry plight than this is difficult to imagine. 'During the sixteen years that James has been King of England,' he wrote, 'they have never knocked a nail into any of the royal ships, or so much as thought of such things.'[1] By 1619, however, James had been roused from his lethargy, and although he still liked to think that 'true glories and trophies did not always consist in arms and fleets, but much more often in the works of peace,'[2] from this period onwards he showed a remarkable interest in maritime affairs. In 1618 he appointed a special commission to inquire into the state of the Navy, which was followed in 1619 by the appointment of Buckingham as Lord High Admiral. His commissioners held office for five years, and the methodical way in which they built two new ships for the Navy during each year of office is worthy of the highest praise. While the Royal Navy was in process of reconstruction, the mercantile marine continued to excite the admiration of the rest of the world, and in 1622 Girolamo Lando, the Venetian ambassador, reported that England was 'as fruitful in commerce as by the gifts of nature, famous for its ships, and for its great sea captains.' It possesses, he wrote, 'fleets of hundreds and thousands of ships, together with all the material for building and arming them,' with the exception of pitch, flax, tow, and rope, which were imported from Russia and Danzig. England had quite 2500 ships in the various ports, 'and one might without trouble select 200 or more fit to render good service if there was a way to maintain them.' The difficulty was not so much from lack of *matériel* as *personnel*, for which the peaceful policy of James was mainly re-

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1617-19, Nos. 253, 690. [2] Ibid., 1621-23, No. 603.

sponsible. We know that the gallant seamen who manned Elizabeth's fleet had been mainly recruited from those of her subjects who had served their apprenticeship at sea as privateers, but James had long since stopped this fruitful source of supply. 'By his Majesty's prohibition of privateering,' the ambassador wrote, 'the old school of seamanship has declined, and it will be difficult without such an outlet to keep it in such a flourishing condition.'[1] It was not long, however, before such an 'outlet' presented itself, and with the accession of Charles I the maritime population were once more actively engaged in wars with both France and Spain.

II.—1625-1671

When Charles I ascended the throne there were welcome signs that the maritime affairs of the country would receive more attention and consideration than they had done during the previous reign. From the first the King showed a keener interest in the Navy than his father, and moreover, he fully realised what a valuable diplomatic asset a powerful fleet was to the kingdom. Within a month of his accession he went down to Blackwall, the Venetian ambassador informs us, in order to inspect forty merchant vessels that were being fitted out for service in the Navy.[2] The energy he displayed was untiring, and the personal supervision he bestowed on the fleet called forth the highest praise from all quarters. 'The industry of the king,' wrote

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1621-23, No. 603.
[2] Ibid., 1625-26, No. 38.

Salvetti, the Tuscan resident at Whitehall, on the 25th of April, 1625, 'is observable in the manner in which he attends to the business of each day; above all, the ardour with which he hastens the outfit of the naval armament. He has lately given orders, with every necessary strictness, for provisioning and arming the ships of the fleet for a longer period, and at the same time for sheathing all the vessels, so that they may be able to keep the sea for a considerable period without being worm-eaten.' [1]

Unfortunately for Charles the administrative departments of the Navy were in a disorganised and corrupt condition, and he had to contend with a 'continuous record of carelessness and fraud, which neither Commissioners nor Lords Commissioners seem to have been able to stamp out.' [2] The failure of the expedition to Cadiz in 1625 was mainly due to this, and in December, 1626, the king appointed a Special Commission to inquire into the state of the Navy and the abuses that existed in the service. Their report, which throws a most illuminating light on the condition of the fleet, was presented to Charles in February of the following year, and among other things it shows that of the thirty ships on the active list at the death of James I, no less than nineteen were in need of substantial repairs, and one had become unserviceable. It is almost incredible, but nevertheless a fact, that in the short space of three years since the Commissioners of the Navy had finished their programme, two-thirds of the Navy should have become unseaworthy. The real cause of this astonishing decay is difficult to deter-

[1] Hist. MSS. Com.; Skrine MSS., p. 7.

[2] Oppenheim, 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' p. 284.

mine. The financial straits in which the Government found themselves was no doubt one of them, though the corruption and peculation of the various officials employed in the dockyards and elsewhere were probably directly responsible. The Commissioners themselves, who had been constituted as a permanent body in 1619, were not above suspicion, and some of them had become parties to the very frauds and abuses that they had been appointed to check and reform. Under these circumstances, with the administrative departments of the Navy a veritable den of fraud and bribery, it is not surprising that the naval expeditions of Charles I were doomed to failure.

In view of the serious menace to our maritime supremacy by the rebuilding of the French Navy, it was suggested by the Special Commissioners that eighteen ships and two pinnaces should be built at once for the constant guard of the Narrow Seas.[1] Their efforts ' to speedily perfect the good work they had begun,' found a responsive ring in the heart of the King, who made a determined effort to carry out their suggestions. Among the provisions for a supply which he laid before Parliament when it assembled, was the furnishing of thirty ships with men and victuals to guard the Narrow Seas, and the building of twenty ships yearly for the increase and maintenance of the Navy,[2] but Charles, like his father, failed to convince them of the urgency of the need.

In consequence, the sparse supplies that were voted would not admit of his shipbuilding programme being

[1] The proceedings of this important Commission are to be found in the State Papers Dom. Ch. I., vol. 45.

[2] ' Parliamentary Hist.,' ii. 246.

carried into effect, and the suggestions of the Special Commissioners for the welfare of the Navy and the naval service generally had not matured, before war broke out between England and France, and resulted in the disastrous expeditions to Rhé and Rochelle in 1627 and 1628, respectively. Even in the darkest hour, however, the determined spirit of the nation did not falter, and after the return of part of the fleet from Rochelle in November, 1628, Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, wrote home stating how vividly he was impressed by what he had seen. 'Your Excellencies,' he stated, 'will see how bravely they behave here in the face of dejection and disaster, and how the resolves already formed advance under every fortune.'[1] A few months afterwards a peace between the two countries was brought about, and one result of the welcome truce was to stimulate Charles and his naval advisers to greater efforts, for it was imperative that England should increase and improve her Navy if she was to preserve her status as the foremost naval Power. Up to 1631, the French had built no less than thirty-nine warships within the space of five years, while the Dutch had openly flouted the English claim to the sovereignty of the seas.[2]

The race for maritime supremacy had at last begun in earnest, and the English dockyards responded slowly but surely to the call made on them. 'In England,' wrote Vincenzo Gussoni, who was Venetian ambassador here during the years 1632–34, 'it is a fundamental maxim of the State to be always on the watch to be effectively more powerful at sea than all her

[1] C. S. P. Ven. 1628-29, No. 577.
[2] Fulton, 'Sovereignty of the Seas,' pp. 246-7.

neighbours'; and in truth this exactly expressed the policy which Charles and his naval advisers set themselves out to fulfil in spite of the most strenuous opposition. 'The English say,' the ambassador stated, 'that it is necessary that this power on sea, with superiority over all others, should always be maintained, this being the sole advantage remaining to Great Britain, with her neighbours powerful on land, who if they were more powerful at sea, could no doubt venture on enterprises against her.' Being an island nation, he added, 'the English could not make themselves feared, if not through their sea-forces, in respect of which they will be feared as long as they remain superior.'[1] That she should be superior, and remain so, was the King's one ambition, and the idea of enforcing the English claim to the sovereignty of the seas surrounding her, which had long been maturing in the minds of Charles and his council, assumed definite shape in the very year that Gussoni penned his report, and resulted in the famous yearly naval demonstrations known as the ship-money fleets.

Like all his predecessors the ambassador was a shrewd observer, and his report on England is of especial interest as showing the naval force that Charles had at his disposal on the eve of launching his ambitious, but necessary project, and the methodical means which had been devised for equipping and manning the fleet at the shortest notice. To facilitate this, the entrances to the storerooms in the various dockyards were marked

[1] 'Relazione d'Inghilterra di V. Gussoni, 1635.' (Printed in Barozzi and Berchet, 'Relazioni degli stati Europei,' etc., ser. iv. Inghilterra, 1863.)

with the name or ' emblem ' of each ship, in order that there should be no confusion or delay in the event of the fleet being mobilised. Though the ambassador reported that in ordinary times there were only four warships in commission, there were also ' twenty-four at Rochester, and twelve in the Port of Plymouth, totalling altogether forty war vessels belonging to the king.' The thirty-six that were not equipped could, according to the ambassador, ' get fully armed in no time from stores, which by the best rule ' were ' always kept ready and prepared with all necessary outfit.' These were ' expressly guarded in a place close by in the form of an arsenal, divided up into several storerooms,' in each of which was kept ' everything that might be required for arming a vessel.' The ' blazoning or emblem of the name ' of each of the ships was ' placed on the door of each of the storerooms,' [1] and distinguished ' with good order all the armaments and equipment of every one of them.' The official list of the period shows that the Navy was constituted of 42 ships, comprising 4 first rates ; 16 second rates ; 10 third rates ; 2 fourth rates ; 8 fifth rates ; and 2 sixth rates,[2] the strength of which was considerably augmented by the various merchant vessels hired by the Crown. ' In order to raise eighty armed vessels for war purposes,' Gussoni wrote, ' it has recently

[1] The ambassador's meaning on this most interesting and hitherto unnoticed point is not quite clear. He states ' E l'arma o impresa del nome di ognuno delli vascelli preditti posta sulla porta delle stanza predette.' It is not known that the warships of this period had any distinctive arms or crest, and he may mean that the figurehead was painted on the door (for those who could not read), as well as the ship's name.

[2] Mayo, ' Trinity House,' p. 20.

been begun to give orders for two additional vessels to be built each year,' and while these were being constructed the timber for two more was in course of preparation. ' Thus from year to year,' he stated, ' in compliance with the royal decree, they will proceed with the building of two, and two laid down in the shops.' This method was carried out during the years 1632 to 1634 when Gussoni was resident here, and six ships were built for the Navy. It was continued again in 1636, and in 1637 three ships were launched, including the *Sovereign of the Seas*, the largest man-of-war then afloat.

In spite of this acceleration in the shipbuilding programme of the Royal Navy, the maritime strength of the country was largely dependent on the efficiency of its mercantile marine, which during the reign of Charles I presented a fleet, if not numerically superior, at least as formidable as that of any other Power. Owing to the dangers merchant ships were exposed to from pirates and privateers, they all sailed ' well provisioned and armed,' and their crews were disciplined and experienced seamen, capable of rendering a good account of themselves whenever the necessity arose. The usefulness of such vessels in the event of war was fully recognised by the State, who granted a bounty of five shillings a ton on all over one hundred tons, and when hired for war purposes the rate was two shillings a ton per month.[1] The reliance placed on their services is shown by the large percentage of armed merchantmen in the various fleets fitted out by Charles I. According to Gussoni, England could make use of from nine hundred and forty to a thousand

[1] Oppenheim, pp. 269, 274.

merchant ships, all in good condition, at every occurrence of war. ' It is understood,' he wrote, ' that this number includes four hundred vessels which, from Newcastle far up to the Scottish border, carry to all ports of the kingdom combustible soil (*i.e.* coal).' [1] The number of mariners available for the manning of the royal and merchant shipping is not forthcoming, but that it was very considerable may be judged from Gussoni's estimate of twenty thousand on the Thames alone between Gravesend and London, all of which ' marine folk in every case of arming of vessels,' was obliged ' to serve in time of war.' The maritime trade of the kingdom was mainly due to the enterprise and resource of its great merchant companies, ' the traffic of which,' in the words of the ambassador, ' even in the remotest parts of the world,' carried with it besides private utility ' emoluments, and most relevant honour to the public.' The most prominent among them was the East India Company, whose magnificent ships, ' like seafaring movable fortresses,' were expressly built to serve the double purpose of war and trade, and were ' with such punctuality provided with every kind of equipment, and for all imaginable requirements,' that they excited ' universal wonderment.' [2]

This improvement in naval architecture during the reign of Charles I is particularly noticeable, and it was

[1] A list drawn up in June, 1634, of ships in the various ports bears out the ambassador's statement. London had 154, including 8 East Indiamen from 350-1000 tons; Suffolk, 233; Essex, 34; Norfolk and Devon, 104 each; Cornwall, 64; Dorset, 50; Hants, 166; Cinque Ports, 13 above 100 tons; a total of 922 vessels without including Newcastle, Bristol, and other places. (S. P. Dom. Ch. I., cclxx. 64.)

[2] ' Relazione ' of V. Gussoni, 1635.

to the King's understanding of the naval needs of the country, and the genius of Phineas Pett, that it was wholly due. That the superior classes of ships which Charles prepared and built had a most material effect on the course of the Dutch wars, as Admiral Colomb asserts,[1] is shown in the 'Relazione' of Giovanni Sagredo drawn up in 1656. In spite of the fact that the Dutch ships were faster, their inferiority to the English was most marked, and a contemporary states that ours were built 'so full of timber' that they would have lasted seventy years against the Dutch seven.[2] Therefore our more solidly built and better armed men-of-war gave us an immense advantage, against which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch was of no avail, and it may truly be said of the Dutch wars that they emphasised the importance of the ship of the line in naval warfare.

Speaking of the first Dutch war Sagredo states 'that such powerful fleets, and such sanguinary sea battles' had never been witnessed before 'between more brave and more angry nations,' and there was 'so much effusion of blood that on more than one occasion the sea was tinged with the wrath of so much fighting.'[3]

[1] 'Naval Warfare,' p. 31. As a modern writer remarks, in reference to the adherence of the fleet to the Parliament on the outbreak of the Civil War, 'it is one of the ironies of history that the fleet for which he (Charles I) had done, according to his lights, so much, should have been largely instrumental in bringing about his downfall' (*Quarterly Review*, vol. 202, p. 168). By the possession of the fleet Parliament commenced the war infinitely stronger on sea than on land, and no new ships were laid down until 1646, when the result of the struggle was no longer in doubt (Oppenheim, p. 295).

[2] Oppenheim, p. 254.

[3] 'Relazione d'Inghilterra di G. Sagredo, 1656.' (Printed in Barozzi and Berchet. 'Relazioni,' etc., 1863.)

To detail the many and hotly contested battles of the war, which commenced in 1652 and extended over a period of nearly two years, does not come within the scope of this book; but one incident which occurred during the last engagement off the Dutch coast is worthy of recounting, and illustrates the splendid discipline of the English seamen, whose bravery disheartened the valiant Tromp himself. It is narrated by a Frenchman, who was an eye-witness of the incident. During the course of the battle, three of our ships ran foul of each other, and Tromp, perceiving the difficulty they were in, 'immediately sent a fireship, which arrived so precisely in time, that they all took fire and blew up with a report capable of striking terror into the breast of the most intrepid.' Nevertheless, the narrator records, 'the English sustained with incredible valour all the efforts of the Dutch, and were seen to perish rather than give way, which grieved Admiral Tromp and made him resolve to attack the English Admiral; and the two ships were on the point of grappling when Admiral Tromp was killed by a musket-shot. This disaster damped the courage of the Dutch, who began to bear to windward, and to engage only in retreating.' [1]

Sagredo informs us that the Dutch 'incurred heavier losses in two years' war with the English, than they had suffered in a hundred years with the Spaniards,' [2] and his report on the three principal causes of their defeat is particularly interesting, written as it was within two years of the conclusion of the war, and

[1] Cited in 'Sir W. Penn's Life,' i. p. 511.

[2] The war reduced the Dutch to greater extremities than the long war of eighty years had done against the Crown of Spain (Colliber, 'Columna Rostrata,' p. 127).

when the events were fresh in the public mind. It shows that the fundamental principles of naval warfare were the same in the past as they are to-day, and that England realised the value of sea power to an island nation, and exercised it to the full extent. The unpreparedness of the Dutch ; their lack of large ships and guns of long range ; the capture of their merchant ships and crippling of their commerce, through the English fleet commanding the trade routes of the world, were the main reasons which contributed to their downfall, as shown in Sagredo's report, of which we venture to give a translation. ' The Dutch disadvantages may be ascribed to three causes,' he wrote, ' the first, because having got used to unpreparedness, much as they abounded in merchant vessels, they lacked in warships of the power and range (of guns) compared with those of the English.[1] In the second, the Dutch ships had no cannon of bronze, whilst the English had a superabundance of them of most extraordinary size. At the first encounter of the fleets, before they came to close quarters, the English guns of longer range and of greater force crippled the Dutch fleet, without the latter being able to make an equal impression on their enemy with the same amount of damage. The third, and most important disadvantage, was at the first outbreak of the war the English had reliable information that the Dutch had more than three thousand merchant vessels scattered over the different trading routes, and divers armed fleets were

[1] Tromp himself realised this, and declared that without a considerable reinforcement of large men-of-war he could not do further service ; and de With, his Vice-Admiral, is reported to have said in the presence of the States, ' The English are masters of us, and by consequence of the sea ' (Colliber, ' Columna Rostrata,' p. 127).

sent to seize the principal routes, and capture as many Dutch vessels as they were able to. By this means they made a big haul of enemy vessels in the Sound, in the Baltic, in the Portugal seas, along the trading routes to the East Indies, in the Ocean, and in the Mediterranean, that without exaggeration it may be stated that in this way the Dutch paid all the expenses of the war. To myself in Amsterdam they confessed they had lost one thousand two hundred vessels, a misfortune which compelled this otherwise powerful nation to obtain a peace at most disadvantageous terms.'[1] The 'terms' were that the Dutch were forced to acknowledge the right of the English flag to the salute in the British seas, and to submit to the terms of Cromwell's Navigation Act, which dealt a severe blow at their carrying trade. The treaty of peace was proclaimed with due solemnity by the heralds in London, and the 23rd of May, 1654, was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving for the success of the English fleet.[2]

Having brought the Dutch war to a successful conclusion the naval enterprise of Cromwell did not rest there, and right up to the time of his death the Navy was fully employed in expeditions against the maritime power of Spain both in the Mediterranean and West Indies.

At the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the number of ships of all rates on the Navy List reached the grand total of 180,[3] and the seamen, who on the

[1] Sagredo's information, as he states, was from a Dutch source, but the number, great as it is, was probably understated. Other accounts estimate the number of prizes from 1500-1700.

[2] C. S. P. Dom. 1654, Pref. i.

[3] Ibid., 1659–60, p. 427.

outbreak of the Civil War had ranged themselves on the side of the Parliament, were now equally anxious to place their services at the disposal of the King.[1] A fleet of thirty-one warships was fitted out under the command of Edward Montague (afterwards Earl of Sandwich) to escort the King back from Holland, and on the 25th of May Charles landed at Dover amid general rejoicings. Well might a Frenchman resident here, who had witnessed the strange scenes of the last few years, exclaim in a letter to a friend in Paris, 'Good God! Do the same people inhabit England that were in it ten or twelve years ago? Believe me, I know not whether I am in England or no, or whether I dream.'[2]

The Restoration did not alter the naval policy of the country, and the efforts of Charles I and Cromwell to make England supreme on sea were continued in no less a degree by Charles II. The extraordinary knowledge of naval affairs displayed by the King is a point on which all his historians are agreed, and it is recorded of him that 'almost the only pleasure of mind he seemed addicted to was shipping and sea-affairs.'[3] 'Therefore it is not surprising that his reign should have been one of continual naval activity, the most important events of which were the second and third Dutch wars. The former broke out towards

[1] The irregularity of the seamen's pay, which had much to do with their action on the eve of the Civil War, became acute during the last years of the Commonwealth, and in February, 1660, the wages due amounted to £354,000, the crews of some ships having been unpaid for four years (Oppenheim, 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' p. 320).

[2] C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60, p. 428.

[3] Buckingham's Works, 1715, ii. 239.

the end of 1664 without any formal declaration of war, and from the correspondence of the Comte de Cominges, the French ambassador at the English Court, we are enabled to obtain a glimpse of the feverish haste in which the King and the administrative departments of the Navy worked in order to equip the fleet. The untiring energy of the Duke of York, brother of the King and Lord High Admiral, is thus commented on by the ambassador in his dispatch of November 3rd, 1664. ' The Duke of York spends all his days and part of his nights upon the river,' he wrote, ' seeing that his ships are being armed and the stores filled. The Duke and his party act as if he were on the point of putting to sea. On Saturday he ordered out of Chatham the *St. James*, the best ship in England, bearing eighty pieces. His upholsterer is furnishing his apartments there, and his quartermaster marks the " cabanes " for the noblemen who are to accompany him.' [1] Charles himself was equally active in speeding up the naval armament, and two days later the ambassador accompanied the King to Woolwich for the purpose of launching a new warship, the *Royal Katharine*, of 1200 tons. Cominges, who had yet to witness the development of the French Navy,[2] was greatly impressed by the formidable appearance of the latest acquisition to the English fleet, and on the following day he sent Louis XIV an account of the launch of ' the finest and most royal ship ' he had ever seen.

[1] Jusserand, ' A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II,' pp. 135, 230.

[2] The ambassador landed in England at the end of 1662. In 1661 the French Navy comprised 30 ships of all kinds, and only three of that number mounted over 60 guns (Mahan, ' Influence of Sea Power upon History,' p. 72).

'Whilst the painters are employed in embellishing the outside and the cabins,' he wrote, 'the ship is masted, rigged, and the guns put on board, which are seventy in number. The lower tier consists of four 48-pounders, six 36-pounders, and the remainder 24; and the upper tier, of six of 24, and the rest of 18; the greater part are of cast metal, though the iron are hardly inferior, of which they make some of 24 pounds calibre, which weigh very little more than those of cast metal.' Of the splendour of the other warships that were being fitted in the dockyard, Cominges was most enthusiastic. 'I confess to you, Sire,' he added in his dispatch, 'that nothing finer can be seen than this marine; nothing more majestic than this great number of vessels, built and building; this vast quantity of cannon, masts, cordage, planks, and other machines requisite for this kind of warfare.'[1] Having created such a favourable impression on the ambassador, Charles resolved to show him the other portion of the fleet then being equipped in the Medway. His almost boyish enthusiasm knew no bounds, and within a week he sent a messenger to Cominges before daybreak requesting his company on a visit to Chatham. Though roused from his bed at five o'clock on a winter's morning the ambassador does not seem to have been in the least perturbed, and gladly accepted the royal invitation. 'Last Monday,' he afterwards wrote to Louis, 'the King of England sent me a message to ask me to go with him to Chatham to see six vessels, or rather "six machines de guerre," the finest and largest to be seen at sea. The ship meant for the Duke of York, named the *Charles*, is as handsome inside as

[1] G. Penn, 'Life of Sir W. Penn,' ii. pp. 301-2.

the most magnificent " cabinets," and as strong outside as the strongest fortress. It is mounted with eighty pieces of cannon, whereof there are six in the forecastle, two of which are culverins of prodigious length.' [1]

At the time Cominges was being royally entertained, one of his countrymen had published an account of a visit to England in 1663, which created a good deal of sensation both in France and England. This was Monsieur de Sorbière, physician and historiographer-royal, who, unlike the ambassador, seems to have found the iron balustrade surmounting Rochester Bridge of greater interest than the men-of-war at anchor in the river.[2] Englishmen were naturally proud of their fleet, and for a foreigner to record his impressions of England without due reference to our naval forces, was to run the risk of severe castigation at the hands of patriotic Britons. Thus Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, attacks Sorbière. ' He is very exact in surveying the bay windows at Canterbury. . . . He commends the convenient form of Rochester Bridge, which he says is so contrived that men's hats cannot be blown over. . . . But, I pray, Sir, mark, that he spends very many more lines in speaking of each of these toys, than of the most magnificent arsenal at Chatham, which lyes just below that bridge. Of this he only in passing says, that here our ships of war are built, and here they are laid up when they return. . . . Where then was his philosophical

[1] Jusserand, ' A French ambassador at the Court of Charles II,' pp. 137, 232.

[2] ' Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre,' Paris, 1664. Soon after its publication the author was committed to the Bastille, and afterwards exiled to Lower Brittany.

curiosity ? Where his discretion to know good things ? . . . Where could the ancient or modern world have shown a nobler sight ? For there, in one view, he might have seen the ships that command the ocean ; that make this small people that he despises terrible to the ends of the earth. . . . And without question, the *Sovereign*, the *Charles*, the *Prince*, the *James*, the *Henry*, the *London*, the *Resolution*, and about a hundred more, the best in the world, might have been thought worthy naming by him.' [1]

While Sprat was engaged in vindicating his country from the comments, or lack of comment, on the part of Monsieur Sorbière, the fleet, for which he was such a doughty champion, was soon to match its strength against its formidable rival the Dutch, and before the end of February, 1665, war was officially declared between the two countries. Both were able to equip and send to sea over one hundred warships, and in the first encounter off Lowestoft, the Dutch were so decisively beaten that they fled towards their own coast with the loss of over twenty warships and 8000 men.[2] The success of the English fleet was mainly due to the splendid discipline and bravery of its seamen, and the tried and proven capacity of its commanders, whose tactical skill had made them brilliant exponents of the battle formation known as the ' line ahead.' To have seen the English fleet in line of battle was a sight not soon to be forgotten. ' Nothing can surpass the splendid battle array of the English Navy,' writes the Comte de Guiche, who witnessed the spectacle.

[1] ' Observations on Mons. de Sorbière's Voyage into England,' 1665 ed., pp. 42-7.

[2] S. P. Dom. Ch. II., cxxiv. 26.

'Their ships form the most perfect straight line you can imagine, and they thus bring their whole broadsides to bear on those who approach them; the only way to get the better of them is to break their line and board them. They fight like a well-drilled body of cavalry which concentrates all its efforts on repelling the enemy, while the Dutch advance like a troop whose squadrons break their ranks and charge separately.'[1]

The great rejoicings which took place in London as soon as the news of the Duke of York's victory became known, is thus vividly described by one of the officials attached to the French embassy, in a letter to the French Foreign Secretary. 'At the moment of writing, Monseigneur,' he states, 'that is about eleven o'clock at night, I hear on all sides the shouts of the people who flock in large numbers round the bonfires in the streets. At the door of wealthy persons there was not less than a full cartload of wood for each single fire; those who lack wood burn their old chairs and old chests. A standard taken from the Dutch has been placed on the top of the Tower of London. The Westminster bells have been ringing as a sign of rejoicing.'[2]

Though the Dutch had received a heavy blow the war was by no means over, and in the second battle off the North Foreland, which began practically on the anniversary of the first, and lasted four days, the Dutch, under De Ruyter, finally defeated the English fleet under Monk and Prince Rupert, and forced it

[1] Cited in Lefèvre-Pontalis: John de Witt, i. 328.

[2] Jusserand, 'A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles I pp. 147, 239.

to take shelter in the Thames. Nevertheless, the splendid valour and determination with which the English fought, even against superior numbers, called forth unqualified praise from their gallant adversaries. 'If the English were beaten,' said De Witte, who sailed with the Dutch fleet, 'their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; our own fleet could never have been brought again into action after the first day's fight,' he declared, 'if they had been in the other's place; and I believe none but the English could. All that we discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt, but that English courage was invincible.'[1] Such was the graceful compliment paid by the Grand-Pensionary of Holland to a valiant foe, who before many weeks had elapsed was to prove to the full the truth of the assertion, by defeating De Ruyter and destroying one hundred and sixty merchantmen on the Dutch coast. After this peace negotiations were opened, and so confident were the King and his council of their speedy and successful termination, that they decided to dismantle the main portion of the fleet, in order to save expense, and to keep at sea only two small frigate squadrons 'to distract the enemy and disturb his trade.' This short-sighted policy, however, proved disastrous to the nation, and while the plenipotentiaries were discussing the terms of the treaty in the summer of 1667, De Ruyter sailed up the Medway, burnt and sunk several vessels, and captured the *Royal Charles*, one of the finest ships in the Navy. This humiliating episode was remembered and talked about for many years afterwards, both at home and abroad, and in

[1] Cited in Warburton's 'Prince Rupert,' iii. p. 478.

1669, when Cosmo III, the hereditary Prince of Tuscany, visited England, he made a special point of going to Chatham 'to see the place where several ships were burnt during the war with the Dutch,' his curiosity having been aroused by seeing the *Royal Charles* exhibited at Helvoetsluys in the previous year.[1]

Following on De Ruyter's exploit the defences of the river were considerably strengthened, and when the Prince passed the fort at Upnor he was saluted with a number of guns from the fortifications which had been recently completed. The King's yacht was placed at his disposal, 'in order that he might proceed with all possible safety and convenience as far as the mouth of the river,' to see the new fort at Sheerness then in course of construction 'for the purpose of repelling any hostile ships.' Having viewed the fortifications he next visited the *Royal Sovereign* at her anchorage in the Medway, the honourable scars that she had received during the Dutch wars being still visible. Though over thirty years old, she still continued to excite the admiration of foreign visitors, and 'amid discharges of artillery' the Prince was received on board. 'This monstrous vessel,' the Prince's secretary wrote, 'was built in the year 1637, by King Charles I at an incredible expense; for, besides the vast size of the ship, which is 120 paces in length, it has cabins roofed with carved work, richly ornamented with gold, and the outside of the stern is quite extraordinary. It is hung with seven magnificent lanterns,

[1] 'Travels of Cosmo III through England, 1669.' Written by his secretary, Count Magalotti, and translated from the Italian MS. in 1821.

the principal one, which is more elevated than the rest, being capable of containing six people.[1] The ship carries 106 pieces of brass cannon, and requires a thousand men for its equipment.' Having explored the *Royal Sovereign* from stern to prow, 'the Prince stepped into the handsomest cabin in the stern, where there were still evident marks of the sides having been repaired from the effect of cannon balls.' Here the captain had prepared refreshment for his distinguished visitor, and 'amid great applause and discharges of cannon,' he drank to the health of the King of England. A visit was next paid to the *Royal Charles*, 'built to supply the place of the one of that name captured by the Dutch,'[2] and as the Prince went from ship to ship he 'was gratified by the sight of the other warships, which lay scattered about the river, to the number of two and twenty, among which were three built in the time of Queen Elizabeth, carrying 80 guns, all in high preservation, and so perfectly fit for action,' that they were used 'in the different actions with the Dutch.' A tour of the dockyard at Chatham, with its 'magazines full of all sorts of stores necessary for promptly equipping upwards of forty men of war,' completed a busy day's sight-seeing, and we may be sure that Cosmo carried away with him many pleasant memories of his visit to the fleet in the Medway.

A fitting supplement to the description of England by this Tuscan prince is the 'Relazione' of Pietro Mocenigo, who was in England during the period of Cosmo's visit. As Venetian ambassador to the Court

[1] An account published at the time she was launched states it would hold ten people upright.

[2] Built at Deptford in 1668.

of Charles II, he made his public entry into London in September, 1668, and remained here for over two years. A member of one of the noblest families of Venice, he is described by John Evelyn as 'a very accomplished person,'[1] and his 'Relazione d'Inghilterra,' drawn up in 1671, is one of the fullest that we possess from the pen of a Venetian.[2] Like all his predecessors he devoted a considerable portion of it to a laudatory appreciation of our maritime power. In his opinion, England had 'become one of the greatest powers because her vigour' was 'founded on naval armaments,' and therein lay the secret of her success. 'This kingdom,' he wrote, 'has for its territory (*sic*) the ocean, whereupon it trades with the universe, or establishes its dominions with the movable forts of its ships, which, uniting force with speed, diffuse to the boundaries of the world the glorious traffickings of their own valour.' 'Being so formidable,' he stated, 'England fears all the less the forces of the foreigners, the nature of her situation constituting her safety, and the exercising of her dominion of the sea.' Though there were only thirty warships in commission, ten of which were appointed to convoy and guard merchant vessels, there were 'in reserve at the arsenal of the realm 140 warships with all the necessary equipment to turn out a powerful fleet.' The smaller ones were armed with forty to fifty pieces of ordnance, with a crew of 200 men or more, while the larger mounted up to one hundred and twenty guns, and were manned by 600 seamen. To this fleet 'the King could always

[1] 'Evelyn's Diary,' 17th Sept. 1668.

[2] Printed in Barozzi and Berchet's 'Relazioni degli stati Europei,' etc., ser. iv. Inghilterra, 1863.

add merchant vessels strong enough for being armed,' he added; and some idea of the great expansion of our maritime trade during the reign of Charles II may be gathered from the ambassador's statement that 'the nation owned three or four thousand' ships 'for trading purposes alone.' Not only did we possess a numerical superiority over our neighbours, but our ships were larger and better built, and for this reason Mocenigo reported that 'the English fleet would always be stronger than the Dutch for an equal number of ships,' because the shallowness of the Dutch ports did not permit them to build ships of the same size. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the gallant Dutchmen from making another effort to wrest the sceptre of the sea from us, and within a year of the ambassador's report we were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with our old rivals for the maritime supremacy of the world.

III.—1671-1815

The third Dutch War witnessed the same stubborn and fierce fighting as the two previous ones, and it was not until 1674 that the long struggle for maritime supremacy came to an end. By the Treaty of London in February of that year, England secured terms which were decidedly advantageous to her, and during the remainder of Charles II's reign, and also that of his successor James II, the services of the Navy were not seriously requisitioned. In the last Dutch War the French had assisted us, but with the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1689,

the positions were reversed; the Dutch became staunch allies and the French our enemies.

Under the fostering care and practical genius of her great minister Colbert, France had risen to the position of a first-class naval Power, and within five years of his assuming office the strength of the fleet had been more than doubled.[1] In order to aid him in his work of re-organisation and construction, Colbert in 1670 despatched the Sieur Arnoul [2] to England and Holland for the purpose of studying their respective naval systems, and although the report which he subsequently drew up as a result of his tour is still extant, it seems to have escaped the notice of all modern naval writers. Nevertheless, this interesting document deserves to be studied on account of the illuminating light it throws on the navies of the two foremost Powers of the day, and especially for the valuable information it furnishes on our own naval administration.[3]

In his report Arnoul emphasised the value of sea power to Great Britain, who, he stated, would reap little benefit from the advantages which her situation had given her 'if she did not pay particular attention to navigation. Although,' he wrote, 'it seems as if nature had surrounded her with the sea, in order to fix her boundaries, this was only done to raise in her

[1] Mahan, 'Influence of Sea Power upon History,' p. 72.

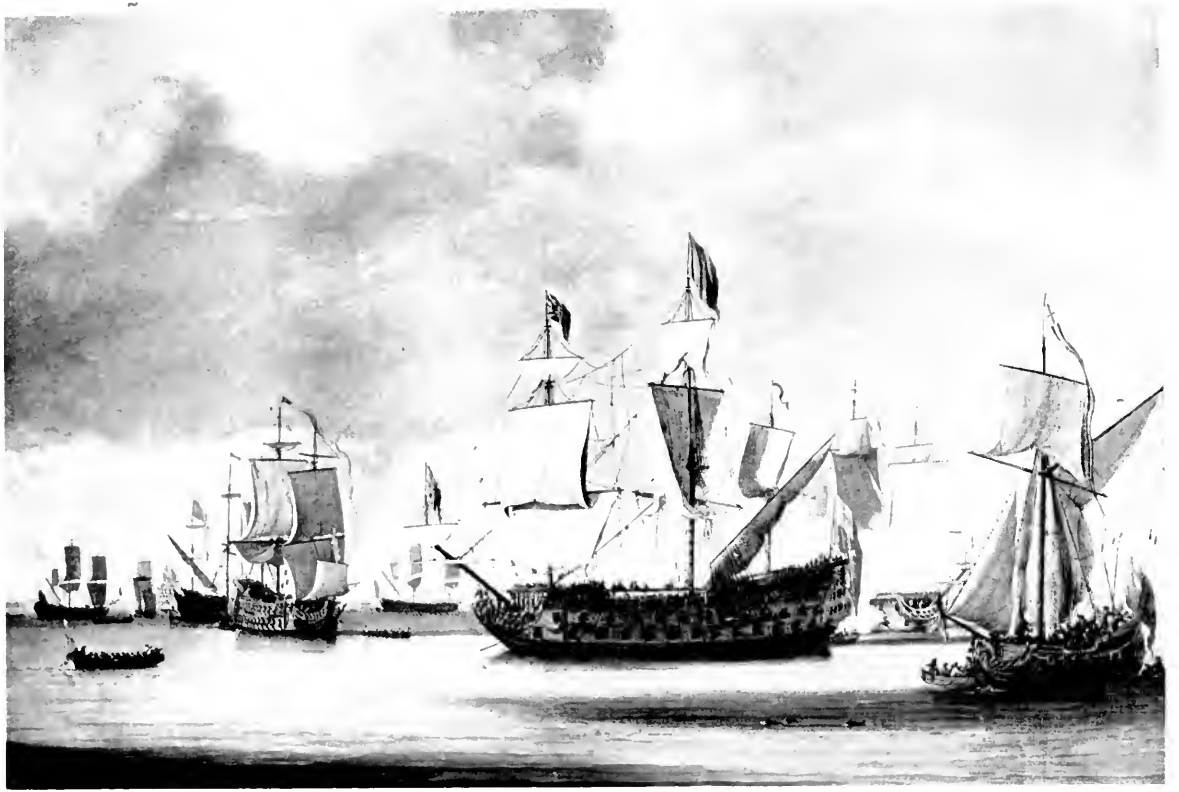
[2] Pierre Arnoul, son of Nicolas Arnoul the 'intendant des galères à Marseille,' and afterwards 'intendant de la marine de Toulon.'

[3] 'Remarques faites par le Sieur Arnoul sur la marine de Hollande et d'Angleterre dans le voyage qu'il fit en l'année 1670 par ordre de Monseigneur Colbert' (Bibl. Nationale, Colbert MSS. 201). In this book it is only possible to give a few extracts from this valuable document, but some idea of its detailed nature may be gathered from the fact that it is printed in Eugène Sue's 'Hist. de la marine française,' vol. v., 1837, and occupies nearly 40 pages.

the wish and the means of further expansion, and to make herself known to the whole world.' Her insular position having 'relieved her of the necessity to fortify herself within,' England had 'full liberty to carry her arms wherever she deemed it necessary, and to unite all her forces in the navy.' This, Arnoul informed the French minister, 'at present forms the sole object of her attention, and the sole use of her finances. Everybody knows that she has succeeded in this. Her large fleets, which can often be seen on our coasts, and the battles which they have fought during these last years, are sufficient proof of her strength and power. To understand what sustains her, and makes her act according to the exigencies of the times, it is necessary to know something of the principles and order which she establishes in all things.'[1] Arnoul then enters into minute particulars concerning the ships, the seamen, the arsenals of the realm, and the administration of the naval service generally, to enumerate which would far exceed the scope of this book. The following extracts, however, enable us to see the methodical way in which he carried out his mission, and the careful manner in which he recorded the result of his investigations.

'In England,' he wrote, 'they divide the different sizes of their vessels into six rates, of which the first comprises those from 92 to 100 pieces of cannon; the second, from 60 to 80 pieces; the third, from 56 to 60; the fourth, from 34 to 54; the fifth, from 22 to 34; and the sixth, from 14 to 18 pieces.' When it was desired to equip a fleet the Navy-Office sent the necessary orders to the various ports where the ships

[1] Sue, 'Hist. de la marine française,' v. p. 443.



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THE ROYAL PRINCE

Launched 1670. Flagship of the Duke of York at the Battle of Solebay, 1672. From the

were stationed, and they were got ready ' in a very short time,' owing to the fact that there were ' standard equipments ' (états réglés) for each vessel, from which not even the smallest utensil was missing.[1] Regarding the seamen, Arnoul has much to say that is interesting. Those who had served seven years, and were past the age of 24, were classed as ' ables-men,' and those who had ' only served two or three years ' were known as ' ordinary-sea-men.' This distinction was established by certificates which they received ' from captains under whom they had served,' [2] and the whole of the crews of English ships were made up of these two classes of seamen, the same principle being followed as in the Dutch Navy. ' What I explained in the case of the navy of Holland,' [3] Arnoul reported, ' will suffice to show the advantage derived from this arrangement.' It was also the custom of the English to place a certain number of young lads (petits garçons) on each vessel, who were on the same footing as ordinary seamen. They were distributed among the officers of the ship, to whose care they were committed ' for training and to make use of them in everything they have to do,' and in return for training them the officers were allowed to keep their pay. In course of time they became ' good sailors,' and this system, Arnoul informed Colbert, ' should be copied by France,' who had more need of them than England, ' where everybody has already a great inclination for

[1] Sue, ' Hist. de la marine française,' v. p. 451. [2] Ibid., p. 456.

[3] Arnoul stated that the Dutch placed as few soldiers as possible aboard their ships, which enabled them ' to increase the number of sailors, because it is easier, in case of need, to make soldiers of those who were intended for sailors, than to make sailors of those who were taken on board to serve as soldiers ' (Sue, v. p. 441).

the sea, and absolutely nothing is forgotten that will help to make sailors.'

The provisions made by the Government for the maintenance of sick and disabled seamen, and the wives and children of those who had died in the service, was highly praised by Arnoul. 'In England,' he wrote, 'they have also a nice institution, which must draw many men into the Navy, and be a great consolation to all those who belong to it. In case of being maimed in the service, they are assured of being well taken care of, and if they are killed their wives and children are not deprived of all help. First, as regards the maimed. Provided they can drag (traîner) themselves along, and have sufficient force and courage to go to sea again, they are allowed to serve in any vessel they may choose, even if the captain should not want them. They receive pay and quit without special leave being granted, when and wherever they like. As there are a good many who cannot take advantage of this privilege, about 1500 of them are maintained, and the others receive a lump sum down as compensation. Each limb of the body has its price, and a poor sailor receives a sum in proportion to the wound he has received. As regards those who have died in the service, their widows are sometimes maintained like the maimed, otherwise they and their children are given 5 jacobus each.' [1]

The wealth of detail which Arnoul embodied in his report must have materially assisted Colbert in his work of re-organisation, and profiting also by the lessons of the Dutch Wars, the French had learnt at the expense of the maritime Powers, how desirable it

[1] About £6 in 1670, representing some £30 in 1913. Sue, v. p. 457.

was to figure on an element where formerly they had little acquaintance. By 1681 their fleet had reached the formidable total of 197 vessels of all rates, including fireships and small craft,[1] and in the spring of 1690, soon after the outbreak of war, they were able to send to sea 84 splendid ships against a combined English and Dutch fleet numbering 56 ships of the line. Torrington, the English commander, had received peremptory orders to engage the enemy, but in the first encounter off Beachy Head, on the 30th June, the inferior force at his disposal obliged him to withdraw to the mouth of the Thames, and the Dutch bore the brunt of the attack.

Elated by this success, Louis XIV made elaborate preparations for an invasion of England, but the plans had not matured before his fleet suffered a crushing defeat off Cape La Hogue in May, 1692. The victory of the allied fleet on this occasion was of such a decisive character that it removed all risk of invasion, and proved the last great naval encounter of the war. Four years later, when the Venetian ambassadors came to congratulate William III on his accession to the throne, they were able to report that ' among all the maritime states who coveted the sea,' there was ' not a greater Power than England, not only by her necessity of communication with other states, but also by her natural position, her skill in navigation, and by the admirable structure of her ships.' [2] The number of warships and merchant vessels, they stated, was

[1] Campbell, ' Naval Hist.,' 1818, ii. 400-1.

[2] ' Relazione d'Inghilterra di L. Soranzo e G. Venier, 1696.' (Printed in Barozzi and Berchet, ' Relazioni degli stati Europei,' ser. iv., 1863.)

'exceedingly great,' the two professions supporting each other with mutual help: the wealth of the one sustaining the vigour of the other. Scattered over the trading routes of the world England had 'a prodigious multitude' of ships, which 'increased the fame of her greatness,' and carried her merchandise to the extreme parts of the East and the West, thus 'uniting one of the Indies with the other.' For the protection and maintenance of this great maritime traffic England provided 'powerful warships,' whereby her traders 'were protected and their interests insured.' This system of convoys, the ambassadors reported, did not present a difficulty to England, owing to the number of armed vessels the kingdom possessed, which could be despatched to all quarters of the globe whenever the occasion required.

Owing to the exigencies of the European situation, the naval affairs of the country engaged the serious attention of Parliament, and in the second year of William III's reign it was decided to substantially increase the strength of the Navy by building 30 warships varying from 60 to 80 guns.[1] By 1696, according to the Venetian account, England possessed 'about 110 warships,' of which there were 'seventy of the line,' and 'the soul of this grand body of warships' comprised 'more than 40,000 mariners who served in a double capacity as sailors and fighters.' In England, the ambassadors stated, it was not the custom to put soldiers on board of warships for fighting purposes, because they were 'only an embarrassment and expense, and of little service.' On the other hand, the sailor of the period was the prototype of his

[1] Derrick, 'Mems. of the R.N.,' p. 107.

twentieth-century compatriot, and whether trimming the sails, working the guns, handling a musket, or boarding the enemy, his skill and resource called forth unstinted praise from friend and foe alike. In the opinion of the Venetians, being ' content with little, he led to economy, and instead of being an encumbrance, kept a marvellous discipline and a cleanliness that excluded all comparison. These rules,' they added, ' combined with such great power,' had enhanced the credit of the English fleets, and the outcome was that every other nation was afraid to meet them, ' knowing that they would be unequal, and at a disadvantage in the contest.' In fact, the English ' being born with ardent spirits, were robust of temperament,' and had a keen ' sense of honour and glory, with opinions of valour, and a desire to maintain it, that they all succeeded in becoming soldiers of heart.' [1] It was the same splendid patriotic spirit, and the same indomitable bravery and resource, which had distinguished the Elizabethan seamen, and the sailors of Monk and Blake, that continued to animate the race, and earn for it such a high reputation. The ' assurance of fidelity ' given by the fleet prior to going into action at La Hogue exemplified this. ' We will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture our lives in the defence of the government, the religion, and the liberty of our country,' was their fervent declaration to the Queen.[2] How they fulfilled the trust placed in them is well known, and when peace was declared with France in September, 1697, England emerged from the contest with her maritime supremacy assured,

[1] ' Relazione d'Inghilterra di L. Soranzo e G. Venier, 1696.'

[2] Burchett, ' Transactions at Sea,' 1720, p. 464.

and her prestige on the Continent considerably enhanced.

The war had awakened a desire on the part of the foreigner to increase his knowledge of England and the English, and for the purpose of stimulating the interest of the would-be traveller, various descriptions of this country were published on the Continent. Among them may be mentioned Misson's ' Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre,' published at the Hague in 1698.[1] The author, a Frenchman, had been resident in England for a number of years, and the object of his book was to draw attention to those things ' qui meritent le plus d'être observées dans nôtre bonne et belle Ile d'Angleterre.' Speaking of our naval force he says that the King had ' about 150 men-of-war, great and small ; and, upon occasion, 'tis said, his Majesty could fit out as many more.' To Misson, however, a fleet of such magnitude seemed out of the question ; he neither saw the possibility nor the necessity of it. ' To what purpose,' he pertinently inquires, ' should there be a fleet of 300 men-of-war ? It is unnecessary to talk of it or to have it. I might, indeed, say impossible in one sense, though feasible in another, for where could men be found to man them ? ' He then furnishes us with a list of the principal warships, many of which had ' port-holes for above 100 guns,' and advises those of his readers who desired ' to get a thorough knowledge of the Navy Royal of England, to read a book wrote concerning it by Mr. Samuel Pepys, Secretary of

[1] Another of a similar nature was ' Voyages historiques de l'Europe, tome 4, qui comprend tout ce qu'il à de plus curieux dans le Royaume d'Angleterre,' 1698.

the Admiralty under Charles II and James II his brother.' [1]

Through the medium of his book Misson certainly hoped to bring about a better feeling between the two countries, for he was 'persuaded by several years' experience, that the more strangers are acquainted with the English, the more they will esteem and love them.' [2] Several years later, his compatriot Voltaire gave expression to almost the same sentiments. 'I believe that an Englishman who knows France well, and a Frenchman who knows England well, are both very much the better for it,' was the firm conviction of this great French writer. 'Never,' he added, 'would I utter a single word that could be shocking to a free and generous nation, which I admire, and to whom I am indebted.' [3] Voltaire certainly had reason to write in such a chivalrous strain, for after his release from the Bastille in 1726, he found both a home and friends in our hospitable island. Arriving in the middle of an English spring, his first impressions of England were of the happiest. Instead of landing at Dover like the majority of visitors, he sailed up the Thames as far as Greenwich, where the river was *en fête* and crowded with shipping. Here he had his first glimpse of our mercantile marine, and 'for the space of six miles,' he records, 'the river was crowded with two rows of merchant vessels, with their sails all set in honour of the king.' [4]

[1] Misson, pp. 194-5. Pepys' book, published in 1690, was entitled 'Memoires relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England.' It was reprinted in 1906.

[2] Misson, p. 5.

[3] Ballantyne, 'Voltaire's Visit to England,' pp. 173-7.

[4] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

As his first view of England had enabled him to form some idea of her vast maritime traffic, it is fitting that one of the most brilliant among his 'Letters concerning the English Nation'[1] should have been devoted to the commerce of the country. 'As trade enriched the citizens in England,' he wrote, 'so it continued to their freedom, and the freedom on the other side extended their commerce, whence arose the grandeur of the State. Trade raised by insensible degrees the naval power, which gives the English a superiority over the seas, and they now are masters of very near 200 ships of war.[2] Posterity,' he wisely remarked, 'will very possibly be surprised to hear that an island, whose only produce is a little lead, tin, fuller's earth, and coarse wool, should become so powerful by its commerce as to be able to send, in 1723, three fleets at the same time to three distanced parts of the globe. One before Gibraltar, conquered, and still possessed by the English; a second to Porto Bello, to dispossess the King of Spain of the treasures of the West Indies; and a third into the Baltic, to prevent the northern Powers from coming to an engagement.'[3] These three expeditions were fitted out in 1726—and not 1723—in order to preserve and establish the general tranquillity of Europe. That to the Mediterranean was under the command of Sir John Jennings, and numbered 12 or more ships of the line. The West Indian expedition was entrusted to Vice-Admiral Hosier with 7 men-of-war, while the Baltic squadron comprised

[1] The 1st ed. appeared in 1734.

[2] At the death of George I, 11th June, 1727, the Navy numbered 933 vessels of all kinds, of which 124 were of the line (Derrick, 'Mems. of the R.N.,' pp. 129-30).

[3] 'Letters concerning the English Nation,' 2nd ed., 1741, pp. 56-7.

21 warships and 2 fireships under the joint command of Sir Charles Wager and Sir George Walton.[1] The despatch of these fleets considerably increased the maritime reputation of the kingdom, and prevented the spread of a war which at one time threatened to involve the whole of Europe.

Though three years later Spain was induced to sign a treaty of peace at Seville, the maritime rivalry between the two countries by no means abated. In 1731 the Baron de Pollnitz happened to be at Leghorn when an English and Spanish squadron arrived there. He visited the two flagships, both of which were three-deckers. 'The English ship,' he records, 'was the neatest, and far outdid the Spaniard in the civil treatment of those who went on board.' The English naval officers were almost all men of quality, and 'they strove who should be the most polite to such as came to visit them, and talked very modestly of their ships, whereas the Spaniards bragged of theirs beyond measure. They pretended that their ships, which had only two decks, were much easier to work than the English,' which all had three decks, 'and affirmed that as their ships were broader and longer, and their decks higher, they were much more formidable, and not so incommoded by the smoke in a battle. On the other hand,' Pollnitz informs us, 'I was told by an English officer, that a ship with three decks was preferable, because when 'tis a high sea, and they are forced to shut up the lowermost deck, there are still two batteries remaining. Besides, a ship with three decks, said the officer, being higher than a ship with but a couple, has a great advantage when they come to boarding.' As

[1] Rapin, 'Hist. of England,' 1763, xix. p. 555.

Pollnitz confessed he understood 'nothing about naval matters,' he was unable to vouch for the truth of the English assertion. 'But,' he emphatically states, 'be that as it will, I am of the opinion, which prevails almost universally, that whenever it shall please God to let second causes have their effects, it will always be safer to lay a wager on the side of the English.'[1]

Ever since the days of Elizabeth no love had been lost between English and Spanish seamen, and the incident of 'Jenkins' ear,' in which the master of one of our merchant ships was horribly maltreated, proved the culminating episode which brought the two nations into war again in 1739. In that year Vernon was sent to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, while another expedition, consisting of six ships under the command of Anson, sailed with a similar objective to the Pacific. Nearly three years and nine months later, after circumnavigating the globe and enduring terrible hardship and misfortune, Anson arrived back at Spithead with one remaining warship, laden with treasure to the value of half a million sterling. The story of his daring enterprise added a brilliant page to the annals of English seamanship, and in 1748 when an account of the voyage was published, it was eagerly sought after both at home and abroad.[2] The account of its reception in Germany is most interesting, for engrossed as the Germans were in military affairs, they had yet to be the proud possessors of a fleet and learn the value of sea power. How by the aid of grammars and dictionaries they endeavoured to read

[1] 'Mems. of the Baron de Pollnitz,' 1739, ii. pp. 137-8.

[2] Four large editions were published in a year, and it was translated into seven European languages.

this thrilling record of English pluck and endurance is thus described in a letter from one of Anson's colleagues written from Berlin on the 4th of September, 1748. 'The account of your naval exploits,' he wrote, 'has penetrated even into this inland country, where, though every man one meets is a soldier, they are all ready to allow the merits of a mariner, and able to discern how much more merit one of the profession may have than another. All the people here who have the least smattering of English (and many have) are at work with grammars and dictionaries to read over your South Sea voyage; and as I am known to have been formerly a mariner, great resort is had to me for the explanation of such technical terms as are not to be found in dictionaries.'[1]

The year in which Anson's book was published witnessed also the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and well might the Germans envy the maritime position of England at that period, for according to a contemporary publication, our naval strength was 'beyond all nations,' and consisted of 200 men-of-war, besides fireships and small craft. The size of our first-rates was 'so prodigious,' that the keel of the *Royal Sovereign* measured 146 ft. and a half, while her breadth was 50 ft. and a half. Her full complement of men numbered 1250, and she mounted no less than 110 guns. The charge of building such a ship, with guns, tackle, and rigging, amounted to £60,000. Hardly less formidable was an English second-rate, which was built so that she might 'engage with a first-rate ship of any other nation.' The manning of a fleet of 70 ships of the line (*i.e.* 50 guns and over), besides those for the

[1] Barrow, 'Life of Anson,' p. 408.

protection of trade and convoy required 40,000 seamen, and it was estimated that England alone had 100,000, a number three times as great as that of the French.[1]

When the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756 it was the overwhelming sea power of England that proved the determining factor in European history, and our command of the sea gave us universal sway during the struggle.[2] A contemporary Portuguese account of the Battle of Quiberon Bay, in which Hawke destroyed the French fleet that was intended for an invasion of England, thus extols our maritime supremacy and its effect on the course of the war. 'England herself became the object of a most formidable enterprise. A great number of ships of war were being prepared in France as also 300 flat-bottomed boats, capable of transporting 90,000 foot soldiers. . . . But the English, unshaken in their purpose, were intent only in prosecuting the war with honour, and finishing it with credit and reputation. They placed their whole trust on sea power, counting it absolutely certain that they would be able to bring an honourable peace if their fleets were formidable and numerous. Notwithstanding what her enemies believed, England succeeded in getting together a navy of more than 300 ships. The court of London sent fleets and squadrons to watch all the ports of France, and despatched reinforcements to America, Asia, Africa; and without danger of being annoyed or troubled the English were able to maintain all their conquests.'[3]

[1] Guy Miege, 'Present State of Great Britain,' 1748, pp. 224-5.

[2] Commander Robinson, 'British Fleet,' p. 39.

[3] 'Glorious England. A rel. of the Battle of Quiberon Bay, 20th Nov. 1759.' Transl. from the Portuguese. (Navy Rec. Soc., xx. pp. 99-100.)

This number, great as it was, did not include the whole naval strength of the kingdom, and at the death of George II in October of the following year, there were 412 ships of all classes on the Navy List, 127 of which were of the line.[1]

The death of the King brought no change in the naval policy of the country, and the determination of his successor to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion received the entire support of the nation. Preparations were immediately set on foot to augment our already powerful fleet, and in December, 1761, when Count Kielmansegge visited Deptford,[2] he saw three men-of-war of 74 guns in course of construction. The officers, 'who were superintending the whole,' personally conducted him over the dockyard, and 'in a large building of several stories' the Count saw 'everything required for the building and fitting out of ships (except armament)' which was 'kept in great quantities and in such a state of readiness' that it could be used 'at any moment without further preparation. For instance,' he records, 'the sails are ready fitted with rings, ropes, and blocks, so that they can be brought out at once according to their sizes, and placed on board, and be fitted to the yards.'

Soon after the Count's arrival in England, Spain joined with France against us, and it was decided to attack at once her West Indian possessions. A squadron was therefore fitted out under the command of Admiral Pocock for an expedition against Havana, and at the

[1] Derrick, pp. 146-7.

[2] He left Hanover in September in order to be present at the coronation of George III. His 'Diary of a Journey to England, 1761-62,' was published in 1902.

end of February, 1762, the ships were inspected at Spithead by the Duke of York. Kielmansegge was an honoured guest on this occasion, and the whole party went out from Portsmouth 'in 12-oared boats in a kind of procession to Spithead.' All the ships were manned in honour of the Duke, and the Count records what a wonderful sight it was 'to see several hundred sailors at the same time standing upon the yards, especially from a slight distance, where it looks as if a swarm of bees had settled upon the ship.'[1]

A week later the expedition, comprising a joint naval and military force, sailed from Portsmouth, and Spain soon had cause to regret her folly in taking up arms against us. After a siege of little more than two months Havana capitulated, and this was followed by the capture of Manila in October of the same year. By this time both France and Spain were eager to enter into negotiations for a peace, which was signed at Paris in February, 1763.

With the conclusion of the war the next few years were principally devoted to the encouragement of scientific exploration in distant seas, and several expeditions were fitted out by the English Government for that purpose. Continental travellers also availed themselves of the welcome peace, and many interesting personages visited our shores, prominent among whom was Pierre Grosley, a French lawyer and man of letters, whose 'Londres,' which appeared anonymously at Lausanne in 1770, remained the best guide to London till the close of the century. Grosley's book was written as a result of a tour in England in 1765, and

[1] Kielmansegge, 'Diary of a Journey to England,' pp. 220-1, 262.

like all foreign visitors he made a special point of visiting Portsmouth, spending a whole day ' in very genteel and agreeable company,' taking a view of the port and all its dependencies, which he aptly styles ' the seat of Empire of the Queen of the Seas.' At the time of his visit there were ' 150 vessels of different sizes, unrigged, and appearing to the eye like great floating trunks ; eight of them only, still having all their masts up, could upon the first order sail out in 24 hours.' The formidable appearance of our eighteenth-century Dreadnoughts vividly impressed him, one of which, the *Britannia* of 110 guns, launched in 1722, was ' for its bulk and state, the same as the whale with respect to other sea monsters.' In the opinion of Grosley, ' to know how to construct and work vessels of this magnitude ' was certainly ' the masterpiece of human industry.' England had such another, he informs us, the *Royal George*, ' the construction of which was so complete ' that it could ' be as easily worked as a frigate.' Grosley, however, believed that the service done by these ' enormous ships ' was by no means proportionate to the expense which they entailed ; that they were built ' more for ostentation than real use,' and that England would stop building them as soon as France thought proper to set the example.[1] Grosley also visited Woolwich and Chatham, but as all access to the places where ships were built was forbidden to the French, he only saw the parks and magazines belonging to them. ' A view of these, as well as of Portsmouth,' he informs his readers, ' conveys the highest idea of the naval

[1] ' A Tour to London, or New Observations on England and its Inhabitants,' Transl. T. Nugent, 1772, ii. pp. 48-50.

force of England, a force infinitely superior to that Augustus distributed through the ports of Fregus, Carthage, Alexandria, Misenum and Ravenna, for the security of the seas comprised within the whole extent of the Roman Empire.' [1]

In the same manner as the destruction of the Carthaginian sea power had left the Romans without a rival on the sea, so the successive victories of the English fleet over the Spaniards, Dutch, and the French, from the days of Elizabeth down to the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, had firmly established the maritime position of England, and earned for her the proud position of the foremost naval Power of the world.

The few years of peace that followed the conclusion of the Seven Years' War enabled us, as we have seen, to devote our leisure to scientific research in distant seas. Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, were all engaged in these peaceful enterprises during the period, and by their discoveries and investigations they helped to promote the enlightenment and welfare of the world in general. The peace that prevailed throughout Europe, and which we turned to such good account, remained uninterrupted until 1775, in which year the American colonies broke out into open rebellion against the taxation imposed by the Mother Country. Two squadrons, one under the command of Sir Peter Parker, and the other under Lord Howe, were sent out to assist the land forces in putting down the rebellion, and although the Navy at the time consisted of fewer ships than at any period during the peace, it was not until the intervention of former

[1] 'A Tour to London, etc.,' ii. p. 53.

European enemies that our fleets were fully occupied. Therefore, it is of particular interest to learn the opinion of a Frenchman on our Navy, written within a few months of his country's participation in the war. The writer, the Abbé Coyer—an author of considerable talent and a member of the Royal Society—in one of his instructive letters on England, written from London on the 24th July, 1777, thus speaks of our maritime forces.[1] 'England has more than one reason to maintain her fighting navy on a respectable footing. First, the protection she owes to her merchant navy, which trains sailors for her, and feeds her on the riches she gathers without ceasing. Secondly, a state which has no other fortifications than the sea, except in her ports, must have ships to serve as citadels. She has them. Would you like an enumeration of them? You will save me giving their names, which I would specify if laziness would not seize me. Two hundred and sixty-one war vessels of every size, amongst them one hundred and forty-two ships of the line. Go back into the ages past,' he enthusiastically exclaims to his correspondent, 'and if you find a people who has had a navy of this magnitude, mark the page for me. For satisfaction, a neighbouring Power pretends that one of her warships can beat two of this. Is it not risky to entertain such an opinion?' he asks. 'A land general, well experienced, said that God was on the side of great battalions. Would He not also be on the side of large fleets? The last war (*i.e.* the Seven Years' War) has only too much proved this, when the

[1] 'Nouvelles observations sur l'Angleterre. Par un voyageur' [*i.e.* l'Abbé Gabriel François Coyer]. Published at Paris in 1779; translated into German in 1781, and into English in 1782.

English fleets covered the seas in Europe, in Asia, and in America.'

During Coyer's stay in England he took the opportunity of visiting the principal dockyards, and that he was vividly impressed by all he saw may be judged from the rest of his letter. ' In these great arsenals,' he wrote, ' all the forces are created, and to see the prodigious quantities of timber, workmen, rigging, hand-weapons, and cannon, one would be tempted to believe that this is the storehouse of all Europe. I have been assured of a fact at Chatham, which you will have difficulty in believing, that within three days the *Royal Sovereign*, a ship of 106 guns, received all her equipment and was ready to sail. The astonishment diminishes when one considers that each vessel has her equipment separately stored in immense storehouses, and that each piece down to the blocks (poulies) is placed in position by hands habitually trained in the same work. A man who does only one thing does it well,' he wisely remarks, ' and everything goes on at the same time, without confusion and with all possible speed.' The cleanliness that prevailed on board an English warship, which was noticed by the Venetian ambassadors in 1696, is also commented upon by Coyer. ' The lives of the invaluable men who manœuvre and fight in these floating citadels,' he wrote, ' must be preserved with the greatest care. Dirt is a source of decay. The vessel is washed and purified from the lower deck (premier pont) to the bottom of the hold, and this daily attention does not cost anything to a people to whom cleanliness is a kind of instinct. England has established a principle,' Coyer added, ' which is very dangerous for the other Powers, namely,

that in order to maintain herself, her navy must be superior to all those of Europe collectively. Wishing to be Queen of the Seas, it must be confessed that she spares nothing to maintain or gain this crown. Her sailors, I am speaking of the officers, nobles by birth or capacity, have passed through all the ranks of the service. Her admirals have started by being cabin-boys (mousses), sailors, pilots, and so forth in the merchant or fighting navy ; hence they know all that is to be known about handling a vessel, and the winds, and are familiar with all the seas and all the dangers. They have developed a body of iron, and a soul of fire, before they are considered fit to be entrusted with the command of a vessel.' [1]

From the above extracts it is evident that the genial Abbé was a lover of England and the English, but at the time he was writing, the sympathies of the majority of his countrymen were undoubtedly with the American colonists. In February, 1778, the French recognised their independence, entered into an alliance with them, and despatched a fleet across the Atlantic to render them assistance. Spain also, anxious to retrieve her losses in the Seven Years' War, joined with France against us in 1779, and this formidable coalition, coupled with the armed neutrality of Russia and Holland, forced us to act on the defensive. In fact, as soon as France decided to throw her maritime power into the scale against us, the loss of our American colonies was assured,[2] but although hard pressed everywhere, we never quite lost the command of the sea, and Rodney's victory over the French fleet in the

[1] ' Nouvelles observations sur l'Angleterre,' 1779, pp. 178-84.
[2] Commander Robinson, ' British Fleet,' p. 42.

West Indies, 1782, and the famous and successful defence of Gibraltar for three and a half years against the combined forces of France and Spain, stand out as two of the most brilliant episodes of the war.

In 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Versailles, which acknowledged the independence of the United States, and gave back to France most of her West Indian Islands, and Minorca to Spain.

Before the conclusion of the war, the Navy had been advanced to a much higher level than it had ever attained before, and when the preliminaries of peace were signed the number of ships of all kinds on the Navy List was 617.[1] Unlike other nations, England had concentrated all her efforts on an efficient and formidable fleet to protect her interests both at home and abroad, being ' very justly of opinion that standing armies are the grave-diggers of the liberty of a nation, whenever a despotically inclined prince can make use of them to bury the rights of mankind.' Thus wrote Gebhardt Wendeborn in his ' View of England,' originally written between the years 1784-88 for the instruction of his own countrymen, and translated into English in 1791.[2] Wendeborn's book is one of the most interesting and painstaking accounts of England that we possess from the pen of a foreigner, for the author, as minister of a German church in London, had every opportunity, by his residence of over twenty years in England, to judge of our national institutions and customs. He realised that the English fleet could prevent an invasion of England ' better than the greatest number of troops,' and that a powerful

[1] Derrick, ' Mems. of the R.N.,' pp. 171-2.
[2] ' View of England,' Transl. 1791, i. p. 85.

Navy was 'an object of far greater consequence' to us than an Army. 'It is the best bulwark of the British Empire,' he wrote, 'and is not cramped with such restrictions as the Army, nor subjected to laws that are the result of jealous liberty, which cannot be endangered by the Navy.'[1] In Wendeborn's opinion 'the English Navy began to be respectable (*sic*) ever since the 12th century.' He mentions that Sir Edward Coke 'thought England had reason to boast of her Navy during the reign of Elizabeth,' and wonders what he would have said had he lived at the end of the 18th century, when Great Britain counted 'between 110 and 120 ships of the line, and all her ships of war amount to almost 500.' They carried 'not much less than 14,000 guns,' he added, 'which can make noise enough in the world, and through whose mouths the English may speak in a very decisive tone to other nations, when they differ with them in matters of opinion, about matters of political interest, national ambitions, or supposed rights which have been violated.'[2] Though nearly 150 years have elapsed since this emphatic declaration, the guns of the fleet are still able to speak in the same decisive manner, and the past war has proved to the full the significance of the German pastor's assertion.

For the benefit of his countrymen Wendeborn enters into many particulars relating to the manning of the Navy, in the course of which he draws a very gloomy picture of the methods of the press-gang and its attendant evils. He justly expresses his astonishment that men thus pressed for the service 'should behave with so much bravery and courage, and perform such

[1] Wendeborn, i. p. 86. [2] Ibid., pp. 88-9.

deeds as the English sailors generally do, for I believe,' he wrote, 'that very near half of those who serve on board of the King's ships are impressed.'[1] Nevertheless, he was bound to admit that courage was a distinguishing feature of the national character, and that Englishmen maintained 'a kind of superiority in being the least fearful of death.'[2]

Like Voltaire and others he emphasised the importance of the mercantile marine to the country, and he estimated that 8000 ships were employed in English commerce alone. 'The coal trade from Newcastle to London,' he observed, 'the commerce with the West India Islands, and the remaining colonies in North America, together with the British fisheries, particularly that of Newfoundland,' were 'looked upon as nurseries for British sailors, by whom the dignity and power of the Navy is kept up.'[3]

The great colonial and commercial prosperity of the Empire had been gradually built up by the aid of the fleet, and it is as well to remember, as Mirabeau wrote in one of his letters about this period, that 'the maritime power of England is not the wayward child of an absolute monarch who determines to be potent on every element; it is the slow, natural growth which has stood many a fierce attack and weathered many a storm.'[4]

The ten years of peace that we enjoyed between 1783 and 1793 were followed by one of the most eventful and glorious periods of our naval history, in which by a series of brilliant victories, mainly achieved

[1] Wendeborn, i. pp. 89-92.
[2] Ibid., p. 395
[3] Ibid., p. 92.
[4] Letters during his residence in England, ii. p. 159.

at the expense of the French, our maritime supremacy was established beyond dispute. No name shines out with greater lustre during this period than that of the immortal Nelson, and any scrap of contemporary information regarding the great Admiral is eagerly treasured. Therefore, an account by a Danish seaman of an interview with him only eighteen days before the Admiral bade farewell to his 'dear, dear Merton,' and less than two months before Trafalgar, in which he was to gain imperishable renown, is of especial interest. The author, who had fought against us at Copenhagen, visited Merton on the 26th of August, 1805, and was received 'with the utmost condescension' by Nelson. The vivid pen picture which he gives of the Admiral's personal appearance at the time of his visit is worthy of being reproduced. Attired in 'a uniform emblazoned with different orders of knighthood,' he was 'in his person of a middle stature, a thin body, and an apparently delicate constitution. The lines of his face were hard; but the penetration of his eye threw a kind of light on his countenance which tempered its severity, and rendered his harsh features in some measure agreeable. His luxuriant hair flowed in graceful ringlets down his temples, and his aspect commanded the utmost veneration, especially when he looked upwards. Lord Nelson had not the least pride of rank; but combined with that degree of dignity, which a man of quality should have, the most engaging address in his air and manners.'[1] Though the war with France lasted for ten years after Nelson's death, his victory at Trafalgar was really the final act

[1] 'A Dane's Excursions in Britain,' by J. A. Andersen, i. pp. 16-23. The author's real name was Andreas Andersen Feldborg.

of the great naval drama, for it shattered Napoleon's scheme of invasion, and placed our command of the sea beyond dispute. Henceforth, in the words of a prominent naval writer, Napoleon 'was driven by the exercise of our sea power to those continental complications and wars wherein he perished.'[1] Forced to abandon all his ideas of distant conquest, he ultimately surrendered to Captain Maitland on board the *Bellerophon*, a 74-gun ship, on the 15th of July, 1815. Hardly had he set foot on board before he expressed a desire to go round the ship, and in company with Captain Maitland he went over all the decks. Intensely interested in all he saw, he asked many questions, 'more particularly about anything that appeared to him different from what he had been accustomed to see in French ships of war.' He seemed most struck with the cleanliness and neatness of the English sailors, expressing an opinion that they were surely 'a different class of people from the French, and that he thought it was owing to them that we were always victorious at sea.'[2] He eagerly discussed various naval actions, and although he acknowledged the superiority of our seamen and the excellence of our naval administration generally, he failed to see why English warships should beat the French with so much ease. 'A French ship is heavier in every respect than one of yours,' he remarked to Maitland; 'she carries more guns, those guns of greater calibre, and has a great many more men.'[3] He afterwards realised that the advantage rested as much with the personal as the material

[1] Commander Robinson, 'British Fleet,' p. 47.

[2] 'Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte,' by Capt. F. L. Maitland, 1826, p. 74.

[3] Ibid., p. 76.

element, and that it was owing to the excellence of our gunners, who were constantly exercised and trained 'to fire at a mark,' that our success was largely due. Napoleon himself confessed that he had long wished to introduce 'the use of powder and shot in exercise' into the French navy, but the expense was too great for the country to bear.[1] He observed also that French ships of war had 'all the preparations for action' that the English had, but they lacked 'the way of combining appearance with utility.'[2] On one occasion, while the sailors were heaving the anchor up, and setting the sails, Napoleon remained on the break of the poop of the *Bellerophon*, and could not help but express his astonishment at the discipline and order which characterised every manœuvre. 'What I admire most in your ship,' he afterwards informed Maitland, 'is the extreme silence and orderly conduct of your men. On board a French ship,' he added, 'every one calls and gives orders, and they gabble like so many geese.'[3] During his residence on board the *Bellerophon* Captain Maitland records that Napoleon's inquiries 'were generally much to the purpose, and showed that he had given naval matters a good deal of consideration.'[4] The personality of Nelson seems to have had a fascination for him, and while on the way to St. Helena he had the life of Nelson read to him, taking 'particular interest' in that part relating to his Egyptian campaign, and the battle of Aboukir Bay.[5]

It was from Egypt that Napoleon had learnt his

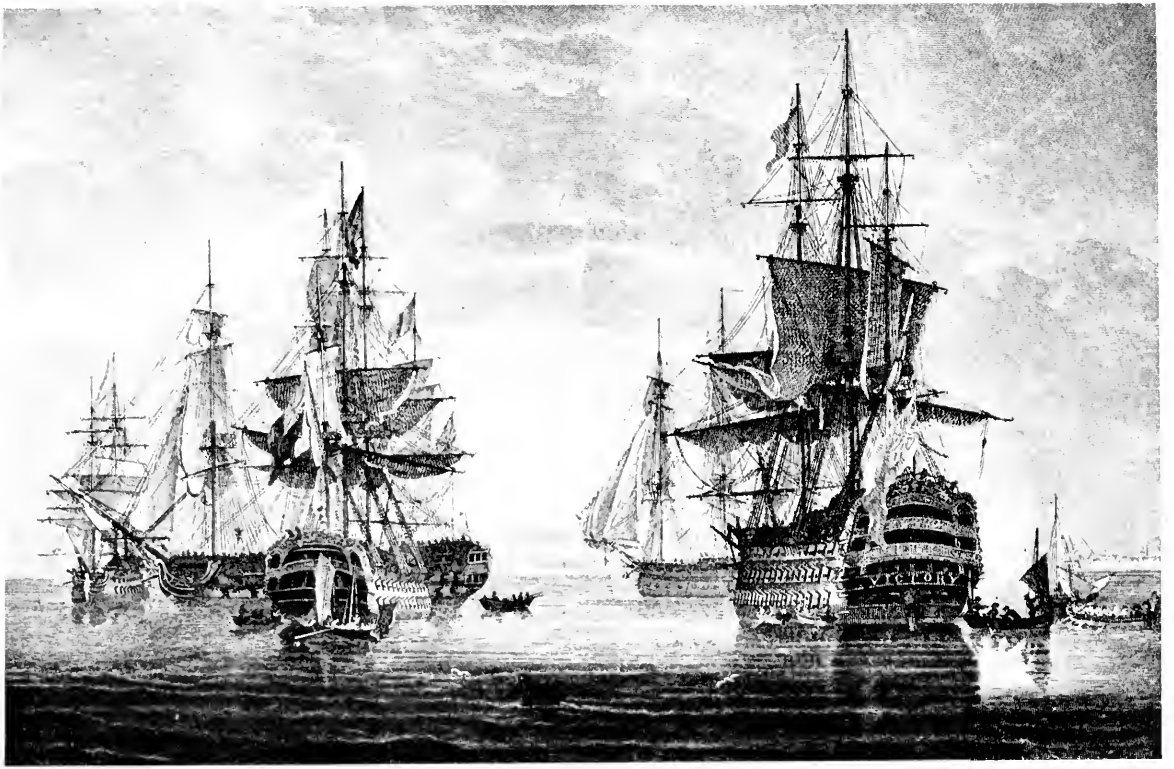
[1] 'Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte,' by Capt. F. L. Maitland, 1826, pp. 77-79.

[2] Ibid., pp. 79-80. [3] Ibid., p. 96. [4] Ibid., p. 79.

[5] Glover's Diary (in 'Napoleon's Last Voyages,' 1906, p. 206).

lesson as to the value of sea power, for it was Nelson's destruction of the French fleet in Aboukir Bay that brought to an end his dream of an Eastern empire. How thoroughly he had learnt that lesson may be judged from his discussions with Maitland on the campaign in Syria, remarking on one occasion that ' if it had not been for you English I should have been Emperor of the East ; but, wherever there is water to float a ship, we are sure to find you in the way.' [1]

[1] Maitland, p. 99.



By Courtesy of the Trustees of *The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich*

H.M. SHIPS *AGAMEMNON*, *CAPTAIN*, *VANGUARD*, *ELEPHANT* AND *VICTORY*

Lord Nelson's ships from 1793 to 1805. Engraved by J. Fittler from the painting by N. Pocock

'PARLIAMENT JOAN'

THE FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Of all the periods in English history, probably none has been more extensively written about, and none offers more attraction to the student and general reader alike, than that of the reign of the Stuarts; yet, in spite of the fact that the field has been industriously gleaned, and private and public archives ransacked in order to enhance our knowledge of the period, occasionally one comes across a stray document or letter which throws an interesting sidelight on the history of the time, and it is resolved to explore the career of the writer further. It was such an accidental discovery that led me to attempt this short sketch of Elizabeth Alkin, one of the many forgotten worthies who flourished during the political and religious struggles of the first two Stuarts, and the stirring times of the Commonwealth. Although she lived in this most troublous and eventful epoch, and achieved considerable distinction in her own day, her name is now absent from all biographical dictionaries, including the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and except to a few historians of the period she is entirely unknown. Nevertheless, such an interesting personality deserves to occupy a niche in our national history, and in these pages an endeavour has been made to place on record the few facts that are known of this Florence Nightingale of the seventeenth century.

Of her birth, family, and early life, details are not forthcoming, but that she came of a well-to-do county family—and possibly on her husband's side connected with the Alkins of Kent—is apparent from the brief and scattered documents that have been handed down to us, in the form of letters and petitions addressed to various officials of State. From these we may safely assume that she was born during the reign of James I and died just prior to the Restoration in 1660. It is not, however, until the outbreak of the Civil War that her name appears among the State archives, when she and her husband allied themselves to the Parliamentary cause. In this momentous struggle, in which nearly every family in England was involved, her husband became attached to the Parliamentary army, and Elizabeth, with true womanly instinct, volunteered her services as a nurse, a circumstance which seems to point to her earlier life having been closely connected with social work among the poor and suffering. Be this as it may, the fact remains that her services were given to the State at a critical period in the nation's history, when nurses were only too few, and the institution of a properly equipped Medical Corps to follow the fortunes of an army in the field had yet to be thought of. Owing to the lack of nurses and movable hospitals, soldiers who had the misfortune to be severely wounded had to be left in villages near the battlefield, trusting for their recovery 'to the charitable care of well-wishers to the cause,'[1] who tended them to the best of their ability, and generally without recompense from the State. In this category we can certainly class Elizabeth Alkin,

[1] Firth, 'Cromwell's Army,' p. 260.

for she threw her whole heart and soul into the work, sparing herself neither night nor day in ministering to the sick, the maimed, and the dying. Although monetary grants to carry on the good work were few and far between, she did not hesitate to spend her own money freely in order to alleviate the sufferings of those with whom she came in contact, for her noble nature would not permit her to see the soldiers want while she had the money to provide them with necessary comforts. In this respect her kindly heart and generous disposition at least earned the gratitude of her patients, and during her labours amongst them she became lovingly known as ' Parliament Joan,' a name that remained with her to the end of her life.

It was while engaged on this mission of mercy—ministering to Cavalier and Roundhead alike—that her husband had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Royalists, and for some reason unknown was executed at Oxford. That he may have been a spy is possible, for after this melancholy event, Joan herself became attached to the secret service, and was employed by the Parliamentary Generals, Essex, Waller, and Fairfax, on dangerous missions, in the course of which she records she did ' much service, to the hazard of her life.' [1] Apparently she was particularly successful in this new appointment, for in March, 1645, there were warrants drawn up to pay her forty shillings ' for several discoveries ' and a like sum ' for discovering George Mynne's wire.' [2] The bald phraseology of the latter may sound somewhat cryptical, but when it is stated that Mynne was a

[1] ' Cal. of the Committee for the Advance of Money,' pp. 517-18.
[2] Ibid., p. 518.

prominent iron-master of Surrey, who had supplied the King with 400 tons of iron on the outbreak of the war, and had iron and wire secreted in various parts of the kingdom amounting to £40,000 in value, the rate of remuneration for her services was certainly not exorbitant.[1] Even these sums, meagre as they were, frequently remained unpaid, as we learn from Joan's subsequent petition to the Council of State, dated September, 1647, in which she sets forth her various employments. Among other things she states that she had also 'done good services in discovering printers and publishers of scandalous books,' and although she had spent her all in the service, she had not been recompensed. Her destitute condition at this period is apparent, and she begged the payment of £40 due to her, in order that she could provide herself with the necessaries of life, and avoid being cast into prison for debt.[2] Fortunately this pathetic appeal did not fall on deaf ears, and in the following October Parliament voted her a sum of £50 to be paid by the Committee for Sequestrations, and they also enacted that she should be provided with a convenient house to dwell in.[3] From the evidence that is forthcoming, however, it would appear that the latter part of their resolution was not carried into effect, and in response to further appeals, the Commons in June, 1649, ordered the Council of State to take the matter up. It was then decided to provide her with sufficient money to relieve her present destitute condition, and

[1] 'Cal. of the Committee for the Advance of Money,' pp. 202-3, and 'Cal. S. P. Dom. 1641-43,' p. 504.

[2] 'Cal. of the Committee for the Advance of Money,' pp. 517-18.

[3] Commons Journals, v. p. 334.

to bestow a house and maintenance upon her for life.[1] In spite of this, there was some difficulty in finding her a suitable habitation, and in March, 1650, the Council of State instructed the Committee for removing obstructions in the sale of the late King's lands, to provide her with a small house, 'either the slaughter-house belonging to the late King, or some other of equal value,' in recognition of her services.[2] Though the question of her pension never seems to have been satisfactorily settled, she was spared the humility of residing in the 'slaughter-house,' and a London residence, belonging to Captain Rawdon, a delinquent, was placed at her disposal.

While the question of her residence was being settled, she was actively engaged in tracking down the authors and printers of seditious literature, a considerable amount of which was written and published surreptitiously with the idea of inflaming the public mind against the Commonwealth. The thoroughness with which her investigations were carried out earned the highest praise from the State, and in November, 1651, she received a sum of £13, 8s. 0d. for the discovery of two particularly violent books entitled 'Manus Testium' and 'Lingua Testium, wherein Monarchy is proved to be *Jure Divino*.'[3] Unfortunately a detailed account of her services at this period

[1] Commons Journals, vi. p. 222, and 'Cal. S. P. Dom. 1649-50,' p. 170.

[2] 'Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650,' pp. 27-28.

[3] 'Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651-52,' pp. 39, 41. Copies of both these works, published in 1651 (the author, printer, and publishers of which were subsequently imprisoned), are in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum. The author adopted the pseudonym of 'Testis-Mundus Catholicus.'

is not extant, but it is evident that the Commonwealth regarded her as a most capable servant, for in the following year she received various grants, amounting in all to £25, for ' good services to the public.' [1]

In the meantime the house that had been granted to her—worth £7 a year—had been sold, and in consequence she petitioned the Council for another belonging to Sir Richard Lichford, situated in King Street, Westminster, for which a rental of £10 a year was asked. The Commonwealth, however, refused to accede to her request, on account of the extra £3 a year involved, and it was ordered that she should be provided with another sequestered house of the same value as hitherto.[2] As a reward for her services lodgings were eventually found for her in the vicinity of Whitehall, which she continued to occupy until the April of 1654.

Though a servant of the State, she still found sufficient time to interest herself in the welfare of the poor and suffering, and as a typical instance of her solicitude and care one instance is worth mentioning. Among the poor wretches in Newgate was Thomas Budd, a Catholic priest, who for some trivial offence had been imprisoned there since 1649. On his case being brought to the notice of ' Parliament Joan,' she left no stone unturned in order to obtain his release, and as a last resource she petitioned the Council to grant him liberty for three months in order that he might recover his health, which had suffered severely during his long confinement. Nor were her labours in vain, and ultimately she had the satisfaction of

[1] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651-52,' pp. 228, 590, 602.
[2] ' Cal. of Committee for the Advance of Money,' p. 518.

getting her request granted on condition that Budd gave security not to act anything to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, nor exercise the ' priestly office.' [1]

That the Council should have given her petition a hearing is all the more remarkable at a time when they were fully occupied with urgent and pressing business of the nation, for the first Dutch War, which broke out in 1652, had resulted in the defeat of Blake off Dover at the end of November. Early in the following year both fleets had refitted and were again at sea eager to renew the struggle, and the intense anxiety with which the issue was awaited was relieved a few weeks later when the English fleet, under Monk, Blake, and Deane, heavily defeated the Dutch under Van Tromp after a three days' contest, taking or destroying 17 men-of-war, 50 merchant ships, and capturing 1500 prisoners. The casualties in the fighting were heavy, and as the wounded commenced to arrive they were distributed among the coast towns, Portsmouth and Dover receiving the greater number. As soon as the news of the victory reached London there were general rejoicings, and Joan, realising that her services would be more suitably employed as a nurse, petitioned the Council that she might be sent to Dover to render what aid she could to the sick and wounded. This petition, which is concise and to the point, is here reproduced, and reveals the tender nature and womanly sympathy of this noble woman who anticipated the devotion of her sisters of the present day.[2]

[1] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1652-53,' p. 147.

[2] Navy Records Society, 37, p. 140. The original is in the Public Record Office.

To the Right Honourable the Council of State

The humble petition of Elizabeth Alkin, alias Joan, sheweth :

That your petitioner hath evermore been faithful and serviceable to the State upon all occasions in these late wars (*i.e.* Civil Wars), in which she day and night hazarded her life, and was from time to time a great help to the distressed, imprisoned, and maimed soldiers by relieving them.

That she, being still desirous to continue her best endeavours amongst them,

Your Petitioner humbly beseecheth your Honours to be pleased to appoint her to be one of the nurses for the maimed seamen at Dover.

And she shall ever pray, etc.

22 Feb. 1652 (*i.e.* 1652-53).

The Council, knowing the urgency of the need, and the necessity of making speedy provision for the relief and accommodation of the seamen, instructed the Admiralty Commissioners ' to do what is desired,' and two days later Joan was appointed ' to attend the sick and wounded soldiers and seamen at Portsmouth and the parts adjacent.' At the same time the Commissioners were empowered to make her ' a reasonable allowance for that service she shall perform therein.' [1] The reason why Portsmouth was selected instead of Dover was undoubtedly owing to the congested and destitute conditions prevailing at the former place, where the wounded and prisoners arrived faster than it was possible to accommodate them. From a letter written at the time we know that the town was full of maimed men, Dutch as well as English, besides

[1] Navy Records Society, 37, p. 140.

prisoners, and the writer who had seen their sad condition, could not ' but have bowels of pity drawn out towards them.' [1] From this letter, and the distressing circumstance that many of the wounded, for want of better accommodation, had to be housed in the taverns of the town, which, besides being small and stifling, exposed their unfortunate occupants to the temptation of drink, we are able to realise the inadequate and hopeless medical arrangements that existed for the treatment of soldiers and sailors at this period. When we take this into consideration, together with the lack of medicines, and the difficulties of providing sufficient diet and nursing, there must have been plenty of work to do for such willing helpers as ' Parliament Joan.' [2]

To relieve the congestion the authorities decided that those seamen who had only been slightly wounded should be sent back to their ships, ' as salt water will not do more hurt than strong drink.' Of the remainder, thirty-two whose recovery was deemed to be ' tedious,' were sent to London, leaving Portsmouth on the 15th March. They were placed in four waggons with surgeons and nurses in attendance, among whom was ' Parliament Joan,' and that their journey of eighty odd miles to the metropolis, in rumbling waggons over rough country roads could have been less ' tedious ' than their recovery, is impossible to conceive.[3] One wonders whether the whole complement survived the horrors of such a journey, which must have occupied three or four days at least. On arrival in London the

[1] Navy Records Society, 37, p. 154.

[2] ' Victoria Co. Hist. Hants,' v. p. 382, and ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1652-53,' p. 224.

[3] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1652-53,' p. 217.

men were distributed among the various hospitals, and Joan for her services at Portsmouth, and attention to the ' sick and wounded in their passage to London,' was ordered to receive a grant of £13, 6s. 8d.[1]

Having safely disposed of her charges, she was, no doubt, anxious to return to Portsmouth as soon as possible, and certainly her stay in London was very brief, for the pause in the operations that followed the Battle of Portland lasted barely two months, and before the end of May both fleets were again at sea. It was evident that another battle could not long be delayed, and in anticipation of this, Joan, instead of returning to Portsmouth, received instructions to proceed to Harwich to await events. About the same time Major Nehemiah Bourne, a prominent officer who had served with distinction as Rear-Admiral of the Fleet during the previous year, was appointed as Commissioner of the maritime district with his head-quarters at Harwich. Bourne was a most enthusiastic and capable servant of the State, and in her subsequent labours on behalf of the sick and wounded, Joan found in him a warm and large-hearted supporter.

With a grant of £5 from the Admiralty Commissioners she left London to take up her duties, and barely had she arrived at Harwich before the rival fleets met off the Essex coast. As the fight progressed the sick and wounded were landed at various towns and villages along the East coast, and by the beginning of June over 200 had been brought into Harwich alone. The same difficulties that were met with at Portsmouth confronted the authorities at Harwich, and owing to the lack of medical aid the Admiralty

[1] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1652-53,' p. 490.

were requested to send down immediately eight or ten experienced surgeons to attend to the men.[1] The insanitary state of the town ; the insufficient accommodation available ; and the lack of fresh water, made Harwich an extremely unfavourable place for the sailors, and Daniel Whistler, one of the most noted physicians of the day who had been specially sent down from London, did not hesitate to condemn it in unmistakable terms. It is ' no place for seamen's sickness,' he emphatically informed the Admiralty Commissioners. The air was bad, ' and the water worse than that the drink at sea is made of, whereby the sea-scurvy, which is the chief disease, is deprived of good land air and fresh water, two necessary ingredients in the cure.' He therefore urged the removal of the men to Ipswich, which was more salubrious, and where there was very good accommodation to be had ' if the town were as willing as able to accommodate those poor calamitous creatures in this urgency.' [2] Not only was the town unsuitable for the recovery of the men, but the general lack of money added immensely to the difficulties which Whistler and his band of willing helpers had to contend with.

Both Major Bourne and ' Parliament Joan,' after expending their own savings, had been forced to borrow money in order to carry on their good work, and a vivid idea of their labours and the distressing conditions prevailing is given in Joan's pitiful appeal for money to Robert Blackbourne, Secretary to the Admiralty Committee.[3]

[1] ' Cal. S.P. Dom. 1652-53,' pp. 385, 424.
[2] Navy Records Society, 41, pp. 206-7.
[3] Ibid., pp. 247-48.

I entreat you (she pleaded) present my humble service to all my Masters, and to yourself. Sir, you have sent me down to Harwich with five pounds, but believe me, it hath cost me three times so much since my coming thither. I have laid out my monies for divers necessaries about the sick and wounded here; it pities me to see poor people in distress. I cannot see them want if I have it. A great deal of monies I have given to have them cleansed in their bodies and their hair cut, mending their clothes, reparations, and several things else, so that I have spent both the money I had of you and my own money; and besides I am owing for my diet. I go often to Ipswich to visit the sick and wounded there, so that in coming and going money departs from me. I was necessitated to get 20s. of the Mayor of Harwich, and he is at a great want of monies himself. I pray you, sir, send me some money speedily, for I stand in great need thereof for the satisfying of my diet and reckonings I am owing. I have not been used to be so long behind for my 'panies.'

I pray you remember me, and send me a present supply. So wishing you much happiness—I rest, sir,

Yours ready in any service to be commanded,

ELIZABETH ALKIN.

HARWICH, 2nd July, 1653.

From this letter—a human document in which every line breathes the true spirit of womanly love and devotion—we are able to appreciate the beautiful character of this noble woman, whose life of self-sacrifice was unsullied by any hope of private gain or recompense. In a postscript she added that she would have come up to London with such of the wounded as were able to bear the journey, but that Major Bourne desired her to remain behind to wait 'the event of this new engagement.' Her companion,

Major Bourne, was no less untiring in his endeavours, and in spite of the pressure of business as Admiralty Commissioner at Harwich, he did not stand upon the dignity of his office, but ' willingly took up any man's work ' in order to help the cause that he had so much at heart.[1] Under these circumstances it is not surprising that he was loth to dispense with the services of ' Parliament Joan,' for he at any rate appreciated her labours to the full, and in consequence she remained at Harwich.

The engagement, which was hourly expected, proved to be Tromp's last battle, and at the end of July the English fleet obtained a decisive victory over the Dutch, in which the great Dutch Admiral was mortally wounded. Though the Dutch losses were extremely heavy, the English victory had not been achieved without considerable cost, and after the battle about 370 sick and wounded were landed and sent to Ipswich, while Harwich had to find accommodation for some 170 more. In addition to these there were about 1000 Dutch prisoners, all of whom had to be provided and cared for.[2] It will be seen, therefore, that the various doctors and nurses found their time fully occupied, and that their strenuous work was rendered more difficult by the lack of financial aid is apparent from the correspondence that is still extant. Her endeavours to get a grant from the Admiralty having been unsuccessful, Joan as a last resource had to appeal to the generous nature of the large-hearted Major Bourne, who advanced her ten pounds from his all too slender purse. Of this sum,

[1] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1653-54,' Pref. xxii.
[2] Navy Records Society, 41, pp. 410-11.

Joan spent £4 on the English sick and wounded at Ipswich, and the remainder on relieving the distress of the Dutch prisoners at that place and Harwich. To friend and foe alike, the same compassionate heart beat within her breast, for 'seeing their wants and misery were so great,' she wrote, 'I could not but have pity on them, although our enemies.' [1]

At length, worn out with her exertions, she became seriously ill, and was forced to abandon her labours before the end of the year and return to London. Broken in health, she arrived in the metropolis with only three shillings in her pocket, and again endeavoured to get a grant from the Admiralty, but all to no avail.[2] Although the Council of State issued a warrant on the 10th January, 1654, to pay her £10 a year in pursuance of the order of the Parliament, and the arrears that were due for her attendance on the sick and wounded, it appears that neither her pension nor arrears were forthcoming. Some idea of her destitute condition at the time is to be gathered from a letter written on the 22nd February, in which she prays the Navy Commissioners to grant her some money, being 'very weak, with many infirmities, procured by my desire to serve the State.' [3] This appeal remaining unanswered, she wrote again five days later, stating that she was so weak that she had been forced to employ two nurses, and that she had not sufficient money to provide herself with the necessities of life. 'My sickness and many infirmities,' she informed them, 'have been brought about by continual watching night and day to do service for the Commonwealth.' Not

[1] 'Cal. S. P. Dom 1653-54,' p. 413.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., pp. 353, 413.

content with her own labours she had employed others to do the like, and now, in order to pay them, had been forced to sell her household goods. She concluded her letter with a pitiful request for money ' on account of my pension,' failing which she beseeched admission to some hospital in order that she might end her days ' less miserably.' [1]

A more pathetic appeal than this—penned as it was from a bed of sickness and suffering—is difficult to imagine, yet her plea to be allowed to end her days ' less miserably ' in one of the London hospitals met with no response. Ill-health and misfortune continued to dodge her footsteps to the last, and in the following April she was ordered to render up her lodgings in Whitehall for the use of such other as the Protector should appoint.[2] This is practically the last official mention of her name, and with the exception of two warrants made out to her in May and September, 1654, each for £10, one ' for physic and nursing sick and wounded seamen and prisoners,' and the other ' for her relief and maintenance,' she received no further monetary grant or consideration from the State.[3]

Broken in health and bereft of her home, she now had to trust to the hospitality of her friends, and it is to be hoped that many a kindly heart went out to ' Parliament Joan ' in her hour of need. Though no further details of her last days are available, we know from an undated petition, prior to the Restoration, that her dying request was for a free burial in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, but in the absence

[1] ' Cal. S. P. Dom. 1653-54,' p. 422.
[2] Ibid., 1654, p. 70. [3] Ibid., pp. 447, 456.

of her name from the registers, we must assume that this was not granted.[1] Her petition is of sufficient interest to print in full :

To the hono^ble Governors of the Free Schoole and Almes houses, Westm^r.

The humble peticion of Elizabeth Alkin [2]
Sheweth :

That your Peticioner lyeth very daingerously sick insomuch y^t neither herselfe nor any about her doe imagine shee will escape y^e payment of y^e last debt shee oweth to Sin which is death upon this Fitt of sicknes.

Shee therefore most humbly beseecheth your honours (in regard of her many former faithfull services to y^e Commonwealth) That you wilbee favourably pleased (out of your accustomed Clemency) and as y^e last act of retalliacon, to Order that her body may bee Interrd in y^e Cloysters gratis, when God shall please to take her out of this transitory life.

And etc.

And so to an unknown grave passed all that was mortal of 'Parliament Joan,' uncared for and unnoticed by the State for which she had given her life ; but enshrined in the hearts of the sturdy seamen of the Commonwealth, she died as she had lived, a true and devoted daughter of England, and a worthy predecessor of her sisters of the twentieth century.

[1] 'Hist. MSS. Com.,' iv. p. 180.

[2] 'Westminster Abbey Muniments,' 6378. I am indebted to L. E. Tanner, Esq., M.V.O., for kindly transcribing this.

WOODES ROGERS

PRIVATEER AND COLONIAL GOVERNOR

THE sea has always been the cradle of the English race, and over six hundred years ago an old chronicler wrote of our great sea tradition that 'English ships visited every coast,' and that 'English sailors excelled all others both in the arts of navigation and in fighting.' In this respect, the west of England has probably played a greater part in our maritime development than any other portion of the United Kingdom, and the names of her most famous seamen—Drake, Raleigh, and Hawkins among others—are now almost household words. There are, however, many other nautical celebrities among her sons, whose names deserve a more prominent place in our naval annals, and such a one is Captain Woodes Rogers. Not only does he rank as a splendid navigator and magnificent seaman, but he also filled an important rôle as a colonial administrator and governor, and was one of the pioneers in the development of our colonial empire. He is, indeed, one of the most picturesque and romantic figures of the first half of the eighteenth century, and his rescue and account of Alexander Selkirk's privations on the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez undoubtedly provided Defoe with materials for 'Robinson Crusoe.' It is not too much to assume that had there been no Woodes Rogers, Defoe's charming and immortal romance, which has delighted millions of readers, might never have been written.

Nevertheless, Rogers is rather an elusive personage, and the writer of the appreciative article on him in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' was unable to glean any particulars of his birth, parentage, or marriage. Thanks to recent research it is now possible to supply some of these details. It is certain that his ancestors had been settled at the old seaport of Poole, Dorset, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, and among the mayors of Poole the name is prominent during the reign of Elizabeth. His great-grandfather, John Rogers of Poole, married Ann Woods, and from this union the name of Woods (afterwards spelt Woodes) Rogers was perpetuated for at least three generations, until the death of Woodes Rogers's infant son in 1713. Woodes Rogers the second, the father of the subject of this book, was a sea-captain, born at Poole in 1650. He eventually removed to Bristol, where his family consisted of two daughters and two sons, the eldest of whom, Captain Woodes Rogers, was probably born there in 1679, but the precise date is uncertain.[1] All that we know is that Rogers, like his father, followed a sea career, and in the records of Bristol he is described as a 'mariner,' from which we may assume that he was connected with the Merchant Venturers of that Port. He is probably to be identified with the Captain Rogers whom the famous navigator Captain William Dampier mentions in his 'Voyages,' published in 1699, as 'my worthy friend,' and from whom he included three contributions in his book[2]:

[1] This information is derived principally from 'Notes and Queries,' vol. 149 (28th Nov. 1925), pp. 388-9. Robert Rogers was Mayor of Poole in 1550; John Rogers in 1572 and 1583.

[2] Dampier, 'Voyages,' 1699, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 104; pt. 3, p. 20, pp. 108-12. This supposition is supported by the fact that Dampier

(i) A long letter on the African hippopotamus as he (Rogers) had seen them in the River Natal'; (ii) A description of the trade winds from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea; (iii) An account of 'Natal in Africk as I received it from my ingenious friend Captain Rogers, who is lately gone to that place, and hath been there several times before.' This gives a lively account of the manners and customs of the natives, and the natural history of the country.

It is evident that at this period the Rogers family occupied a prominent position both in the industrial and social life of Bristol, and in January, 1705, the marriage of Woodes Rogers to the daughter of Admiral Sir William Whetstone, of Bristol, the Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, took place at St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London.[1] This marriage proved a stepping-stone to Rogers's future career, and in consequence of the union between these two old families Rogers was made a freeman of his native place, as the following entry from the city records, under the date of 16th March, 1704-5, shows: 'Woodes Rogers junior, Mariner, is admitted to the liberties of this city for that he married Sarah, daughter of Sir William Whettstone, knight.'[2]

We now come to the year 1708, in many respects the most eventful of Woodes Rogers's career. He had

sailed under Rogers in 1708. If the supposition is correct, Rogers may have been born prior to 1679.

[1] On 24th January, 1704-5, a marriage licence was issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury for: 'Woodes Rogers, of the City of Bristol, Merchant, bachelor, about 25, and Mrs. Sarah Whetstone, spinster, 18, with consent of her father the Hon. Rear-Admiral William Whetstone . . . at St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London' (Harleian Soc., xxiv. 247).

[2] 'Notes and Queries,' ser. ix. vol. i. 69.

long been impressed by the way in which both France and Spain monopolised the whole of the trade to the South Sea, and he determined, if possible, to remedy the evil. In 1698 M. de Beauchesne Gouin, a captain in the French navy, went there with two ships for the purpose of establishing trade, and an account of that voyage, in the shape of the commander's 'Journal' coming into the hands of Rogers, he eagerly perused and digested it. Elated by the success of Beauchesne Gouin, the French had carried on a vast trade ever since, and in one year, Rogers informs us, no less than seventeen warships and merchantmen had been sent to the South Sea. In the first year it was estimated that their ships carried home above 100 millions of dollars, or nearly 25 millions sterling, besides which they convoyed the Spanish galleons and treasure ships to and from the West Indies. By this means they had become absolute masters of all the valuable trade in those parts, and the riches thus amassed had enabled them, according to Rogers, 'to carry on the war against most of the Potentates of Europe.'

This war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession, in which the forces of Great Britain, Austria, and Holland were allied against those of France and Spain, lasted from 1702 till 1713, and Rogers, as befitted a seaman of sound knowledge and wisdom, realised the truth of the old saying that he who commands the sea commands the trade. Not only did he wish to see the English take a share in this vast trade of the South Sea, but he realised that it would be a fitting opportunity to attack the enemies' commerce there, and so by cutting off her resources it would help to shorten the war, and enrich his own country.

To quote his own words, ' necessity has frequently put private men on noble takings.' This was indeed a noble undertaking, and in the belief that it was both necessary and profitable to undertake such an expedition, he drew up a scheme which he presented to his friends, the merchants of his native Bristol. The time was particularly opportune for such a venture, for an Act [1] had recently been passed by Parliament which marks a crucial and important point in the history of privateering. In this Act an effort was made to restore to privateering all the old spirit of adventure which permeated our sea story in the reign of Elizabeth. Previously the Crown had reserved to itself one-fifth of all prizes taken by privateers ; now the whole interest was transferred to the owner and crew. This Act marks the close of the period of decline, and the opening of a period of great activity. The Crown now sanctioned privateering solely for the benefit which it was hoped to derive from injury inflicted on the enemy.[2]

Under these circumstances it was only natural that the scheme which Rogers propounded should have been looked on in a most favourable light, and the expedition was duly financed and fitted out. Rogers dedicates his book to his ' surviving owners,' and among them it is of particular interest to note the following :

Sir John Hawkins, Mayor of Bristol in 1701 ; Christopher Shuter, Mayor in 1711 ; James Hollidge, Mayor in 1709 ; Captain Freake and Thomas Clements, Sheriffs of Bristol ; John Romsey, Town

[1] 6 Anne, cap. 13, 26th March, 1708.

[2] Stark, ' Abolition of Privateering,' p. 69.

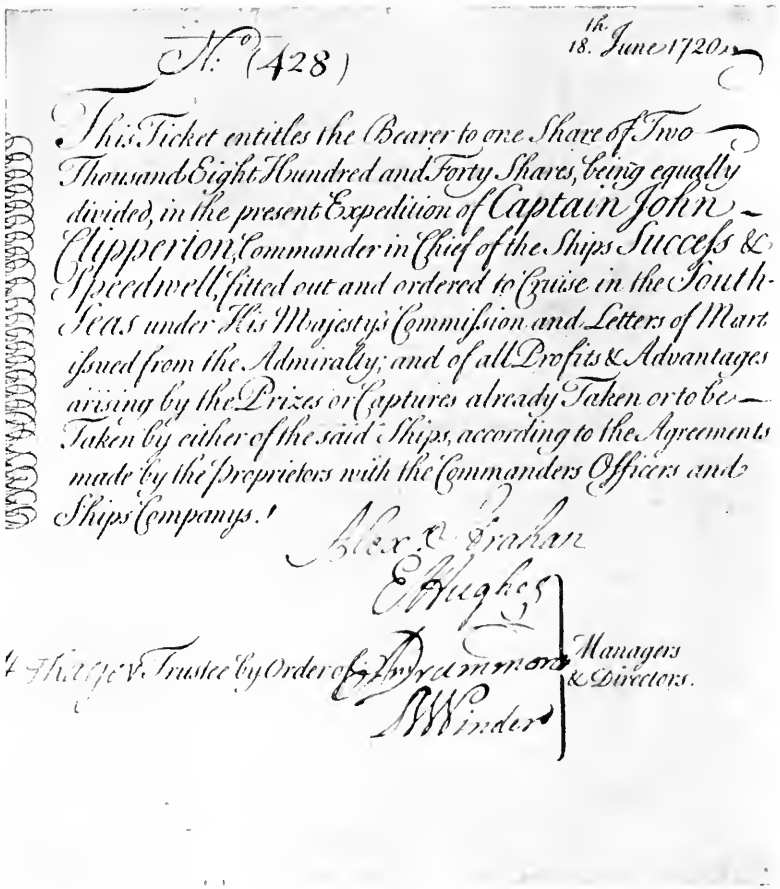
Clerk of Bristol, and Thomas Goldney, a leading Quaker of Bristol.[1] It will be seen from this that during the voyage (1708-11) the whole of the Corporation at one time or another were interested in the venture.

The money being forthcoming, two merchant ships, or ' private Men of War ' were fitted out. These were the *Duke* of 320 tons, with a crew of 117 men and mounting 30 guns, and the *Dutchess*, a slightly smaller ship of 260 tons, with a crew of 108 men, and 26 guns. How these two small ships (the equivalent of a sixth-rate ship of the Royal Navy of the day, with a keel length of about 80 feet and a breadth of about 25 feet) helped to make history, the readers of Woodes Rogers's ' Cruising Voyage ' [2] will be able to judge. Each ship had a commission from the Lord High Admiral to wage war against the French and the Spaniards, and in order that those who sailed with him should not be forgotten Rogers has left us the names of all the officers in the two ships, and among them may be noted the following: Captain Stephen Courtney, Commander of the *Dutchess*, ' a man of birth, fortune, and of very amiable qualities,' who contributed to the expense of the voyage; Thomas Dover, second Captain of the *Duke*, President of the Council, and Captain of the Marines, whose appointment appears to have been due to his financial interest in the voyage. By profession ' a Doctor of Physick,' he is remembered to posterity as the inventor of ' Dover's Powder ' [3];

[1] Nixon, ' Thomas Dover,' 1909, p. 2.

[2] Reprinted in the Seafarers' Library, 1928 (Cassell and Co.).

[3] Born 1662. He appears to have been of a very quarrelsome nature and was afterwards transferred to the *Dutchess*. He died in 1742.



No (428) 18. June 1720

This Ticket entitles the Bearer to one Share of Two Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Shares, being equally divided, in the present Expedition of Captain John Clipperton Commander in Chief of the Ships Success & Speedwell fitted out and ordered to Cruise in the South-Seas under His Majesty's Commission and Letters of Mart issued from the Admiralty; and of all Profits & Advantages arising by the Prizes or Captures already Taken or to be Taken by either of the said Ships, according to the Agreements made by the Proprietors with the Commanders Officers and Ships Companys.

Alex. Graham
E. Hughes
Managers & Directors.
W. Winder

TYPICAL SHARE CERTIFICATE IN A PRIVATEER, 1720

From the original in possession of the Author

Captain Edward Cooke,[1] who was second to Captain Courtney, had been twice taken prisoner by the French.

The most noteworthy was undoubtedly Captain William Dampier,[2] then in his fifty-sixth year, who sailed under Rogers as 'Pilot for the South Seas.' The choice was a wise one, for probably no man living had a wider experience in those waters, having been there three times before, and twice round the world. To the Spaniards his name was second only to that of Drake, a formidable asset in a voyage of this kind. That he should have consented to serve under a much younger man is sufficient testimony of the regard and esteem in which he held Woodes Rogers.

Among the officers of the *Duke* were three lieutenants and three mates. Of the latter, John Ballet, third mate, was designated surgeon if occasion arose, he having been 'Captain Dampier's Doctor in his last unfortunate voyage round the world.' This department was further strengthened by the inclusion of Dover's kinsman, Samuel Hopkins, an Apothecary, who was to act as Dover's lieutenant 'if we landed a party.' In addition two young lawyers, George Underhill and John Parker, were borne upon the ship's books, 'designed to act as midshipmen.' Among

[1] Cooke, like Rogers, possessed literary ability. In 1712 he published an account of the expedition, 'A Voyage to the South Sea and Round the World.' The book is inferior to the account given by Rogers.

[2] Born 1652, a famous navigator and hydrographer. Served in the R.N. 1673, and joined the Buccaneers six years later. Returned to England in 1691, and in 1699-1700 conducted a voyage of discovery to the South Seas. In 1703 appointed to command two privateers, and it was during this voyage that Selkirk was marooned on Juan Fernandez by Capt. Stradling. Dampier returned to England in 1707. A good pilot but a bad commander. He died in London, 1715.

the officers of the *Dutchess* under Captain Courtney was Rogers's young brother, John, who sailed as second lieutenant.

The instructions given by the owners were embodied in a document, which Rogers solemnly calls the 'Constitution,' which was signed and sealed at Bristol on the 14th of July, 1708. This document not only stipulated the exact powers of the various officers, but laid down a definite rule that 'all attempts, attacks, and designs upon the enemy' should at first be debated by a general council of the officers, and the same applied to all 'discontents, differences, or misbehaviour.' The wisdom of this procedure was apparent from the first, and Rogers states that without this method 'we could never have performed the voyage.'

And so, within three weeks of the signing of the Constitution, Rogers and his merry men sailed from the King Road, near Bristol, on August the 2nd, on what proved to be one of the most successful voyages that ever left the shores of Great Britain. His crew consisted for the most part of 'Tinkers, Taylors, Haymakers, Pedlers, Fiddlers, etc.,' not forgetting John Finch, 'late wholesale oilman of London,' as ship's steward, and the ship's mascot, a fine specimen of an English bull-dog. Though the composition of the crew was Gilbertian in the extreme, its spirit, as we shall see, was, in the main, Elizabethan.

'Most of us, the chief officers,' says Rogers, 'embraced this trip of privateering round the world, to retrieve the losses we had sustained by the enemy,' and the opportunity soon offered itself. Proceeding down the Bristol Channel with a fair wind and bound

for Cork, they saw a large ship, but after three hours' chase lost sight of her. This was probably fortunate for Rogers, for he records that his ships were ' out of trim,' and that in his own ship there were ' not twenty sailors.' After several minor adventures Cork was reached on the 6th, where the provisioning of the ships was completed by Mr. Noblett Rogers, brother of one of the owners. Here Rogers succeeded in shipping some good sailors, and clearing out the useless ones, ' being ordinary fellows, and not fit for our employment.' The defects in the rigging of the ships were now made good, and they were also careened and cleaned. During this enforced stay in Cork Harbour, we get a glimpse of the lighter side of a sailor's life. Though they expected to sail immediately, the crew we are informed ' were continually marrying.' Among others, Rogers tells an amusing story of a Danish seaman who married an Irish woman, ' without understanding a word of each other's language, so that they were forced to use an interpreter.' While the rest ' drank their Cans of flip till the last minute ' and ' parted unconcerned,' the Dane, ' continued melancholy for several days ' after the ships sailed. Sweethearts and wives were finally left behind on 1st September, when the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, in company with about 20 merchant ships, and escorted by the *Hastings* man-of-war, under the command of Captain Paul,[1] shaped their course for the Canary Islands.

And now having left British waters, with a ' mixed

[1] John Paul, 3rd Lieutenant of the *Chichester*, 1696. Captain, 1706, and promoted to the *Hastings*. Employed on the Irish station for many years, and among other duties convoyed the outward bound merchant ships to the westward. Died 1720.

gang,' as Rogers dubbed his crew, 'we hope to be well manned, as soon as they have learnt the use of arms, and got their sea legs, which we doubted not soon to teach them, and bring them to discipline.' The holds of both the *Duke* and *Dutchess* were full of provisions; the between decks were crowded with cables, bread, and water-casks, and whereas on leaving Bristol they had only a crew of 225 all told, they now had a total of 334, so we can quite agree with Rogers when he says they were 'very much crowded and pestered ships.' Under such circumstances Rogers was no doubt glad to sail under the protection of a man-of-war.

Strange as it may seem things were not so bad as Rogers thought, and after chasing a small vessel he records with evident satisfaction, that the *Duke* and *Dutchess* 'sailed as well as any in the fleet, not excepting the man-of-war.' Prior to parting company with Captain Paul the crews were mustered in order to acquaint them with the design of the expedition, and to give an opportunity of sending home any 'malcontents' in the *Hastings*. All professed themselves satisfied, excepting one poor fellow on the *Duke*, who expected to have been 'the Tything-man that year in his parish,' and whose lament was that his wife 'would be obliged to pay forty shillings in his absence.' However, when he saw all the rest willing, and knew the prospect of plunder, he became 'easily quieted,' and in common with the others drank heartily to the success of the voyage.

Six days after leaving Cork the ships parted company with the *Hastings*, and as a farewell gift Captain Paul gave them 'Scrubbers, Iron Scrapers for our ship's

bottom, a speaking trumpet, and other things that we wanted.' By this time Rogers was beginning to get his ships into trim and all provisions, etc., properly stowed, they hitherto ' having been in some confusion, as is usual in Privateers at first setting out.' Taking into consideration the length of the voyage, the different climates they would pass, and the excessive cold ' going about Cape Horne,' it was resolved to stop at Madeira to replenish their slender stock of ' liquor.' It was Pepys who wrote that ' seamen love their bellies above anything else,' and Rogers was of the opinion that ' good liquor to sailors is preferable to clothing.'

In spite of the assurances of his crew a few days earlier, a mutiny now occurred on board his ship. He and his consort had chased and overhauled a vessel flying Swedish colours, believed to be carrying contraband goods. Nothing, however, was found to prove her a prize, and Rogers let her go ' without the least embezzlement,' for which courtesy the master gave him ' two hams, and some ruff-dryed beef,' and the compliment was returned with ' a dozen bottles of red-streak Cyder.' This much incensed the crews of the *Duke* and *Dutchess* who had no idea of the perils of privateering without the sweets of plunder, and under the leadership of the boatswain of the *Duke* several of them mutinied. The situation looked ugly, but Rogers, who was a born commander, quickly quelled it, putting ten of the mutineers in irons, while the boatswain, ' the most dangerous fellow,' was shipped in the *Crown* galley, then in company, to be carried to Madeira in irons. Five days later the prisoners were ' discharged from their irons,' upon

their humble submission and strict promises for their future good behaviour.

Contrary to arrangements it was decided to pass by Madeira, there being ' little wind,' and to ' cruise a little among the Canary Islands for liquor.' On the 18th of September they chased and captured a small Spanish bark with forty-five passengers on board, who were relieved when they found that their captors were English and not Turks. Among them were four friars, one of whom, ' a good honest fellow,' Rogers and his officers made ' heartily merry, drinking King Charles III's health ' : the rest he tersely records ' were of the wrong sort.'

The prize was carried into Oratava, where after some delay, and a threatened bombardment of the town, the Spaniards eventually ransomed her. The transaction, however, seemed to have ended to Rogers's satisfaction, and his ships sailed away ' well stocked with liquor, the better able to endure the cold when we get the length of Cape Horn.' On the 25th of September the ships passed the ' tropick,' when according to the ritual of the sea, the fresh-water sailors were ducked from the yard-arm, or forced to pay a fine of half a crown.

The next place of call was the Cape Verde Islands, and on the last day of September the two ships dropped anchor in the harbour of St. Vincent. Here they wooded and watered, and their casks, which had been oil-casks, were hauled ashore, burnt and cleaned—the water in them having ' stunk insufferably.' By bartering with the inhabitants they were also able to obtain fresh provisions in the shape of ' Cattel, Goats, Hogs, Fowls, Melons, Potatoes, Limes, Brandy, Tobacco,

Indian Corn, etc.' Here Rogers had the misfortune to lose one of his crew, Joseph Alexander, 'a good linguist,' who had been sent ashore with a respectful letter to the Governor. This man seems to have found life more attractive on the island than the uncertainties and hardships of life aboard a privateer. After waiting a week for him Rogers reluctantly came to the conclusion that he had deserted, and 'it was unanimously agreed, that we had better leave him behind, than to wait with two ships for one man that had not followed his orders.'

Rogers was extremely scrupulous in all his undertakings; everything relating to the proceedings of his squadron and the affairs of both officers and men was carefully recorded in his journal. On the eve of sailing from the Bay of St. Vincent a council was held on board the *Dutchess* 'to prevent embezzlement in prizes, and to hinder feuds and disorders amongst our officers and men for the future.' An agreement was arrived at whereby each man was to have the following shares in the plunder: A sailor or landsman, £10; any officer below the Carpenter, £20; a Mate, Gunner, Boatswain, and Carpenter, £40; a Lieutenant or Master, £80; And the Captains £100 over and above the gratuity promised by the owners to such as shall signalise themselves.' It was also agreed that both Rogers and Courtney should have 5 per cent. over and above their respective shares, and that a reward of twenty pieces-of-eight would be given 'to him that first sees a prize of good value, or exceeding 50 tons in burden.' This was signed by the officers and men of both ships on the 8th of October.

On the same day the ships weighed and steered for

the coast of Brazil. By this time the men had found their sea legs and were more amenable to discipline, and only one act of insubordination is recorded on the voyage to Brazil.

The spiritual needs of the men were not neglected, and it is pleasing to note that from the 28th of October, when the ships crossed the line, ' prayers were read in both ships, morning or evening, as opportunity would permit, according to the Church of England.[1] On the 19th of November they made the coast of Brazil, anchoring off the Island of Grande. The opportunity was now taken to replenish the water casks, and careen the ships. The depredations of the French corsairs had made the Brazilians suspicious of strangers, and Rogers states that his boat was fired on several times when trying to land ' with a present for the Governor of Angre de Reys.' On learning that they were English, Rogers and his men were welcomed by the Friars and the Governor, who treated them ' very handsomely.' Rogers's account of a religious procession in which he and his men, assisted by the ships' band, took part, is one of the most amusing episodes in his book. Another amusing incident was an attempt by two Irish sailors to desert, but they were so frightened by the monkeys and baboons in the woods that they were glad to return to the ship. In the afternoon of 3rd December, the ships bade adieu to the hospitalities of the island of

[1] During the voyage Rogers paid particular attention to the religious requirements of the men. Even his prisoners were ' allowed liberty of conscience,' and they had ' the Great Cabbin for their Mass, whilst we used the Church of England service over them on the Quarter-deck,' and in consequence he humorously remarks that ' the Papists were the Low Church men.'

Grande, and commenced their long and arduous voyage to Juan Fernandez, a distance of nearly 6000 miles.

A succession of gales now followed, and on the 13th of December the *Dutchess* was forced to reef her mainsail for the first time since leaving England. In spite of ' strong gales, with squalls from the south to the west,' when nearing Cape Horn, the new year was fitly ushered in. According to the custom of the sea there was ' a large tub of punch hot upon the Quarter Deck, where every man in the ship had above a pint to his share, and drank our owners and our friends healths in Great Britain.' After which, Rogers records, ' we bore down to our Consort, and gave him three Huzza's, wishing them the like.' In anticipation of the excessive cold in ' going about Cape Horn ' six tailors were hard at work for several weeks making warm clothing for the men, and every officer handed over such items as he could spare from his own kit. The actual passage of the Horn is vividly described by Rogers, and although the *Dutchess* was for some hours in considerable danger, good seamanship brought her and her consort safely through. Having got as far south as latitude 61° 53′, ' the furthest for aught we know that anyone as yet has been to Southward, we now account ourselves in the South Sea,' says Rogers.

In fact Dampier as pilot had carried them so far south that many of the men in both ships were nearly frozen to death, and some were down with the scurvy. The pressing need was to find a harbour in order that the sick might be recruited ashore, and for this purpose the Island of Juan Fernandez was decided upon.

Unfortunately all the charts differed, and for a time grave doubts were entertained of ' striking it.' Thanks to the skill of Dampier, who had been there before, the island was sighted on the last day of January, but by that time they had slightly overshot it, for it bore ' W.S.W. distant about 7 leagues.' [1] With this famous landfall lay not only the destinies of the crews of the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, but also of the solitary inhabitant of the island who was anxiously scanning the horizon.

That same afternoon the pinnace was hoisted out and a boat's crew under the command of Dover went in her to go ashore. When the pinnace was about a league from the island, it being then nightfall, Rogers, from the deck of the *Duke*, suddenly saw a light blaze up from the shore. The pinnace immediately made haste to return, and believing that a French squadron was lying at anchor, Rogers ordered the decks to be cleared for action. At daybreak on the following day the ships stood in to engage, but not a single sail was to be seen. A yawl, with two officers and six men all armed, was sent forward to reconnoitre, and as it neared the shore a man ' clothed in goatskins ' was seen gesticulating wildly to them. This was Alexander Selkirk, late master of the *Cinque Ports*, who through some quarrel with his captain had been on the island four years and four months. This was the first time that an English ship had called at the island since, and his joy at seeing the English flag again and hearing the voices of his own countryman can better be imagined

[1] Over thirty years later Anson experienced the same difficulty, and he records that not finding the island ' in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it ' they feared they had gone too far to the westward.

than described. Though his actions reflected his gratitude, his speech ' for want of use ' failed him, ' he seemed to speak his words by halves.' His adventures and privations are vividly described by Rogers, and it is not proposed to dwell on them here. Suffice it to say that Selkirk's story was first communicated to the world in the pages of Woodes Rogers's ' Cruising Voyage,' and that his adventures formed the basis of the romance of Robinson Crusoe.[1]

Two days after their arrival at the island all was bustle and excitement. A ship's forge was set up ashore ; sail-makers were busy repairing the sails ; coopers were hard at work on the casks ; and tents were pitched to receive the sick men. In the words of Rogers ' we have a little town of our own here, and every body is employed.' The time was indeed precious, for while at the Canaries they had heard that five large French ships were coming to search for them, and Rogers was anxious to get away as soon as possible. Thanks to the ' goodness of the air '

[1] Rogers's account of Selkirk created an appetite that was speedily fed by other writers. In the same year Captain Edward Cooke (who sailed with Rogers) brought out his ' Voyage to the South Sea,' in which he included an account of Selkirk. In 1712 there also appeared a tract entitled ' Providence Displayed ; or a surprising account of one Alexander Selkirk,' which is practically a verbatim transcript from Rogers. In ' The Englishman ' for the 3rd December, 1713, Sir Richard Steele, who was a friend of Rogers, and had met Selkirk, published an account of Selkirk which follows in the main the story given by Rogers. Before the publication of the first part of Defoe's ' Robinson Crusoe ' in 1719, two editions of Rogers's book had been published. It is possible that the introduction of the character of Friday into ' Robinson Crusoe ' was inspired by the incident of the Mosquito Indian mentioned in Rogers's book. Selkirk returned to his native Largo in Fifeshire in the spring of 1712, and eventually went to sea again. In 1720 he was Master's Mate of H.M.S. *Weymouth*. He died in the following year.

and the 'help of the greens,' and to the fact that the 'Governour,' as Rogers dubbed Selkirk, caught two or three goats every day for them, the crew soon recovered from their distemper, and only two died. The ships were quickly wooded and watered, and about eighty gallons of sea-lions' oil was boiled down to be used as oil for the lamps in order to save the candles. By the 12th of February the sick men were re-embarked, and two days later the little squadron weighed with 'a fair pleasant gale,' with Selkirk duly installed as second mate of the *Duke*. The voyage was continued to the northward off the coasts of Chile and Peru with the intention of getting across the track of the great Spanish galleons from Manila to Acapulco. On the 16th of March they captured a little vessel of about 16 tons belonging to Payta, and on the following day arrived with their prize at the Island of Lobos. Here it was resolved to fit out the prize as a privateer, 'she being well built for sailing.' This was carried out with the greatest expedition, and with a crew of 32 men and four swivel guns, she was renamed the *Beginning* and placed under the command of Captain Cooke.

While the *Duke* was being cleaned and tallowed, the *Beginning*, in company with the *Dutchess*, was sent a-cruising, and on the morning of the 26th they captured another Spanish vessel. Among other things they found a store of tobacco on board, a very welcome article which was distributed among the men. After being cleaned and refitted she was christened the *Increase* and Selkirk was appointed to command her. The ships continued cruising on this station till the 5th of April, and among other prizes they took the

Spanish galleon *Ascension* of 500 tons, bound from Panama to Lima.

So far the financial results of the expedition had been disappointing, but spurred on by the glowing accounts given by their prisoners of richly laden ships that were expected with the 'widow of the Viceroy of Peru with her family and riches,' and the wealth of the Spanish South American cities, they resolved to attack the city of Guiaquil, and exact a ransom. This resolution was arrived at on the morning of 12th April, and a council was held on board the *Duke* to discuss the project, when regulations were drawn up regarding the landing parties and other details. In order that his 'mixed gang of most European nations' should have 'good discipline' and 'needful encouragement,' minute regulations were drawn up by Rogers and his officers concerning what was to be termed plunder. Although everything portable seems to have been considered as such, it is amusing to learn that Rogers, with his customary civility to the fair sex, resolved 'that money and women's ear-rings, with loose diamonds, pearls, and precious stones' should 'be excepted.' The plunder of Guiaquil being thus comfortably and amicably arranged beforehand, the ships headed for the Island of Puna, at the entrance to Guiaquil River.

On the 15th of April, when nearing their intended anchorage, an unfortunate incident occurred. In an attack on a French-built ship belonging to Lima, Rogers's younger brother was killed in attempting to board her. Though we must sympathise with Rogers when he speaks of his 'unspeakable sorrow' on this occasion, we cannot but admire his pluck when he philosophically adds that 'the greatest misfortune or

obstacle shall not deter' him from the object that he had in view. Within twenty-four hours Rogers had captured the ship, eventually naming her the *Marquis*, and increasing her armament from 12 to 20 guns.

On the 19th a landing was effected on the Island of Puna, and at midnight on the 22nd, the ships' boats with 110 men arrived in sight of the town of Guiaquil. On the top of an adjoining hill a blazing beacon showed that an alarum had been raised. Bells were violently rung, and muskets and guns were discharged to awake the inhabitants. A hurried consultation was now held between Rogers and his chief officers, and both Dampier and Dover were against proceeding with the attack. Cautious counsels prevailed, and the plan for taking the town by surprise having failed, negotiations were opened with the Governor for its ransom. A sum of 50,000 pieces-of-eight [1] was demanded, but the town could only raise 30,000. Rogers thereupon broke off the negotiations, and while the ships bombarded the town he landed a force of 70 men and guns. Rogers has minutely described the attack, and space forbids dwelling on it here; suffice it to say that within an hour the enemy were in full retreat and the English were masters of the city. Other reinforcements were now landed and strategic points in the city occupied, while parties were told off to plunder. An agreement was eventually drawn up for the payment of 30,000 pieces-of-eight as ransom, to be paid within six days. On the 27th of April Rogers and his men marched down to the boats with colours flying, and the plunder was safely stowed aboard. At 8 o'clock the next morning they sailed with 'drums beating, trumpets

[1] A piece-of-eight was equivalent in value to 4s. 6d.

sounding, and guns booming,' and thus took leave of the Spaniards ' very cheerfully.'

It was now decided to make the ' utmost despatch ' for the Galapagos Islands off the coast of Peru. In the passage there a malignant fever contracted at Guiaquil broke out among the crews of both ships, and on the morning of the 17th when in sight of the Galapagos no less than 60 were down on the *Duke*, and upwards of 80 on the *Dutchess*.

On arrival at the island it was agreed to separate in order to search for fresh water, but none was discovered. Finding that punch preserved his own health, Rogers records that he ' prescribed it freely among such of the ship's company as were well.' Though it was thought when setting out from Bristol that they had sufficient medicines aboard, Rogers now laments that with so many sick in both ships the supplies were inadequate.

Owing to the absence of water it was decided to steer for the island of Gorgona, near the mainland. Here a supply of fresh water was available, and the sick were brought ashore and placed in tents to recruit their health. The opportunity was now taken to caulk and careen the ships and examine the prizes. In discharging the cargo of the galleon, which Rogers had named the *Marquis*, he found in her, to his amazement, ' 500 Bales of Pope's Bulls, 16 reams in a Bale,' and a quantity of bones in small boxes ' ticketed with the names of Romish Saints, some of which had been dead 7 or 800 years.' A more inconvenient cargo for a privateer would be difficult to imagine, and as they took up such a lot of room in the ship, Rogers records that he threw most of them overboard ' to

make room for better goods,' except some of the Papal Bulls which he used ' to burn the pitch off our ships' bottoms when we careened them.' In extenuation for what may seem an impious act, Rogers states that it was impossible to read them as the print ' looked worse than any of our old ballads.'

After two months' stay at Gorgona the crew had sufficiently recuperated to continue the cruise, and on the 7th of August the ships sailed from the island, bound southward. On board the *Duke* were 35 negroes, ' lusty fellows,' selected from some of the Spanish prizes. Rogers called them together, and explained his plan of campaign, telling them that if they fought and behaved themselves well in the face of an enemy they should be free men, upon which ' 32 of them immediately promised to stand to it as long as the best Englishman, and desired they might be improved in the use of arms.' To confirm the contract, Rogers gave them a suit of ' Bays,' and ' made them drink a dram all round ' to the success of the voyage. In order that nothing should be wanting he staged a sham fight to exercise them ' in the use of our great guns and small arms,' and in the heat of the engagement, ' to imitate business,' red-lead mixed with water was liberally sprinkled over them ; ' a very agreeable diversion,' comments Rogers.

And so for the real business, the capture of the Manila ship. All the romance of buccaneering and privateering hangs round these great treasure galleons, the annual ships from Manila to Acapulco, and the sister ships from Acapulco to Manila. It was the golden dream of every sailor who sailed these seas to capture one of them, but although many had made

the attempt, only one prior to this, that famous Elizabethan seaman Thomas Cavendish, had actually done so, in 1587.[1] Here was a feat worthy of emulation, and so, in the November of 1709, we find Rogers and his little squadron cruising off Cape St. Lucas waiting and watching in the ' very place ' and in the same month where Cavendish ' took the Manila ship ' one hundred and twenty-two years earlier. It was a long and weary watch which tested both the temper and the mettle of the men to the extreme. Through the whole of November no sign of the treasure ship was to be seen ; several of the men mutinied and were confined in irons, and two others broke open the store-room and stole from the fast-diminishing stock of victuals. By the 20th of December provisions were at such a low ebb that Rogers records ' we all looked very melancholy and dispirited,' and after consultation with his officers it was agreed to make for the Island of Guam ' with the utmost dispatch ' in order to revictual. All hope of falling in with the Manila ship had been practically abandoned, when at 9 o'clock on the following morning a man at the masthead of the *Duke* cried out that he saw a sail distant about 7 leagues ' bearing West half south of us.'

At this ' great and joyful surprize ' the English ensign was immediately hoisted, and both the *Duke* and *Dutchess* ' bore away after her.' The weather had now ' fallen calm,' and all through that day and the next Rogers hung on to his prey, with his two pinnaces tending her ' all night,' and showing ' false fires ' that they might keep in touch. Before nightfall on the 22nd, both the *Duke* and *Dutchess* cleared for action,

[1] Anson emulated Rogers by capturing the galleon in 1743.

and everything was made ready to engage the ship at daybreak. As day dawned the chase was observed upon the *Duke's* weather bow, about a league away, while the *Dutchess* was ahead of her ' to leeward near about half as far.' The ships were now becalmed, and Rogers was forced to get ' out 8 of our ships oars, and rowed above an hour.' A light breeze then sprang up and carried them gently towards the enemy. There was no time to be lost ; not a dram of liquor was in the ship to fortify the spirits of the men, so a large kettle of chocolate was boiled and served out to the crew, who when they had emptied their pannikins went to prayers like true British sailors. Ere long their devotions were disturbed by the enemy's gunfire, and about eight o'clock the *Duke* began to engage the Spaniard single-handed ; the *Dutchess* ' being to leeward, and having little wind, could not get up in time. The enemy presented a most formidable aspect with powder barrels hanging at each yard-arm, ' to deter us from boarding.'

As the *Duke* approached she received the fire of the enemy's stern-chasers, to which she was only able to reply with her fore-chasers. Holding on her course she soon ranged alongside the great galleon, and gave her several broadsides. The precision and rapidity of the English gunners were apparent from the first, and after a little while the *Duke* ' shot a little ahead ' and placing herself across the bows of the galleon, plied her guns with such good effect that the Spaniard hauled her colours ' two thirds down ' and surrendered.[1]

[1] She was named *Nuesta Señora de la IncarnacionDisenganio*, and was of 400 tons burden. Her Commander was Don John Pichberty, by birth a Frenchman, and brother-in-law of the French Governor in Hispaniola.

The fight, which was hotly contested, according to Rogers, lasted ' about three glasses,' and on board the Spaniard nine men were killed and several wounded. On the English side only two were wounded, Rogers and an Irish landsman. Rogers's wound was a serious one ; he was shot in the left cheek, the bullet carrying away part of his upper jaw. As he lay on the deck writhing in agony, he pluckily delivered his orders in writing.

Two days later, although he had ' much ado to swallow any sort of liquids,' and was obviously very ill, it was decided to cruise for a larger ship which the prisoners stated had sailed from Manila at the same time. On Christmas eve the *Dutchess* and the *Marquis* sailed out of the harbour of Port Segura to search for the larger ship. The inability of the former to engage the other Spanish ship in time had caused ' some reflections amongst the sailors,' and it was decided by a majority of the council that Rogers with the *Duke* and the prize should wait in harbour to refit—much ' against our will.' However, Rogers was not to be put aside. He placed two men on an adjoining hill-top to signal as soon as the Spanish ship was sighted, and on the 26th he stood out to sea to join his consorts. By 9 o'clock in the morning the *Dutchess* was observed engaging the Spaniard, and the *Marquis* ' standing to them with all the sail she could crowd.' Unfortunately at this moment the *Duke* was some twelve miles to leeward, and as the wind was light she made little way. By the afternoon the *Dutchess* was joined in the attack by the *Marquis*, but the latter soon fell to leeward out of cannon shot, being apparently temporarily disabled. Fortunately she soon recovered, and renewed the

attack with great vigour ' for 4 glasses and upwards.' The brunt of the fighting having fallen on the *Dutchess* she now ' stretched ahead to windward ' of the enemy, to repair her rigging and stop a leak. In the meantime the *Marquis* kept firing several broadsides until the *Dutchess* ' bore down again,' when the fight was renewed until nightfall. All this time Rogers in the *Duke* was crowding on all sail to come to his consorts' assistance. At daybreak the wind shifted, and Rogers was able to bring his guns to bear. The *Dutchess* being now ' thwart the Spaniards hawse,' and plying her guns very fast, those that missed their target, exposed the *Duke* to a serious risk 'if we had lain on her quarters and across her stern, as I had designed.' Rogers now ranged his ship alongside the Spaniard, and for 4 glasses continued pouring broadsides into her. The *Duke* now received two shots in her mainmast, which disabled her, and a fire-ball lighting on her quarter-deck blew up a chest of gunpowder, and nearly fired the ship. The *Dutchess* was in much the same plight, and ' having our rigging shattered very much,' Rogers records, ' we sheered off, and brought to.'

A council was now held on board the *Duke*, and taking into consideration the damage that the ships had received, coupled with the fact that their ammunition was nearly exhausted, it was unanimously agreed ' to forbear any further attempts ' on the Spaniard. The loss of such a valuable prize caused great disappointment, and it was Rogers's opinion, that had the *Duke* been allowed to accompany the *Dutchess* and *Marquis* on their first setting out ' we all believe we might then have carried this great ship.' However,

Rogers had reason to be proud of the way in which his ships had acquitted themselves. The lofty Spaniard was the Admiral of Manila, named *Bigonia*, a new ship of 900 tons, with a crew of 450 and mounting 60 brass guns. It was estimated that the English fired no less than 500 shot (6 pounders) into her hull. From first to last the English had fought her for seven hours, and the casualties on the *Duke* were 11 wounded, while the *Dutchess* had about 20 killed and wounded, and the *Marquis* 2 scorched with powder. Among the wounded was Rogers, who had part of his ankle carried away when the Spaniards' fire-ball blew up on the quarter-deck. To the end of the action he lay on his back where he fell, encouraging the men, and refusing to be carried below.

It was now resolved to return to Port Segura on the Californian coast to look after the prize already taken, and on the 1st day of January they were again in harbour. The Acapulco galleon was now named the *Batchelor* in honour of Alderman Batchelor of Bristol, one of the financiers of the expedition.[1] By a majority the council decided to appoint Dover to command her, and Rogers, ill as he was, strongly protested against the appointment. Dover was not a seaman; he was absolutely incapable of commanding and navigating the prize to England. Moreover, his temper was such that most of the seamen refused to serve under him. Finally a compromise was arrived at, and Captains Frye and Stretton were entrusted with the 'navigation, sailing, and engaging' of the ship, and

[1] The Spanish prisoners were released, including the Commander, Pichberty, and after providing them with provisions, they were despatched to Acapulco, and 'parted very friendly.'

Selkirk was appointed Master. Dover, though nominally in command, was not to 'molest, hinder, or contradict them in their business.'

During the evening of the 10th of January, 1710, the four ships *Duke*, *Dutchess*, *Marquis* and *Batchelor*, all heavily laden, left the coast of California for the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrones, that being the first stage on their journey home to Great Britain. Provisions were now extremely short, and 5 men were forced to subsist on 1½ lb. of flour, and 1 small piece of meat between them per day, with 3 pints of water each 'for drink and dressing their victuals.' Stern measures were therefore necessary, and a seaman who stole several pieces of pork was punished with the cat-o'-nine-tails by his messmates. During this extreme scarcity, Rogers was forced to adopt a measure which is perhaps rather a humiliating episode in his career. To his negro sailors, whom he had promised to treat as Englishmen, and who had behaved themselves well, he could only allow 6 in a mess to have 'the same allowance as 5 of our own men, which will but just keep those that are in health alive.'

The long voyage to Guam, a distance of over 6000 miles, occupied two months, during which the best day's run was 168 miles, and the worst 41. Nothing of importance occurred until the 14th of February, when 'in commemoration of the ancient custom of chusing Valentines,' Rogers drew up a list of all 'the fair ladies in Bristol' who were in any way related or known to them. Assembling his officers in the cabin of the *Duke* 'every one drew, and drank the lady's health in a cup of Punch, and to a happy sight of them all.' Three days later Rogers was troubled with a

swelling in his throat ' which incommoded ' him very much, and he succeeded in getting out a piece of his jaw-bone that had lodged there ' since I was wounded.' On March the 11th they arrived at Guam, where Rogers, after a little diplomatic dealing with the Spanish Governor, succeeded in getting such provisions as he wanted for his depleted stores. In return the Governor and others were entertained on board the *Duke*, the crew ' diverting them with musick, and our sailors dancing till night.' On the 21st of March they sailed from Guam for the Moluccas, encountering very stormy weather, and owing to the unseaworthy nature of the *Duke*, the crew were ' wearied almost to death with continual pumping.' By the 15th of May provisions had again reached a low ebb, and ' with the shortest allowance ' it was estimated that they could only ' subsist at sea 3 weeks longer.' A fortnight later the four ships were safely anchored at the island of Bouton, by which time the *Dutchess* was using her last butt of water. Here the King of Bouton supplied them with various commodities, all of which ' were very dear.' Nevertheless, as some return for the hospitality received Rogers made the King a present of a ' Bishop's Cap,' which it is of interest to note ' he highly esteemed and gratefully accepted.' Being now ' pretty well supplied ' with provisions ' for a fortnight or three weeks,' the ships left the island on the 8th of June *en route* for Batavia, having taken on board a pilot who promised to carry them ' through the Channel the great Dutch ships generally went.'

On the 17th, near the north coast of Java, they met a Dutch ship of 600 tons—the first eastward-bound merchantman they had seen for nearly two years.

From her they had their first items of home news, the death of Prince George of Denmark, the Consort of Queen Anne, and the continuation of the wars in Europe. Three days later they anchored safely in the roadstead of Batavia 'betwixt 30 and 40 sail, great and small.'

After such a long and perilous voyage the crew were naturally overjoyed at being in port. To them Batavia was a perfect paradise. They hugged each other, and thanked their lucky stars that they had found 'such a glorious place for Punch, where they could have Arrack for 8d. per gallon, and sugar for 1 penny a pound.' In spite of the humours of his ship's company Rogers was still very ill, the doctor having recently cut a large musket shot out of his mouth, and while at Batavia several pieces of his heel-bone were also removed. As the *Marquis* was found unfit to proceed to Europe, she was sold for 575 Dutch dollars; 'an extraordinary bargain,' remarks Rogers.

On October the 12th, after a stay of nearly four months, they sailed from Batavia and proceeded direct to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Duke* was in such a leaky condition that she was kept afloat with the greatest difficulty. By the end of October she had 3 feet of water in the hold, 'and our pumps being choaked,' says Rogers, 'we were in such danger, that we made signals, and fired guns for our consorts to come to our relief, but had just sucked her (*i.e.* pumped her dry) as the *Dutchess* came up.' On the 28th of December the three ships arrived at the Cape, and 16 sick men were sent ashore. Several days were now spent in watering and refitting, and on the 18th of January, 1711, it was agreed that some of the plate and

gold from the ships should be sold to buy 'several necessaries and provisions.'

On account of his valuable cargo Rogers deferred his departure until a number of homeward-bound ships collected, and it was not before April the 6th that the combined fleet, numbering 16 Dutch and 9 English ships, sailed for Europe. On the 14th of May the *Duke* and *Dutchess* crossed the line for the eighth time. A course was now steered to the westward of the Azores, and from thence north-eastward round the Shetlands to the Texel, where the whole fleet anchored on the 23rd of July. Here Rogers remained some little while, having received orders from the owners that the East India Company resolved to trouble us, 'on pretence we had encroached upon their liberties in India.' Finally all difficulties were amicably settled, and at the end of September the *Duke*, *Dutchess*, and *Marquis* sailed from Holland, convoyed by four English men-of-war. On the 1st of October they arrived in the Downs, and on the 14th came to an anchor at Erith, which finished their 'long and fatiguing voyage' of over three years.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable expeditions that ever left the shores of Great Britain. The cost of fitting it out was less than £14,000 and the net profits amounted to at least £170,000.[1] Of this sum, two-thirds went to the owners, and the other third was divided, according to their rating, among the officers and men. The prizes taken, including the

[1] The actual value of the plunder is stated in a contemporary petition to have amounted to £800,000 (Mariner's 'Mirror,' 1924, p. 377). Two large silver candlesticks taken during the cruise are now in Bristol Cathedral.

ships and barks ransomed at Guiaquil, amounted to twenty sail.[1]

What a rousing welcome must have been accorded Rogers and his plucky crew when they arrived home in Bristol! By their daring and skill they had ranged the seas in defiance of the enemy, and by their superb seamanship and courage they had added a brilliant page to our naval history. Their voyage was epoch-making. In the words of a contemporary writer 'there never was any voyage of this nature so happily adjusted.' Once and for all it stripped distant and tedious navigations of those terrors which haunted them through the incapacity of their commanders, and it opened a door to the great South Sea which was never to be closed again.[2] Rogers was a born leader, besides being a magnificent seaman. He had a way of maintaining authority over his men, which Dampier and others before him sadly lacked, and whenever the occasion arose he had a happy knack of ingratiating himself with the various authorities ashore. Whether friend or foe he invariably parted with them cheerfully.

In many respects the voyage of Woodes Rogers is more noteworthy than that of Anson thirty years later. Rogers had only two small merchant ships fitted out by private enterprise, whereas Anson's

[1] Cooke, 'Voyage to the S. Sea,' i. 345, and Introduction to vol. i. The shares were apportioned as follows: Captain 24 shares, Second Captain 20, First Lieutenant 16, Master and Surgeon 10, Pilot 8, Boatswain, Gunner, and Carpenter 6, Cooper 5, Midshipmen 4, Quartermasters 3, Sailors $2\frac{1}{2}$, Landsmen $1\frac{1}{2}$.

[2] It is interesting to note that the South Sea Company was incorporated in 1711, under the title of 'The Governor & Company of the Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Seas & other parts of America.'

squadron was fitted, manned, and armed by the Admiralty. It comprised six ships of the Royal Navy (with 236 guns and 2000 men), in addition to two victualling ships of the size of the *Duke* and *Dutchess*. Rogers was able to bring both his ships safely home, but fate was not so kind to Anson, and only one, his flagship the *Centurion*, succeeded in reaching England.

The success of the expedition naturally stimulated public interest, and at the request of his many friends, Rogers agreed to publish his 'journal,'[1] which appeared in the following year under the title of 'A Cruising Voyage round the World.'[2] It is written, as its author informs us, in 'the language of the sea,' and as such it is a picturesque human document, enlivened with a quaint humour which makes it delightful reading. During the eighteenth century the book was widely read; three editions appeared within the space of fourteen years, and it was also translated into French and German. It was used as a model by later voyagers, and it is interesting to note that when Anson sailed on a similar expedition thirty years later, a copy of the 'Cruising Voyage' found a prominent place in his cabin.

On returning to England Rogers took up his residence at a house in Queen Square, Bristol, which had been built for him about 1708. His share of the plunder taken by the *Duke* and *Dutchess* must have amounted to about £14,000, and he was thus able to live in ease and retirement during the next few years. At this period of his life he formed some important and

[1] Rogers's original log-book was, in 1828, in the possession of Gabriel Goldney, Mayor of Bristol, whose ancestor helped to fit out the expedition. [2] Reprinted in 1928 (*Cassell & Co.*).

influential friendships, and among his correspondents we find such well-known names as Addison, Steele, and Sir Hans Sloane.

To a man of Rogers's disposition an inactive life must have been particularly irksome, and his ever-restless nature was continually looking for some outlet where the spirit of adventure was combined with service to the State. In 1714 we find him in command of the *Delicia* and visiting Madagascar, although it is not clear whether he was then in the employ of the Dutch East India Company or on a trading voyage for the merchants of Bristol. Calling at the island in March of that year, he learnt that on the west coast there were fifty survivors of the Dutch ship *Schoonouwen* which had been captured by the French in 1712. Their condition was wretched, and they announced their intention of building a boat for the purpose of joining the pirate colony on the east coast of Madagascar. Rogers saw the danger of such a proceeding, and before leaving the island he wrote a letter to the Governor-General at Batavia 'trusting that your Excellency and the Company of India will deem it worth while to send for the men, in order to prevent the misfortunes which must inevitably result from such enterprise.' At the same time he brought with him to England a petition from several English pirates praying for the royal clemency, and expressing a desire to return to their own country.[1] In the years following his expedition round the world the Government had under consideration various schemes for the settlements of Madagascar and the Bahama Islands,

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Graham Botha of the Archives Department, Houses of Parliament, Capetown, for this information.

both of which had become strongholds for the pirates and were a dangerous menace to the trade and navigation in those waters. That Rogers had his own ideas on the matter is shown in the following letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated 7th May, 1716, which in its way is a model of brevity [1]:

SIR,—I being ambitious to promote a settlement on Madagascar, beg you'll (be) pleased to send me what accounts you have of that island, which will be a particular favour done

Your most obliged humble servant,
WOODES ROGERS.

For some reason or other the proposed settlement never matured, and nothing further is heard of it. There remained, however, the question of the Bahamas, and it was not long before Rogers was called from the seclusion of his Bristol home to take command of an important expedition against the pirates of New Providence in the Bahamas, in which he was to become a pioneer in the settlement and administration of our West Indian Empire.

The story of this expedition, and Rogers's subsequent career as Governor of the Bahama Islands, the most northerly of our West Indian possessions, has never been told in full before. It may be taken as a typical example of the pluck and enterprise shown by our early colonial governors against overwhelming odds and difficulties, and as such it fills an important chapter in colonial history. Although the islands had nominally belonged to Great Britain since 1670, they had been left without any systematic government or settlement for over half a century, and in consequence

[1] B.M. Sloane MSS. 4044, fol. 155.

the House of Lords, in an address to the Queen [1] during the early part of 1716, set forth the desirability of placing the Bahamas under the Crown, for the better security and advantage of the trade of this kingdom. They pointed out that twice within living memory the French and Spaniards had plundered the colony, and driven out the few English settlers, and that it was now necessary to establish a stable form of government there. Owing to their geographical position, the Bahamas were a favourite haunt of the pirates, whose headquarters were at New Providence, the principal island. Nothing, however, was done in the matter until the following year, when Rogers submitted a careful and considered proposal for their settlement to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, in the summer of 1717. He emphasised the importance of those islands to British trade and navigation, and the necessity of driving out the pirates and fortifying and settling the islands for the better protection of that trade. His endeavours were stoutly supported by some of the 'most considerable merchants of London and Bristol,' who declared that Rogers was in 'every way qualified for such an undertaking.' [2] In the meantime the Lords Proprietors of the Bahamas surrendered the civil and military government of the islands to the Crown with the reservation of quit rents and royalties. These they leased under an agreement dated 28th of October, 1717, to Rogers, who is described in the original lease as 'of London, Mariner,' for a term of twenty-one years. For the first seven years Rogers was to pay fifty pounds a

[1] 'Polit. State of Gt. Britain,' 1717, xiv. p. 295.
[2] Public Record Office: C.O. 23, 12.

year ; for the second seven years one hundred pounds a year ; and for the remaining period two hundred pounds a year.[1]

Accordingly, Rogers's suggestion, backed by the recommendation of Addison, then Secretary of State, was agreed to, and he was duly appointed ' Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over our Bahama Islands in America,' the King ' reposing especial trust ' in his ' Prudence, Courage and Loyalty.' On his appointment he assigned his lease to W. Chetwynd, Adam Cardonnel, and Thomas Pitt, with the proviso that the lessee was to have the right to grant lands ' for not less than 1d. sterling per acre.' [2]

Among other things Rogers had represented to the Crown the necessity of taking out a number of soldiers to protect the colony, and on the 14th of October, 1717, Addison wrote to the Secretary of War stating that the company should consist ' of a hundred men at least,' and that as the season was too far advanced to procure these forces from any part of America, he proposed that they should be ' draughted out of the Guards, or any other regiments now on foot, or out of His Majesty's Hospital at Chelsea.' [3] This garrison Rogers had proposed to victual at the rate of 6d. per head per diem, and the Treasury were asked to provide the sum of £912, 10s.—the cost of a year's victualling —' provided your Lordships shall find the same to be a cheap and reasonable proposal.' [4]

On the 6th of November Rogers duly received his

[1] C.O. 23, 2. [2] Ibid.

[3] Addison, ' Works,' 1856, vi. 496. Anson in 1740 complained bitterly that his land forces consisted of pensioners from Chelsea.

[4] Ibid., 500.

commission as ' Captain of that Independent Company of Foot which we have appointed to do duty in our Bahama Islands in America.'

While in London Rogers had an opportunity of renewing his friendship with Steele, whom he met in the Tennis Coffee House in the Cockpit, Whitehall, on which occasions we are told the conversation ' turned upon the subject of trade and navigation,' a subject which we may be sure was eagerly discussed, for Steele at the time was full of his idea for the ' Fish Pool,' a scheme for bringing fish alive to London.[1]

On Friday the 11th of April, Rogers sailed from England to take up his appointment.[2] His commission gave him full power to employ whatever means he thought fit for the suppression of piracy, and he also carried with him the royal proclamation of pardon, dated 5th of September, 1717, to any pirates who surrendered before the 5th of September, 1718.[3] At the same time a determined effort was made by the Government to stamp out piracy in the whole of the West Indian Islands, and several ships were despatched to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands for that purpose.

After a voyage of three and a half months Rogers arrived at his destination, and on the 25th of July the *Delicia*, with the Governor and his retinue on board, escorted by H.M. ships *Rose* and *Milford*, anchored off Nassau, the principal town of New Providence, and the seat of government of the Bahamas. Owing

[1] Aitken, ' Life of Steele,' ii. 162.

[2] ' Polit. State,' xv. 447.

[3] For a copy of this proclamation, see Dow ; ' Pirates of New England,' pp. 381-2.

to the lateness of the evening the pilot of the *Delicia* decided that it was unsafe to venture over the bar that night, and in consequence it was resolved to wait till the morning.[1] From information received it was learnt that nearly all the pirates were anxious to avail themselves of the royal clemency. Two notable exceptions, however, were Teach, the famous 'Blackbeard,' and Charles Vane. The latter swore that 'he would suffer no other governor than himself' except on his own terms, and these he embodied in the following letter to Rogers: 'Your excellency may please to understand that we are willing to accept His Majesty's most gracious pardon on the following terms, viz.—That you will suffer us to dispose of all our goods now in our possession. Likewise, to act as we think fit with everything belonging to us. . . . If your Excellency shall please to comply with this, we shall, with all readiness, accept of His Majesty's Act of Grace. If not, we are obliged to stand on our defence. We wait a speedy answer.'[2]

Rogers promptly replied by sending in the *Rose* and the *Shark* sloop, and after a desultory cannonade—Vane set fire to a French prize of 22 guns—and during the confusion and danger which followed he and about 90 of his crew succeeded in escaping to sea.[3]

The morning following Vane's escape Rogers went on shore and was enthusiastically received by the principal inhabitants. The pirates, who had availed themselves of the royal pardon, were not to be eclipsed

[1] Johnson, C., 'General History of the Pirates,' 1726, ii. p. 274.

[2] Johnson, 'Pirates,' 1726, ii. 363.

[3] In February of the following year Vane was shipwrecked near the Bay of Honduras. He was captured soon after, taken to Jamaica, tried, convicted, and executed.

in their desire to show their loyalty to the new governor, and on the way from the beach to the fort, Rogers passed between two lines of reformed pirates, who fired their muskets in his honour. On arriving at the fort the royal commission was opened and read, and Rogers was solemnly sworn in as Governor of the Bahamas. The next procedure was to form a Council, and for this purpose Rogers nominated six of the principal persons he had brought with him from England, and six of the inhabitants 'who had not been pirates, and were of good repute.'[1] Within a week of landing Rogers assembled this council, and among other business the following appointments were made: —Judge of the Admiralty Court, Collector of Customs, Chief Justice, Provost Marshal, Secretary to the Governor, and Chief Naval Officer.[2] Having appointed his council and administrative officers, Rogers next turned his attention to the inhabitants and the condition of the islands generally. It was a task which required a man of strong and fearless disposition, and Rogers did not shrink from the responsibility. The secret of his success was that he found and made work for all. The fort of Nassau, in ruins and dismantled, was repaired and garrisoned. A number of guns were also mounted, and a strong pallisade constructed round it. All about the town the roads were overgrown with brushwood and shrubs and rendered almost impassable. A proportion of the inhabitants were therefore mustered and employed in clearing the ground and cleansing the streets, while overseers and constables were employed to see the work carried out in an efficient manner. Those not employed on

[1] Polit. State, xvi. 551. [2] Ibid.

cleansing and scouring were formed into three companies of militia whose duty it was to keep guard in the town every night, to prevent surprise attacks. The neighbouring islands were not forgotten, and various members of the council were appointed Deputy Governors of them. A militia company was also formed in each of the principal ones, and a fort constructed and provided with powder and shot. As an extra method of precaution the *Delicia* was retained as the Governor's guardship and stationed off the harbour of Nassau. A scheme of settlement was also devised, and in order to attract settlers to New Providence and the other islands, a plot of ground 120 feet square was offered to each settler, provided he would clear the ground and build a house within a certain time. As there was abundance of timber on the island which was free to be taken, this stipulation was not difficult to fulfil.[1]

Unfortunately the difficulties which Rogers had to contend with bid fair to wreck his almost Utopian scheme. Before many months had elapsed the pirates found this new mode of life less remunerative and much more irksome to their roving dispositions. As Captain Charles Johnson, their historian, tersely puts it, ' it did not much suit the inclinations of the Pirates to be set to work.' As a result many of them escaped to sea at the first opportunity and resumed their former trade. One of their number, John Augur by name, who had accepted the royal pardon, was appointed by Rogers to command a sloop despatched to get provisions for the island. Captain John, however, soon forgot his oath of allegiance, and meeting with two

[1] Johnson, ' Pirates,' 1726, ii. pp. 273-7.

trading vessels *en route*, he promptly boarded and rifled them. With booty estimated at £500, he steered a course for Hispaniola, little knowing that he had played his last card. Encountering a severe storm he and his comrades were wrecked on one of the uninhabited Bahamas, where Rogers, hearing of their fate, despatched a ship to bring them back to Nassau. Here they were quickly dealt with by the Court of Admiralty, and ten out of eleven of them were convicted and hanged 'in the sight of their former companions.' A contemporary records that these trials were marked by 'Rogers's prudence and resolution, and that in the condemnation and execution of the pirates he had a just regard of the public good, and was not to be deterred from vigorously pursuing it in circumstances which would have intimidated many brave men.' [1]

Whenever the occasion offered, Rogers tempered justice with mercy, and the human side of his character comes out well in the case of the man who was pardoned. His name, Rogers informs us, was George Rounsivell,[2] and 'I reprieved him under the gallows,' he wrote in a letter to the Secretary of State, 'through a desire to respite him for his future repentance. He is the son of loyal and good parents at Weymouth in Dorsetshire. I hope this unhappy young man will deserve his life, and I beg the honour of your intercession with his Majesty for me on his behalf.' [3]

[1] Johnson, 1726, ii. p. 336.

[2] Following on his reprieve Rounsivell worked for some time ashore, but afterwards served in a Privateer. Here he distinguished himself by refusing to escape in a small boat, when the ship was wrecked, and remained with his captain to the last (Johnson, ii. 308-9).

[3] Public Record Office, C.O. 23, 13.

One of the greatest difficulties which Rogers had to encounter was the smallness of the force at his disposal for the preservation of law and order. The discovery of a conspiracy among the settlers to desert the island, and their friendship with the pirates, were matters of urgent importance which he brought to the notice of the home Government. From first to last his great ambition was to make the colony worthy in all respects of the British Empire, and amidst frequent disorders we find him busy about this time with plans for the development of the whale fishery, and for supplying Newfoundland and North America with salt.[1]

The failure of the Admiralty to send out ships for the protection of the colony against the swarms of pirates who still infested the West Indian seas caused Rogers to complain bitterly, and in a very interesting letter to his friend Sir Richard Steele, he regrets that several of his letters have fallen into the hands of the pirates.[2] In it he also gives an amusing account of a lady whose fluency of speech caused him considerable annoyance.

To the Hon. Sir Richard Steele ; to be left at Bartram's Coffee-House in Church Court, opposite Hungerford Market in the Strand, London. Via Carolina.

Nassau, on New Providence,
Jan. 30, 1718-19.

Sir,—Having writ to you by several former opportunities, and not hearing from you, I have the greater cause to inveigh against the malice of the pirates who took Captain Smyter, lately come from London, from whom I have since heard that there were several letters

[1] C.O., 23, 1.

[2] B.M. Add. MSS. 5145, C. ff. 123-6.

directed to me and Mr. Beauchamp, which the pirates after reading tore.

Every capture made by the pirates aggravates the apparent inclinations of the Commanders of our men-of-war; who having openly avowed that the greater number of pirates makes their suitable advantage in trade; for the Merchants of necessity are forced to send their effects in the King's bottoms, when they from every part hear of the ravages committed by the pirates.

There is no Governor in these American parts who has not justly complained of this grand negligence; and I am in hopes the several representations will induce the Board of Admiralty to be more strict in their orders. There has not been one here almost these five months past; and, as if they wished us offered as a sacrifice both to the threatening Spaniards and Pirates, I have not had influence enough to make our danger prevail with any of them to come to our assistance because of their greater occupations in trade. I, however, expect to be sufficiently provided, if the Spaniards, as believed, defer their coming till April.

At my first arrival I received a formal visit from a woman called Pritchard, who by her voluble tongue, and mentioning some of our first quality with some freedom, and, withal, saying that she was known to you, Mr. Cardonnel,[1] and Sir William Scawen, next to whom she lived, near the Storey's Westminster, that I gave her a patient hearing. She dressed well, and had charms enough to tempt the pirates; and, when she pleased, could assume an air of haughtiness which indeed she showed to me, when I misdoubted her birth, education, or acquaintance with those Noblemen and others, whom she could without hesitation call over, and indeed some very particular private passages. She had often a loose way of speaking, which made me

[1] Adam Cardonnel, one of the proprietors of the Bahama Islands.

conjecture she endeavoured to win the hearts of her admirers to the Pretender's interest, and made me grow weary of seeing her.

This my indifference, and a little confinement, provoked her to depart hence for Jamaica, saying that she would take passage for England to do herself justice, and did not come abroad without money to support her. She talked much of Sir Ambrose Crawley and his son, from whom she intends to provide a good quantity of iron-work; and, with a suitable cargo of other goods, she says she will soon make another turn this way; and seldom serious in her talk. I thought fit to say thus much of a woman who pretends to such a general knowledge of men, particularly of you and Mr. Addison. If our carpenters had not otherwise been employed, and I could have spared them, I should have been glad to have made her first Lady of the Stool.[1] She went hence, as I thought, with resentments enough; but I have heard since from Jamaica, that she has not only forgot her passion, but sent her friendly service to me; and, as I expect, she now is on her way home, designs to do me all the good offices that she can with all the numerous gentlemen of her acquaintance. But I can't believe it; and I beg if you see her soliciting in my behalf, be pleased to let her know I don't expect her company here, and she can't oblige me more than to let me and my character alone.

Captain Whitney, Commander of his Majesty's ship the *Rose*, man-of-war, being one of the three that saw me into this place, and left me in an utmost danger so long ago—he also pretends to a knowledge of you, and several of my friends in London: but he has behaved so ill, that I design to forget him as much as I can; and if he is acquainted with you, and sees you in London before me, I desire he might know his character from the several accounts I have sent hence, which, with what goes from other ports, may serve to convince

[1] A reference evidently to the ducking-stool.

all his friends that he is not the man that he may have appeared to be at home.

I hope Mrs. Ker and Roach who I sent hence has been often with you, and that this will keep your hands in perfect health and that you have thrown away your great cane, and can dance a minuet, and will honour me with the continuance of your friendship, for I am, good Sir,

Your most sincere humble servant,

WOODES ROGERS.

Be pleased to excuse my writing to you in such a hurry, as obliged me to write this letter in two different hands. My humble service to Mr. Addison and to Mr. Sansom.[1] This comes enclosed to Mr. G. with whom I hope you will be acquainted. W. R.

In a subsequent letter he writes regretting that his Majesty's ships of war have 'so little regard for this infant colony,'[2] and he certainly had just cause to complain. His statement about the Admiralty, and the representations of other colonial governors, is borne out by the following letter from the Governor of South Carolina, written on the 4th of November, 1718[3]:

'Tis not long since I did myself the honour to write to you from this place (S. Carolina) which I hope you'll receive, but having fresh occasion grounded upon advice received by a Brig; since that arrived from Providence I thought it my duty, after having so far engaged myself in that settlement once more to offer you my opinion concerning it. My last, if I forget not, gave you account of the mortality that had

[1] John Sansome, a schoolfellow of Steele, and his assistant in the Fish Pool Scheme. Rogers had met him at the Tennis Coffee House in November, 1717.

[2] C.O. 23, 13.

[3] C.O. 23, 1.

been amongst the Soldiers and others that came over with Governor Rogers and the ill state of that place both in regard to Pirates and Spaniards, unless speedily supported by a greater force than are yet upon the place; and especially the necessity that there is of cruising ships and Snows and Sloops of war to be stationed there, without which I do assure you it will at any time be in the power of either Pirates or Spaniards at their pleasure to make 'emselves masters of the Island, or at least to prevent provisions or other necessaries being carried to it from the Main, and without that it's not possible for the King's garrison or inhabitants to subsist. The Pirates yet accounted to be out are near 2000 men and of those Vain,[1] Thaitch,[2] and others promise themselves to be repossessed of Providence in a short time. How the loss of that place may affect the Ministry, I cannot tell, but the consequence of it seems to be not only a general destruction of the trade to the West Indies, and the Main of America, but the settling and establishing a nest of Pirates who already esteem themselves a Community and to have one common interest; and indeed they may in time become so, and make that Island another Sally but much more formidable unless speedy care be taken to subdue them. . . . I should humbly propose that two ships of 24 or 30 guns and 2 sloops of 10 or 12 guns should be stationed there, one ship and sloop to be always in harbour as guard.'

In these days of rapid transit and wireless communications, it is difficult to realise what this isolation meant to a colonial Governor, with the perpetual menace of the enemy within his gates, and the risk of invasion from outside. The existence of the settlement

[1] *I.e.* Charles Vane.

[2] Edward Thaitch or Teach, a famous pirate known as 'Blackbeard.' Killed in action with Robert Maynard of H.M.S. *Pearl* eighteen days after this letter.

depended entirely on his initiative and resource, and at times the suspense and despair in these far-flung outposts of empire must have been terrible in the extreme.

The difficulties which Rogers had to contend with are vividly shown in the following letter from him to the Lords Commissioners of Trade [1]:

NASSAU ON PROVIDENCE,
May 29, 1719.

MY LORDS,—We have never been free from apprehension of danger from Pirates and Spaniards, and I can only impute these causes to the want of a stationed ship of war, till we really can be strong enough to defend ourselves. . . . I hope your Lordships will pardon my troubling you, but a few instances of those people I have to govern, who, though they expect the enemy that has surprised them these fifteen years thirty-four times, yet these wre(t)ches can't be kept to watch at night, and when they do they come very seldom sober, and rarely awake all night, though our officers or soldiers very often surprise their guard and carry off their arms, and I punish, fine, or confine them almost every day.

Then for work they mortally hate it, for when they have cleared a patch that will supply them with potatoes and yams and very little else, fish being so plentiful. . . . They thus live, poorly and indolently, with a seeming content, and pray for wrecks or pirates; and few of them have an(y) opinion of a regular orderly life under any sort of government, and would rather spend all they have at a Punch house than pay me one-tenth to save their families and all that's dear to them. . . . Had I not took another method of eating, drinking, and working with them myself, officers, soldiers, sailors and passengers, and watch at the same time,

[1] C.O. 23, 1.

whilst they were drunk and drowsy, I could never have got the Fort in any posture of defence, neither would they [have] willingly kept themselves or me from the pirates, if the expectation of a war with Spain had not been perpetually kept up. It was as bad as treason is in England to declare our design of fortifying was to keep out the pirates if they were willing to come in and say they would be honest and live under government as we called it even then. I ask your Lordships' pardon if I am too prolix, but the anxiety I am in, and it being my duty to inform your honourable Board as fully as I can, I hope will plead for me till I can be more concise.

I am, with the utmost ambition and zeal
Your Lordships' most obedient and most
humble servant,

WOODES ROGERS.

An interesting sidelight on the Spanish attack, which Rogers mentioned in his letter to Steele, is to be found among the Treasury papers in the form of a claim for provisions supplied to Woodes Rogers 'Captain General, Governor, and Vice-Admiral of the Bahama Islands, during the invasion from the Spaniards against the Island of Providence,' when the inhabitants and others of that place were forced to continue under arms for a considerable time and the Governor was obliged to be at an extraordinary charge to support near 500 men, exclusive of his Majesty's garrison.[1]

Though he had been sent out to the Bahamas as the representative of the Crown, his position was more like that of a shipwrecked mariner, so completely was he cut off from the outside world. On the 20th of November, 1720, the Council wrote to the Secretary

[1] Cal. Treasury Papers, vol. 228, No. 24.

of State the following letter which reveals an amazing situation :

Governor Rogers having received no letter from you dated since July, 1719, and none from the Board of Trade since his arrival, gives him and us great uneasiness least this poor colony should be no more accounted as part of His Britannick Majesty's dominions.[1]

The intolerable position thus created, and the utter impossibility of getting either help or guidance from the home Government, at last forced Rogers to return. The strain of the last two years had told severely on his health, and he decided to make the journey to England, and personally plead the cause of the colony. In a letter written on the eve of his departure, dated from Nassau, 25th of February, 1720-21, he writes[2] : ' It is impossible that I can subsist here any longer on the foot I have been left ever since my arrival.' He had been left, he stated, with ' a few sick men to encounter five hundred of the pirates,' and that he had no support in men, supplies or warships. He had also contracted large debts through having to purchase clothing and supplies at extravagant rates. ' This place, he wrote, ' so secured by my industry ; indefatigable pains, and the forfeiture of my health, has since been sold for forty thousand pounds and myself by a manager at home, and Co-partners' factotem here. All the unworthy usage a man can have,' he added, ' has been given me, and all the expenses designed to be thrown on me.'

Leaving the government of the island in the hands of ' Mr. Fairfax ' he left for England, carrying with him

[1] C.O. 23, 13. [2] C.O. 23, 1.

a remarkable 'Memorial'[1] signed by the Council, and the principal inhabitants and traders of the Bahama Islands, and dated 21st March, 1720-21, setting forth the services he had rendered to the colony. In this document they expressed the belief that 'too many of these neglects of, and misfortunes attending us, are owing to the want of a power to call an Assembly, and that the colony being in the hands of Proprietors, and Co-partners, who we are sensible have it not in their power to support and defend their settlements, in such a manner as is necessary, more especially in young colonies: and this place being left on so uncertain a foundation, and so long abandoned, has discouraged all men of substance coming to us. We hope,' they added, 'his Majesty, and the wisdom of the nation will not suffer this colony to be any longer so neglected and lost to the Crown, as it inevitably must, and will be soon abandoned to the pirates, if effectual care is not taken without any farther loss of time. We thought it a duty incumbent on us, as well to the Country, as to his Excellency the Governor, and his Majesty's garrison here to put these things in a full and true light . . . that we might as much as in us lies, do our Governor justice, and prevent any farther ungrateful usage being offered him at home, to frustrate his good endeavours when please God he arrives there, for the service of his country, to preserve this settlement; for next to the Divine protection, it is owing to him, who has acted amongst us without the least regard for his private advantage or separate interest, in a scene of continual fatigues and hardships.

[1] This 'Memorial' is printed in J. Ker's 'Memoirs,' pt. 3, 1726, pp. 22-34.

These motives led us to offer the truth under our hands, of the almost insurmountable difficulty, that he and this colony has struggled with for the space of two years and eight months past.' With these assurances of good will and support Rogers left for England, calling *en route* at South Carolina, where he ordered provisions to be despatched to New Providence sufficient to last the company till Christmas. During the second week in August he landed at Bristol, and then proceeded to London.[1]

On arrival in London Rogers met with as many difficulties as he had encountered in the colony, and he does not appear to have succeeded to any extent in the objects of his mission. That he strongly objected to return for a further tenure of office under the same conditions is apparent, and in the same year George Phenney was appointed to succeed him as Governor. Within two months of his arrival in England, he addressed a petition to the Lords of the Treasury setting forth his services and impoverished condition, stating that in preserving the islands 'from destruction by the Spaniards, or from again being possessed by the pirates, he had disbursed his whole fortune, and credit, and stood engaged for large sums. He prayed that he might be granted an allowance of victualling for the last three years.' [2]

Those who have had occasion to search into the records of the 18th century know the difficulties which confront the searcher, especially in writing for the first time the life of a man like Woodes Rogers. There must inevitably be some missing links in the bio-

[1] 'London Journal,' 12th Aug. 1721.
[2] Cal. Treasury Papers, vol. 235, No. 49.

graphical chain, and such a missing link occurs in the years immediately following his return to England. For some reason or other he seems to have been in bad odour with the Government—possibly on account of his pugnacity and outspoken nature—and there is no record of his petition being answered.

The next mention of Rogers occurs in connection with the operations against Spain. In March, 1726, Vice-Admiral Hosier was appointed to command a squadron which was despatched to the West Indies for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish treasure ships lying at Porto Bello. On hearing of Hosier's expedition and its object the ships were dismantled and the treasure sent back to Panama. Hosier, however, in spite of a virulent epidemic among the crew of his ships, kept up a strict blockade of Porto Bello. In the spring and summer of 1727, while his ships were blockading Havana and Vera Cruz, the epidemic continued, and Hosier himself fell a victim to the disease, dying at Jamaica on the 25th of August.[1] The Government did all in their power to prevent the Spanish treasure ships reaching Europe, and Rogers, who was in London at the time, was consulted by the Government as to the probable means and route the Spaniards would adopt to get their treasure home. The situation was rendered more difficult by a dispatch from William Cayley, our Consul at Cadiz, informing the Government of the sailing of a squadron from Cadiz to assist in bringing the treasure home. From past experience Rogers probably knew more than any other person then in England of the difficulties of the voyage, and the report which he delivered, in con-

[1] 'D.N. Biog.,' article 'Hosier.'

junction with Jonathan Denniss,[1] to Lord Townshend, the Secretary of State, is of considerable interest and is now printed for the first time.[2]

My Lord,—According to what your Lordship was pleased to command us, we have considered the account given by Mr. Cayley from Cadiz to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle of three men-of-war and a ship of ten guns being sent under the command of Admiral Castañetta from that port in the month of May last, with canon and land forces which, your Lordship apprehends, may be ordered round Cape Horn, in order to bring to Spain the Bullion now detained at Panama, and we give it your Lordship as our opinion, that it is not only improbable, but almost impracticable, for the following reasons :—

First, because of the time of the year in which those ships sailed from Cadiz, which is at least three months too soon to attempt getting round Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, especially if the nature of the ships be considered, and their being deeply laden, and having canon and land forces on board.

Secondly, because there can be no need of canon in Peru or Chile, those provinces abounding in metal for casting them, and the Spaniards being able to do it (as they always have done) cheaper and full as well as in Spain, and as to the Soldiers, the transporting them that way seems altogether improbable because of the many better methods there are of doing it.

Thirdly, my Lord, as the Bullion is now at or near Panama, the embarking it thence to Lyma, and so to be brought round Cape Horn, will require so prodigious an expence both of time and money, that renders the doing of it extremely improbable.

'Tis true, my Lord, were the money now at Potosi

[1] Probably the same Captain Dennis who in 1718 conducted an expedition to Havana, the Proceedings of which are in the P.R.O. (C.O. 137, 13).

[2] B.M. Add. MSS. 32748, ff. 317-18

or Lyma 'twould be easy enough to bring it round Cape Horn, or rather overland to Buenos Ayres, where Castañetta might be gone to receive it, but as it is not, the bringing of it from Panama to Lyma will require too long a time, because of the difficulty of the Navigation from the former to the latter place, being against both winds and currents, so that the Spanish ships are commonly from six to eight or ten months performing the voyage, and though the French formerly often came with their money round the Cape to France, yet your Lordship will consider their tract of trade was never to Leeward, or to the Northward of the coasts of Peru, by which means the greatest fatigue of the voyage was avoided.

But, my Lord, what seems to us the most likely is that Castañetta after refreshing at the Havana, may go to La Vera Cruz, and there wait for the Bullion from Panama (from whence it may be sent to La Vera Cruz under a notion of its being re-shipt for Peru) and so bring it to Havana there to join in the Flota, and so come for Spain (or send it home in *running*[1] ships) and our reason for this suggestion is not only for the above difficulties that must and will attend bringing the Bullion now at Panama to Spain, round Cape Horn, or by the way of Buenos Ayres; but because of the facility and dispatch, with which it may be transported from Panama to Acapulco, and so by land to La Vera Cruz, which is what has been often practised by the Spaniards, even when there was no blockade at Porto Bello nor fear of enemies (as a conveniency for Spain has offered) for the navigation from Panama to Acapulco is very safe and easy, and the carriage from thence to La Vera Cruz is neither so difficult nor expensive as that between Lyma and Buenos Ayres.

[1] Runners, *i.e.* fast ships which risk every impediment as to privateers or blockade (Smyth, 'Sailor's Word Book,' p. 586). This is a very early use of the term.

This, my Lord, is what occurs to us worthy your Lordship's notice. We are, with the uttermost respect and submission

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most devoted and most obedient humble servants,

WOODES ROGERS.
JONATH: DENNISS.

RT. HONBLE. LORD TOWNSHEND,
London, 10 *of Nov.* 1726.

In the meanwhile things were going from bad to worse in the Bahamas. Phenney, Rogers's successor, had failed in his efforts to bring about a stable form of government, and he appears to have been without the commanding and organising abilities of his predecessor. At the beginning of 1726, he wrote complaining of the difficulties of government, stating that he had been unable to get sufficient of his Council together to form a quorum, and that many of them were 'very illiterate.'[1] Phenney himself was not above reproach. It was reported that he and his wife had grossly abused their office. The governor's wife and her husband monopolised 'all the trade,' so that the inhabitants could not have any provisions 'without paying her own exhorbitant prices,' and it was reported that she sold 'rum by the pint and biscuits by the half ryal.'[2] Added to this she had 'frequently browbeated juries and insulted even the justice on the bench,' while Phenney himself was stated to have dismantled the fort, and sold the iron for his own benefit.[3] If half the misdemeanours attributed to Phenney and his wife were true, it is not to be wondered at that his recall was demanded by the principal inhabitants, and that a

[1] C.O. 23, 13. [2] C.O. 23, 2. [3] C.O. 23, 14.

strong desire was shown by the Council and others to have Rogers reinstated, as the following petition and its annexed paper, dated 28th February, 1727/28, clearly show [1]:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of Captain Woodes Rogers, late Governor of the Bahama Islands in America, and Captain of the Independent Company there,

Sheweth,—The Petitioner had the honour to be employed by your royal Father to drive the Pirates from the Bahama Islands, and he succeeded therein. He afterwards established a settlement and defended it against an attack of the Spaniards. On your Majesty's happy accession he humbly represented the state of his great losses and sufferings in this service, praying, that you would be graciously pleased to grant him such compensation for the same as might enable him to exert himself more effectually in your Majesty's services having nothing more than the subsistence of half pay as Captain of Foot, given him, on a report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into his conduct; who farther recommended him to his late Majesty's bounty and favour.

The Petitioner not having the happiness to know your royal pleasure, humbly begs leave to represent that the Bahama Islands are of very great importance to the commerce of these Kingdoms, as is well known to all concerned in the American trade; and the weak condition they now are in renders them an easy prey to the Spaniards, if a rupture should happen; but if effectually secured, they will soon contribute very much to distress any power which may attempt to molest the British Dominions or trade in the West Indies.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that your

[1] B.M. Add. MSS. 4459, ff. 101-2.

most sacred Majesty would be graciously pleased to restore him to his former station of Governor, and Captain of an independent Company of these islands, in which he hopes to give farther proofs of zeal for your Majesty's service. Or if it is your royal pleasure his successor be continued there, he most humbly relies, that through your great compassion and bounty he shall receive such a consideration for his past sufferings and present half pay as will enable him to be usefully employed for your Majesty's and his country's advantage, and in some measure retrieve his losses, that he may support himself and family, who for above seven years past have suffered very much by means of this employment wholly for the public service.

And your Majesty's petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

At the same time, a petition,[1] bearing twenty-nine influential names, among whom was Sir Hans Sloane, Samuel Shute, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, Alexander Spotswood, Deputy-Governor of Virginia, Benjamin Bennett, ex-Governor of Bermuda and Lord Montague, was sent to Sir Robert Walpole, in favour of Rogers, stating 'we never heard any complaint against his conduct in his duty there, nor that he behaved otherwise in that employ, than with the utmost resolution and fidelity becoming a good subject, though to the ruin of his own fortune.'

It is evident from this petition that at the time the Government were considering the question of the Bahamas, and the policy to be pursued there. The influential support which Rogers had received, and the general desire shown by the colonists for his return, were factors which could not be ignored in

[1] B.M. Add. MSS. 4459, f. 102.

By Courtesy of the Trustees of *The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich*

WOODES ROGERS AND FAMILY

From the original painting by W. Hogarth, 1730

the situation. By the end of the year it was decided to recall Phenney and send Rogers out for a second tenure of office. His commission, drawn up in December, 1728, gave him among other things, ' power and authority to summon and call General Assemblies of the said Freeholders and Planters in our Islands under your Government, which Assembly shall consist of twenty-four persons to be chosen by a majority of the inhabitants,' [1] instead of the previously nominated Council. As Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief he was to receive a salary of £400 a year.[2] Just prior to sailing he had a family picture painted by Hogarth, which represents him, with his son and daughter, outside the fort at Nassau. On the wall is a shield, with the motto ' Dum spiro, spero.' [3]

In the early summer of 1729 Rogers, with his son and daughter, sailed for New Providence, and among other things it is interesting to note that he took with him ' two little flagons, one chalice, one paten, and a receiver to take the offerings for the use of his Majesty's Chapel there,' [4] the building of which had commenced a few years earlier. One of his first duties on arrival was to proceed with the election of an Assembly, which met on the 30th of September in that year. In its first session no less than twelve Acts were passed which it was judged would be beneficial to the welfare of the colony, and efforts were made to encourage the

[1] B.M. Add. MSS. 36128, ff. 177-85.

[2] Cal. Treasury Books, 1729-30, pp. 57, 304.

[3] In the will of Sarah Rogers, who died 1743, she bequeathed to ' Mr. Sergeant Eyre, the picture of her father, brother, and herself, in one frame.' The painting afterwards came into the possession of Samuel Ireland, and was bought at his sale in 1801 by ' Mr. Vernon.' It is now in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

[4] Cal. of Treasury Books, 1729-30, p. 61.

planting of cotton and the raising of sugar-canes. Praiseworthy as these endeavours were they were fraught with considerable difficulties. The settlers whom it was hoped to attract from the other islands in the West Indies and from the American Colonies were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers, principally owing to the poverty of the colony. In the October of 1730 Rogers wrote : ' I found the place so very poor and thin of inhabitants that I never mentioned any salary to them for myself or any one else, and the fees annexed to all offices and places here being the lowest of any part in America, no one can support himself thereon without some other employment.' Nevertheless the spiritual needs of the colony, as we have seen, were not neglected, and Rogers says that they were ' in great want of a Chaplain,' and that the whole colony had requested him ' to get an orthodox divine as soon as possible.' [1]

To add to his other embarrassments Rogers had considerable difficulty with the members of his Assembly, and the opposition, led by the Speaker, did all in their power to wreck the various schemes that were brought before them. In a letter to the Lord Commissioners of Trade, dated 10th February, 1730-31, he mentions an incident which caused him to dissolve the House [2] :

During the sessions of the last Assembly I endeavoured (pursuant to his Majesty's instructions) to recommend to them the state and condition of the Fortifications, which much wanted all the assistance possible for their repair . . . to which I did not find the major part of the Assembly averse at first, but since, they have been diverted from their good in-

[1] C.O. 23, 2. [2] Ibid.

tentions by the insinuations of one Mr. Colebrooke, their Speaker, who imposed so long on their ignorance, that I was obliged to dissolve them, lest his behaviour might influence them to fall into schemes yet more contrary to the good of the Colony and their own safety. Another Assembly is lately elected, and [I] still find the effects of the above Mr. Colebrooke's influence on the most ignorant of them, who are the majority.

He added that the present ill-state of his health, ' which has been lately much impaired, obliges me to have recourse to his Majesty's permission of going to South Carolina for change of air, from which I hope to return in three weeks or a month.'

The growth of constitutional government in the colony, and the moulding of the powers and procedure of the legislature on similar lines to the home Government, are vividly brought out in the official reply to Rogers's dispatch. This reply is dated 29th of June, 1731, and it is evident from the tone of it that they realised the difficulties which he had to contend with. ' It would be proper,' they wrote, ' that the Proceedings of the Assembly also should resemble those of the Parliament of Great Britain so far as the circumstances of the Colony and your Instructions will permit. It would be a pretty difficult task to lay down a plan for the Proceedings of your Assembly in future times, but in general we may observe to you that the Constitution of England owes its preservation very much to the maintaining of an equal Balance between the branches of the legislature, and that the more distinct they are kept from each other, the likelier they will be to agree, and the longer they will be likely to last.' [1]

[1] C.O. 24, 1.

Up till this date the Crown had only taken over the civil and military jurisdiction of the colony, and the retention of the lands by the proprietors and lessees of the islands undoubtedly hampered their economic progress and well-being. Finally, in response to a suggestion from the Crown, the proprietors in a letter of 11th April, 1730, offered to sell out their rights ' for one thousand guineas each, clear of all fees,' and Rogers in a letter to the Board of Trade emphasised the necessity of the Crown taking this step, and so bringing to ' an end the discouraging contests on titles to land.' [1] By an irony of fate Rogers was not spared to see this suggestion carried into effect.[2] Though his efforts on behalf of the colony had undermined his health, he did not spare himself or shrink from his responsibility. How great that responsibility was, and how he overcame a widespread conspiracy by Colebrooke to overthrow his government, is shown in the following letter to the Board of Trade written from Nassau on the 10th of June, 1731 [3]:

How great an enemy Mr. Colebrooke hath been to this Government, and what vile means he used to make the Garrison mutiny, and stir up a spirit of discontent and opposition in the inhabitants, by the great influence which he had artfully gained over the most ignorant of them, while he was Speaker of the Assembly, from all which I humbly hope that the method taken to prevent his proceeding in his seditious and wicked designs will meet with his Majesty's and your Lordships' approbation.

[1] C.O. 23, 2.

[2] Just a year after his death, an Order in Council directed the Treasury to complete the bargain for the purchase of the Proprietors' and Lessees' rights (C.O. 23, 3).

[3] C.O. 23, 3

The ' method taken ' was the arrest and indictment of John Colebrooke for sedition. He was tried before the Chief Justice of the Bahamas at the end of May, and found guilty. A fine of £750 was imposed, and he was ordered to be ' confined during his Majesty's pleasure,' and was not to be discharged until he had given ' sufficient security ' for his future good behaviour.[1]

The baneful influence that such a person could wield over his fellow-men two hundred years ago is strangely reminiscent of the twentieth century ! In spite of Colebrooke's detention, the danger was not yet over, and the canker of sedition seems to have been very deep-rooted. Two months later, in August, 1731, Rogers thus reports on the situation[2]: ' I can yet procure no assistance from the inhabitants towards the fortifications, though I have without any help from them built a new Barrack for the Garrison in the Fort, and have made upwards of twenty new carriages for guns of this country timber, and shall continue to do all I can towards the Fortifications as soon as the heat of the summer is over, that I can put the garrison to work again, without endangering their healths. And as soon as possible will try in a new Assembly what I can do, though I fear little public good is to be expected from them if Mr. Colebrooke and his accomplices here can have any influence to prevent the peoples working, they being too poor to contribute anything worth contributing in money.'[3] At what period

[1] C.O. 23, 3. [2] Ibid.

[3] About this time Rogers transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of Trade ' A general account and description of the Bahamas,' a most important document, occupying 14 folio pages, which is still preserved among the Colonial Records in the Public Record Office (C.O. 23, 3).

Colebrooke was released we do not know, but that he appealed to the home Government is certain, and in order that the Lords Commissioners of Trade should have all the facts at their disposal Rogers despatched his son to England with the following letter, dated 14th October, 1731 [1]:

As I am at a loss what complaints Mr. Colebrooke may make, I entreat your Lordships will please to allow me to refer you to my son who will have the honour to wait on your Lordships with this, and is instructed to give you such particular information, as you may desire to be apprised of, either with regard to Mr. Colebrooke, or anything else relating to this colony. I have also transmitted herewith transcripts of the Council and Assembly proceedings, and answers to your Lordships' queries, together with an account of every family [2] on this island in as particular a manner as possible. . . . I hope soon to visit Columba alias Cat Island,[3] which being esteemed the most fertile of any in this government, I shall transmit to your Lordships a particular account thereof.

This was his last official dispatch of any importance, and his death is recorded at Nassau on the 15th of July, 1732. His will, drawn up on the eve of departure from England, and dated 26th of May, 1729, was proved in London on the 24th of November, 1732. In it he bequeaths his property to his son William Whetstone Rogers,[4] and his daughter Sarah Rogers.

[1] C.O. 23, 3.

[2] The population comprised 256 men, 190 women, 489 white children, 275 able negroes, and 178 negro children.

[3] The landfall of Columbus is known to have been one of the Bahama Islands. Opinion is divided between Watling Island and Cat Island. Rogers's letter lends support to the latter.

[4] In the following year he was chosen as one of the Council of the Bahamas. He was afterwards one of the three chief merchants of the

The probate act describes him ' as late of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, but dying at the Bahama Islands, a widower.'

And so, amid the tropical grandeur of his island home, with the surge of the broad Atlantic for his requiem, passed all that was mortal of Woodes Rogers. No tombstone stands to mark his last resting-place, but somewhere in Nassau we may be sure that his spirit looks out past the great statue of Columbus standing sentinel over Government House, to the shipping and harbour beyond. One wonders how many of the thousands of visitors who bask in the perpetual sunshine of a winter's day in this ' Queen of Coral Isles,' realise how much they owe to Woodes Rogers and his successors. A great seaman and splendid patriot, he deserves well of his country.

Royal African Company, and died in 1735 ' at Whydah, on the coast of Africa.'

THE DRESS OF THE BRITISH SEAMAN FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF 1748

Our long struggle with the Dutch for maritime supremacy during the seventeenth century taught us many lessons, not the least important of which was the necessity of providing sufficient clothing for the men who manned our ships and fought our battles. Though the purchase of the slop-clothing was optional, most of the seamen seem to have been glad to avail themselves of the supply, and there appears to have been more uniformity in the dress of a ship's crew at the close of the seventeenth century than at any previous period. There is evidence that the authorities were paying considerable attention to this important matter, which had done so much in the past to undermine both the health and discipline of the fleet, and in the absence of complaints, which were common enough during the earlier part of the century, we can only assume that this vigilance was bearing fruit. With the accession of William of Orange to the English throne the Dutch became our allies and the French our enemies. In the war with France which followed, the seamen who fought with Torrington at Beachy Head in 1690, and with Russell at La Hogue in 1692, were dressed in Blue Waistcoats and probably Kersey Jackets; White Petticoat Breeches with red stripes; Red Caps and White Neckcloths; and it is interesting to note that when Torrington was created an Earl in

1689, he had assigned to him as supporters to his coat-of-arms the following: Two mariners, proper, each habited 'in a waistcoat, buttoned, *azure*; wide breeches, *argent*, double striped crosswise crimson; hose and shoes, *sable*; neckcloth, *silver*, and cap, *gules*.'[1] Another example of these peculiar striped breeches may be seen in the frontispiece to Captain St. Lo's pamphlet, 'England's Safety, etc.,' published in 1693. Hitherto St. Lo's frontispiece has proved rather puzzling, but it is evident that seamen are intended with wide petticoat breeches having the double crosswise crimson stripes, and not Scotch fishermen wearing their native kilt as is frequently supposed.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century there commenced a very definite epoch in the dress of the navy, and if we may judge from an account of a minor operation in 1700 the seamen ran some risk of being habited wholly in red, for when a certain Captain Jacob was sent to the West Indies to suppress pirates in that year, we are told that his crew consisted of about ninety red coats.[2] Whether the men also wore the red striped breeches and red caps we do not know, but by this time it is clear that the authorities had shown a decided preference for striped clothing. It is difficult now to state exactly what the special points in its favour were, but that it was durable and gave a ship's crew a smarter and more business-like appearance is undoubted, and it was certainly more in the nature of a uniform than any previous issue of slop-

[1] Doyle, 'Baronage,' iii. 528. For a slightly different version see 'Mariner's Mirror,' iv. 54.

[2] Hannay, 'Sea Trader,' p. 257.

clothing. In this respect it is interesting to learn that when new regulations for slops were issued in 1706 by Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral, that it was solely due to the recommendations of the flag-officers of the fleet that this striped clothing was included. These regulations which are here printed in full for the first time are of special importance, being the earliest we have which deal with buttons and other minor details : [1]

His Royal Highness Prince George, etc., etc.,

WHEREAS I am informed by the Principall Officers and Commissrs. of Her Majties. Navy that they have made a contract with Mr. Richard Harnage of London, bearing date the 3rd of Aprill last for furnishing the Seamen serveing in Her Majties. Fleet, for the time to come, with Slop-Cloathes at the Prices hereafter mentioned viz :

Shrunck Grey Kersey [2] *Jackett*, lin'd with Red Cotton, with fifteen Brass Buttons, and two Pockets of Linnen, the Button Holes stich'd with Gold Colour Thread, att Tenn Shillings and Sixpence each.

Wast Coat of Welsh Red plain unlin'd, with eighteen Brass Buttons, the holes stich'd with Gold Coloured Thread at Five Shillings and Sixpence each.

Red Kersey [2] *Breeches* lin'd with Linnen, with three Leather Pockets, and thirteen white Tinn Buttons, the Button Holes stiched with white Thread, at the Rate of Five Shillings and Sixpence each.

Strip'd Shagg [3] *Breeches* lin'd with Linnen, with three Leather Pockets, and fourteen white Tinn Buttons, the Button Holes stich'd with white Thread, at the Rate of Tenn Shillings and Sixpence each.

Shirts of blew and white chequer'd Linnen, at the Rate of three Shillings and threepence each.

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[1] P.R.O. Admiralty, Secretary's Out Letters—Orders and Instructions.

[2] A coarse, narrow, woollen cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed.

[3] A cloth, generally of worsted, and having a velvet nap on one side.

Drawers of Ditto, at the Rate of Two Shillings and Threepence each.

Leather *Capps* faced with Red Cotton, and lined with Black Linnen, at the Rate of One Shilling and twopence each.

Small Leather *Capps* stich'd with white Thread, at the Rate of Eightpence each.

Grey Woollen *Stockings* at the Rate of One Shilling and Ninepence per Pair.

Grey Woollen *Gloves* or *Mittens* at the Rate of Sixpence per pair.

Double Sold *Shooes*, round Toes, at the Rate of Four Shillings per pair.

Brass *Buckles* with Iron Tongues at the Rate of Three Pence per pair.

In which contract it is provided, that the former Slop Seller Mr. Beckford,[1] shall have liberty to issue not only the Slops on board Her Majties Ships, but also the stock he had by him at that time in preference to Mr. Harnage's Slopp Cloathes. You are therefore hereby required and directed after all the old Slops shall be issued to apply to Mr. Harnage for such Slop Cloathes as you shall for the future be in want of for the Men belonging to the Ships you Command.

And Whereas the said Commissioners of the Navy have likewise on the 16th instant made a Contract with Mr. William Franklin of Wappen Stepney Salesman, to furnish the Seamen serveing in Her Majties Shipps with other Slop Cloathes at the Prices following viz :

Strip'd Ticken [2] *Wast Coats* of proper lengthes, to be one Yard in length at least, with Eighteen Black Buttons, the Holes Stich'd with Black Thread lined with White linnen and two White Linnen Pocketts, at the Rate of Seven Shillings each.

Strip'd Ticken [2] *Breeches* of proper lengthes, lined with white linnen, and two linnen Pocketts, with Sixteen Black Buttons, the Button Holes stich'd with Black Thread, at the rate of five Shillings each. You are when the men belonging

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[1] William Beckford, and his father before him, had been slop-sellers since about 1660. On 1st Dec. 1707 he was stated to be a Debtor to the Crown of £3418, 16s. 1d. (Cal. of Treasury Papers, 1702-7, p. 555).

[2] A strong material of linen or cotton, basket woven, and usually in stripes. More often associated with bedding.

to the Ship you Command shall be in Want thereof, to apply your Self to Mr. Franklin for them.

And Whereas Patterns of the Cloathes to be issued by Mr. Harnage and Mr. Franklin aforesaid, are to be lodged with the Storekeepers at the severall Ports of Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Harwich, Deale, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Kinsale and Lisbon ; You are upon the coming aboard of these Cloathes to have recourse to the said Patterns, and take care that both they and the Cloathes, be viewed by Your Self, the Master, Boatswain and Purser of the Ship under your Command ; and that the Cloathes do in all respects agree with the Patterns, and that they are not inferior to them in Goodness, and, if any of them shall be found inferior in Quality or Goodness to the said Patterns, you are to return them to the Slop Sellers again respectively, and demand and receive others, that shall be in all respects conformable in lieu of them—provided the same may be timely done. But if it shall happen that the Voyage or Service on which you shall be designed, will not admit thereof, You are then to keep the Cloathes you first received, and cause them to be issued as there shall be occasion, with abatement proportionable to what they are inferior to the Patterns according to the judgement of Your Self, and officers as aforesaid ; wherein you are to use the best judgement and Skill, as well in right to the Slop Sellers as to the Seamen. But You are to take particular care to charge the Slop Cloathes issued by each Person in distinct Columns in your Books ; for doing Right to each of them, and preventing the Trouble which otherwise may be occasioned through the want thereof. And you are to conform Your Self, in all other respects, in the impresting and vending the said Cloathes, according to the Generall Printed Instructions annexed to your Commission.

Given etc., the 29th. of August 1706.

GEORGE.

To the Respective Captains, Masters, and
Commanders of Her Majties Shipps and Vessells.

By order

J. Burchett.

In the past it had been customary for the slop-seller to submit specimens of his clothes to the Commis-

sioners of the Navy, who decided both on the quality and the prices at which they were to be sold to the fleet. Unfortunately for the seamen, the slop-seller, if he was dishonest enough, as he frequently was, could place clothes of inferior quality on board, and there appears to have been no method whereby the commander of a ship could ascertain whether the clothes he received came up to the specifications passed by the Navy Commissioners. By the regulations of 1706, however, this difficulty was overcome, and in future patterns were to be lodged at various ports throughout the kingdom, and also at Lisbon, where they were to be inspected by the Commander, and compared with the clothes he received from the slop-seller. This contract remained in force until 1717 when a new one was made with Richard Harnage for supplying clothes at much cheaper rates. This contract is in the following terms [1]:

Contracted this ninth day of September, 1717, with the Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, for and on behalf of His Majesty, by me, Richard Harnage, Esq.; and I do hereby oblige myself, my heirs and executors, free of all charge to His Majesty, to supply the seamen serving in His Majesty's ships and vessels with such slop-clothes, of the species and qualities hereafter mentioned, as shall from time to time be directed by the said principal officers and commissioners, or demanded by the commanders or pursers of the said ships or vessels for the use of the seamen serving therein. That I will so timely and seasonably put them on board, after directed or demanded, as before, as that neither His Majesty's service or the seamen shall at any time suffer for want thereof. That all such clothes as shall be furnished in pursuance of this contract shall be agreeable in all respects, and no ways inferior to the patterns approved of by this board the 7th. of November,

[1] Ducane MSS. (Hist. MSS. C.), pp. 22-4.

1707, and sealed with the seal of this office, and the seals of the commissioners that approved of them, and are now lodged at this office and with the store-keepers of His Majesty's several yards. That the said clothes shall be vended on board according to the rules prescribed by the Lord High Admiral's instructions to the commanders of His Majesty's ships. That I will not desire or expect any imprests or other payments for the said clothes than what are and have been for some time past in use for slop-clothes. And that in the management of this affair I will observe the rules and methods of the navy relating thereto in all other respects whatsoever in consideration of the prices following, which are to be set off upon the sea-books, as the slops shall be vended, abated from the seamen's wages and paid as usual.

Where the details of the various articles are identical to those of 1706, I have omitted them.

		s.	*d.*
Shrunk Grey Kersey *Jackets*	each	8	0
Waistcoats of Welsh red	,,	3	4
Red Kersey *Breeches*	,,	4	3
Red flowered Shag *Breeches*, lined with linen, with three leather pockets and fourteen brass buttons, the button holes stitched with gold coloured thread	,,	8	6
Striped Shag *Breeches*	,,	8	0
Shirts of blue and white checkered linen	,,	2	10
Leather *Caps*	,,		9
Small Leather *Caps*	,,		6
Drawers of blue and white checkered linen	,,	1	5
Grey Woollen *Stockings*	per pair	1	1
Grey woollen *Gloves* or *Mittens*	,,		6
Double-soled *Shoes*, round toes	,,	3	4
Brass *Buckles*, with iron tongues	,,		2

This contract to commence the 12th. day of December next (at which time my former contract, dated the 3rd. of April, 1706, is to determine) and to continue in force for five years certain, and until 12 months warning shall be given in writing by either party to the other for the determination and discontinuance thereof.

When slop-clothes were required, officers were instructed to apply to Mr. Harnage for them, and to examine 'the patterns lodged with the respective storekeepers, to see that the said clothes be in all respects answerable thereunto in quality and goodness.' In addition to the above, the striped ticking *waistcoats* and *breeches* were also issued, presumably at the old rates.

No history of the dress of the British seaman would be complete without some account of the slop-seller or contractor, and before proceeding further the position of that official at this period is worth examining. In some respects it was an unenviable one, and it is certain that only a person of considerable wealth could have undertaken such a contract. With the growth of the Royal Navy the business had developed to enormous dimensions, and more often than not the slop-seller had clothes on board the various ships of the fleet, and in his warehouses amounting to thousands of pounds in value. These clothes were purchased by the seamen on long credit, and owing to the slackness of the authorities in paying the seamen's wages—from which the cost of the slop-clothing was deducted—the slop-seller had frequently to make application to the Treasury for an imprest to enable him to carry on his contract, and pay his workpeople. Some idea of the money involved may be gathered from the official records. In July, 1709, Harnage was petitioning for an advance of £10,000, stating that in three years his supplies had exceeded his receipts by £44,553, 9s. 1d.; while Franklin, the other contractor, stated that the State owed him £17,274, 2s. 0d. for ticken waistcoats and breeches supplied during the

same period.[1] To remedy this state of affairs an Act was passed (in 1728) 'For granting an Aid to His Majesty of £500,000 towards discharging wages due to seamen, and the constant, regular, and punctual payment of Seamen's wages for the future,'[2] but in spite of the convincing wording of the statute, the evil as far as the slop-seller was concerned, continued unabated.

From these two instances it will be seen that the slop-seller had much to contend with, and when Harnage's contract expired in 1723 it is not surprising to find that it was not renewed; the whole of the supply of slop-clothing being undertaken by his fellow-contractor Franklin, who, presumably as some recompense for the loan of his money, promptly raised the price of his clothes to the sailor. This contract is dated 3rd February, 1724-25, and by it Franklin was obliged to supply such slop-clothes as the Navy Board ordered from time to time, and they were to be in all respects equal to the patterns approved of in 1706. This contract was to continue in force for five years, and was afterwards terminable by twelve months' notice by either party. The clothes were the same as specified in the contract of 1717, but thread buttons were substituted for those of brass and tin.[3]

	s.	*d.*
Striped ticking *Waistcoats* of proper lengths, to be one yard in length at least, with 18 buttons suitable to the ticking, the holes stitched with thread suitable thereto, lined with white linen, and two white linen pockets	5	6

[1] 'Cal. of Treasury Papers, 1708-14,' pp. 99, 129, 139.
[2] 1 Geo. II, Stat. 2, cap. 9.
[3] Ducane MSS., pp. 28-9.

	s.	d.
Striped ticking *Breeches* of proper lengths, lined with white linen, with two white linen pockets, and 16 buttons suitable to the ticking, the button holes stitched with thread suitable thereto . . .	4	0
Shrunk Grey Kersey *Jackets*, lined with red cotton, with 17 thread buttons of the colour of the kersey, and 2 pockets of linen, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour	9	6
Waistcoats of Welsh, plain or kersey, unlined, with 18 thread buttons of the same colour, the holes stitched with thread of the same colour . .	4	6
Red and cloth colour kersey *Breeches*, lined with linen, with three linen pockets, and 13 thread buttons of the same colour, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour . .	4	6
Red flowered shag *Breeches*, lined with linen, with three leather pockets, and 14 thread buttons of the same colour, the button holes stitched with coloured thread	10	0
Striped shag *Breeches*, lined with linen, with three leather pockets, and 14 thread buttons of the same colour, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour	9	6
Shirts of blue and checkered linen . . .	3	2
Leather *Caps*, faced with red cotton, and lined with black linen		8
Small leather *Caps*, stitched with white thread .		7
Drawers of blue and white checkered linen, or *Trousers* made with canvas	1	10
Grey woollen *Stockings*	1	6
Ditto, *Gloves* or *Mittens*		6
Doubled soled *Shoes*, round toes	3	8
Brass *Buckles*, with iron tongues . . . per pair		2

Although copies of this contract were issued to all captains of H.M. ships, occasionally, as we see from the following letter of Franklin to the Navy Board, dated 10th September, 1725, the captains of the Georgian era found it sufficiently lucrative to slop their own ships:[1]

[1] 'Mariner's Mirror,' vi. 22.

Right Honourables

In pursuance of my contract, on Tuesday last I sent on board H.M. sloop *Happy*, Captain Cotterell, three bales of slops containing :

Under waistcoats	80	Hose	24
Kersey breeches	6	Ticking waistcoats	60
Chequered shirts	8	Ticking breeches	60
Trousers	36	Shoes	15 dozen.

and yesterday the Captain sent them back by the ship's boats. I therefore request your honours for directions that the Captain may receive and vend the same, and not as I am informed to slop the sloop himself and charge what prices he pleases.

I am, etc.,

Wm. Franklin.

From a perusal of the foregoing documents, it is clear that this grey and red clothing became virtually established as a uniform from the year 1706 until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, though owing to the curious fact that no order was issued compelling the sailor to purchase it, the issue was not officially recognised as such. Nevertheless, as these were the only clothes permitted to be sold on board ship, and the men were allowed to purchase them on a long credit, it is safe to assume that the supply was eagerly taken up. This is borne out by an examination of the various naval prints of the period which Commander C. N. Robinson, R.N., has published from his unique collection,[1] which clearly show the red breeches or trousers, grey jackets and striped waistcoats, which disclose when open the blue-and-white checkered shirts. It is in this costume that we can picture the seamen who fought with Cloudesley Shovell and Leake in the Mediterranean (1707-8); who took part in Byng's destruction of the Spanish

[1] 'British Fleet,' and 'British Tar in Fact and Fiction.'

fleet off Cape Passaro in 1718; who were with Hosier in the West Indies in 1726; and at the relief of Gibraltar in the same year by Sir Charles Wager. Strange as it may seem the dress of the British Navy at this period was quite distinctive from that of the other European nations, and it is curious to note that trousers were peculiar to English seamen alone. This we know to be the case, for during the cruise of a British privateer in the Pacific in 1720 we are informed that the crew of a Spanish warship knew them to be English because of their long trousers.[1]

In 1731 the Admiralty published the first edition of the 'Regulations and Instructions relating to H.M.'s Service at Sea,' in which a special section was devoted to the issue of slop-clothes. In the main these followed the regulations laid down by the Duke of York when Lord High Admiral in 1663; but whereas the latter stipulated 'that none of the clothes were to be sold to any of the ship's company till they had served two full months from their entrance into sea wages,' the regulations of 1731 allowed that 'if any seaman shall be brought on board to serve H.M. in time of a Press, and shall be destitute of necessities, the Captain may order him to be supplied with clothes not exceeding one month's pay in value.' After this they were to be had every two months to the value of ten shillings to the end of the voyage, the same as in 1663. Slops were to be issued out publicly upon deck in the presence of the officers and company, and the captain was to keep a slop-book for entering all purchases.

[1] Betagh, 'Voyage round the World,' p. 243. This is rather curious as canvas trousers are first officially mentioned in the contract of 1725.

Contractors were still to allow the purser 12d. in the pound for issuing this slop-clothing.

In this year, 1731, Franklin's contract expired, and a new one was entered into with ' Thomas Blackmore, of the Parish of St. Pauls, Covent Garden, Gent.' This contract, dated 2nd of June, 1731, was in the usual terms, but it is interesting to note that the clothes were ' to be vended on board according to the rules prescribed in the Regulations and Instructions relating to H.M.'s service at Sea, established by H.M. in Council 7th. day of January, 1730.' The contract was to continue ' for five years certain, and until twelve months' notice shall be given in writing by either party.' By a clause in his contract, Franklin was to have the privilege of selling whatever slop-clothes he had on hand in preference to those of his successor.[1]

Article of Clothing.	Size.	Length. Inches.	Breadth at waist. Inches.	Price. s.	d.
Striped Ticken *Waistcoats*, with 20 buttons suitable to the ticking etc., Lined with white linen, and 2 white linen pockets.	1st	Not less than 30	40	5	6
	2nd		36		
Striped Ticken *Breeches*, length measured at the side seam, and in breadth at the seat when doubled. Lined with white Linen, with 2 white linen pockets, and 2 waistband buttons, with 14 other buttons suitable to the ticken, etc.	1st	25	15½	4	0
	2nd	23	14½		
Shrunk Grey Kersey *Jackets*, lined with cotton, with 17 thread buttons the colour of the Kersey, and 2 Pockets of linen, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour.	1st	36	42½	10	0
	2nd	33	40		
Waistcoats of Kersey, unlined, with 19 thread buttons of the same colour, the holes stitched with thread of the same colour.	1st	31½	41	5	0
	2nd	29	38½		

[1] P.R.O. Admiralty, Secretary's Out Letters—Orders and Instructions.

Article of Clothing.	Size.	Length. Inches.	Breadth at waist. Inches.	Price. s.	d.
Breeches of Kersey, lined with linen, with 3 canvas pockets, and 2 waistband buttons, and 14 other buttons of the colour of the Kersey, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour.	1st 2nd	24½ 23	15½ 14½	5	0
Breeches of Shag, each size of the same dimensions, with same number of pockets, etc.	—	—	—	9	0
Shirts of Blue and White Checkered linen, to be made at least 40 in. long, and not less than 26 in. broad. The sleeves 20 in. long and 8 in. broad, with 4 buttons substantially sewed.	—	—	—	3	6
Drawers of Blue and White checkered linen, cut out of whole cloth breeches fashion, to be made at least 27 in. long, and broad when double 14 in., with good strings to the waist and knees.	—	—	—	2	0
Trousers of Brown Osnaburgh Canvas, to be cut out of whole cloth breeches fashion, 2 buttons at the Waistband and 2 others.	—	34	15	2	0
Stockings of Grey yarn.	1st 2nd	28 26	10 at foot	1	9
Shoes made of good Neats Leather, double soled, round toed, with at least 3 lifts of leather in each heel.	—	—	—	4	0
Buckles, Brass, with iron tongues.	—	—	—		3
Caps, woollen milled.	—	—	—		10
Caps, yarn.	—	—	—		8

This contract is of special interest on account of the precise details it gives of the sizes of the various garments, but the prices show a slight increase in the majority of cases. The disappearance of the familiar leather caps faced with red, which had been in use since 1706, is a noticeable feature, giving place to the tight-fitting woollen caps, which were evidently more comfortable, and better adapted to service conditions.

Like his predecessors, Blackmore evidently found it extremely difficult to carry on owing to the system of payment, and three years afterwards, in June, 1734, he was petitioning the Treasury for an imprest on the clothes supplied during that period. Though the

Commissioners of the Navy advised that an imprest of £5000 should be allowed 'in regard that he had clothes on board H.M.'s ships and on shore amounting to £18,000,' the attitude of the Treasury was typical. They replied with a solemnity befitting the occasion: 'My Lords say imprests of this kind have not been practised or made these many years and conceive it should be less practised now than formerly, in regard to the act passed 1 Geo. II for the punctual and regular payment of seamen's wages, out of which the value of the said slop clothes is deducted.' On receipt of a further letter from the Navy Commissioners, however, they agreed to advance Blackmore the £5000.[1] As there is no trace of any further petitions from him, presumably he was able to carry on without further monetary aid until his contract expired in February, 1740. Within this period we have the outbreak of the war with Spain, and Vernon's brilliant capture of Porto Bello in 1739, and there are several contemporary prints which admirably depict the dress of the seamen during this period. As examples there may be noted: 'The Sailor's Farewell,' 1737, 'The British Sailors' Loyal Toast,' 1738, and 'The British Hercules,' 1737.[2]

On the 9th of May, 1739, a new contract was entered into with Joseph Browning for supplying slop-clothes to the fleet, which was to commence on the 24th February, 1740, 'at which time Mr. Thomas Blackmore's, dated 2nd. June 1731, is to cease.' This contract was to continue for three years certain and was afterwards terminable by the usual twelve months' notice in writing by either party. Hitherto patterns

[1] 'Cal. of Treasury Books, 1731-34,' pp. 556, 564.
[2] Robinson, 'British Tar' and 'British Fleet.'

had only been lodged at the various ports throughout the kingdom, but by the terms of his contract Browning was obliged to supply patterns ' in a box, with a lock and key, to be sent to each of H.M.'s ships or vesells at their first fitting out for sea,' and the following list of slops with their sizes and prices was sent to all Captains and Commanders.[1]

Article of Clothing.	Size.	Length. Inches.	Breadth at waist. Inches.	Price. s.	Price. d.
Striped Ticken *Waistcoats*, with 20 buttons suitable to the Ticken, and holes stitched with thread suitable thereto, lined with white linen, and two white linen pockets.	1st	30	40	5	6
	2nd	30	36	5	0
Striped Linen *Breeches*, the length to be measured at the side seam, the breadth at the seat when doubled, lined with white linen, with two white linen pockets, and 2 waistband buttons, with 14 other buttons, etc.	1st	25	15½	3	11
	2nd	23	14½	3	5
Shrunk Grey Kersey *Jackets*, lined with cotton, with 17 thread buttons the colour of the Kersey, and two pockets of linen, the button holes stitched with thread of the same colour.	1st	36	42½	9	7
	2nd	33	40	8	5
Waistcoats of Kersey, unlined, with 19 thread buttons, etc.	1st	31½	40½	4	5
	2nd	29	38½	3	11
Breeches of Kersey, the length to be measured at the side seam, the breadth at the seat when doubled, lined with linen, with three canvas pockets, and 2 waistband buttons, and 14 other buttons of the colour of the Kersey, and button holes stitched with thread of the same colour.	1st	24½	15½	4	9
	2nd	23	14½	4	3
Breeches of Shagg of the same sizes, dimensions, so forth of the Kersey.	1st	—	—	8	8
	2nd	—	—	8	0
Shirts of Blue and White Chequered linen, the sleeve 20 inches long, and 8 inches broad, with 4 buttons.	—	40	26	3	6
Drawers of Blue and White Chequered linen, cut out of whole cloth, breeches fashion, with good strings to the waistband and knees.	—	27	14	2	0

[1] P.R.O. Admiralty, Secretary's Out Letters—Orders and Instructions.

Article of Clothing.	Size.	Length. Inches.	Breadth at waist. Inches.	Price. s.	Price. d.
Trousers of Brown Osnaburgh Canvas, cut out of whole cloth, breeches fashion, 2 buttons to the waistband and 2 others.	—	34	15	2	0
Stockings of Grey Yarn.	1st	28	10 at foot	1	9
	2nd	26		1	7
Shoes made of good Neats Leather, double soled, round toed, with at least 3 lifts of leather in each heel.	—	—	—	4	0
Buckles of Brass with iron tongues.	—	—	—		3
Caps, Woollen, milled yarn.	1st	—	—		9
	2nd	—	—		7
Canvas *Frocks* made of the best Osnaburgh Canvas, with 3 buttons at the breast, and 2 at the wrist.	—	40½	27	3	4
Hats.	—	—	—	3	10

The above list is practically identical to that of 1731, with the exception of Canvas Frocks which figure for the first time, the colour presumably being brown like that of the Canvas Trousers. Also we find the first mention of hats during the eighteenth century, evidently the three-cornered ones which figure in all the prints of the period. The prices of the various articles in most cases show an appreciable reduction over those of the former contractor, and the patterns and sizes of the slop-clothes had by this time clearly become standardised.

Hitherto, it has been stated by other writers on the same subject, that the issue of the striped clothing ceased in 1740, and that from this year the seamen were habited in green and blue baize frocks and trousers. This, however, is clearly an error, founded on a misreading of a Navy Board letter, dated 22nd of August, 1740, and in order to prevent any future misunderstanding on the matter I have here reproduced this letter in full. From this it is clear that the Admiralty had intentions of providing the seamen in the West

Indies expedition of 1740 with Baize shirts and trousers —the Baize of course being of a much lighter texture than the material we are familiar with to-day. The disadvantages of this are pointed out in the following letter,[1] and as nothing further is heard of the matter, we may presume that the idea was dropped, and that Browning the contractor issued his Brown Canvas Frocks and Trousers at the cost of 5s. 8d. a suit.

Navy Board to the Secretary of the Admiralty,
22 Aug. 1740.

Sir,

The Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having been pleased by their order of the 15th instant to direct us to contract for providing the seamen in H.M.'s ships with Bays Shirts and Trousers, in the same manner as we do for other slops, and to supply all ships bound to the West Indies with a proper quantity of them. We sent for Mr. Browning the present contractor for slops, who produced to us samples of Green and Blue Bays for that service, and having discoursed him concerning the prices for Frock and Trousers, he demanded, and could not be prevailed on to take less than eight shillings for both, which exceeds the contract price for those now supplied them, two shillings and eight pence, and having desired him to consider the said prices, and send us his reasons why those now demanded so much exceed his contract price, he sent us a letter thereupon, a copy of which we send you herewith for their Lordships information, and desire you will acquaint their Lordships, that as slops made of Bays are only fit for seamen serving in hot climates, may not be liked by all such seamen, and are very subject to be moth eaten. We humbly offer our opinion that order may be given to the Captains of H.M.'s ships in the West Indies to buy such slops of Bays as they shall have occasion for issuing to such men as approve of them, and to place the value thereof against the seamen, in a distinct column, as has been done by Commanders for slops that have been bought by them,

We are, Sir, etc., etc.

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[1] P.R.O. Navy Board Out Letters.

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the various slop-sellers, as we have seen, were continually appealing to the Treasury for grants to enable them to furnish the fleet with the requisite clothes. The Act of 1728 evidently did not solve this acute financial problem, and within two years of his contract Browning was asking for an imprest of no less than £25,000, which the Commissioners of the Navy reported to be necessary. An appeal to the Treasury resulted in an imprest of £10,000 with an intimation 'that the petitioner might soon call again for the rest.' According to his own statement, Browning was then in advance on account of sailors' clothes to the extent of £63,000, and he was still obliged to keep some hundred people at work making clothes at an expense of £4000 a month.[1] From a further petition, dated 19th April, 1744, we learn that this £25,000 was eventually granted. However, the palliative was only temporary, and in April, 1744, the value of the slops outstanding, either in ships abroad, or in Navy magazines at home, had swollen to the enormous sum of £121,280, 12s. 5d., 'no part whereof can be paid till the ships are cleared.' On the face of this formidable figure it is not surprising to learn that both Browning and his partners found it impossible to proceed further in their contract without a proportionate advance.[2]

The ever-growing interest in all that relates to the social life of the Navy, and the keen desire to know how our seamen messed, dressed, and lived in the past, will, I hope, be stimulated by the official documents that are published in these pages. From the slop-list of 1740 it is now possible to present an accurate picture

[1] 'Cal. of Treasury Books, 1742-45,' p. 10. [2] Ibid., p. 473.

of the dress of the sailor during one of the most interesting and momentous periods of our naval history—a period which witnessed the failure of Vernon at Cartagena (1741); the world-famed cruise of Anson (1740-44); the Battle of Toulon (1744); and the victories of Anson and Hawke off Finisterre and Brest in 1747.

Before concluding this chapter it is necessary to give some account of the dress of naval officers during the period under review. To do so, however, is not without difficulties, for owing to the fact that a regular uniform was not established until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, there are no official records dealing with the subject prior to that date. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of pictorial evidence which may be regarded as trustworthy, and from this and other contemporary sources, it is possible to present a fairly complete picture of the dress worn by officers of the Royal Navy during the half-century preceding the peace of 1748.

Though there was clearly a lack of uniformity both in the cut and material of the officers' dress, they, like the seamen, seem to have shown a decided preference for red or scarlet. There is an engraving of an 'Englischer Admiral zur See' by Christopher Weigel, 1703, which shows the long square-cut coat of the period, cocked hat edged with feathers, laced waistcoat, tight breeches, neckcloth, ruffles, and buckled shoes. In a copy coloured apparently at the time the coat is scarlet, laced with gold, and the long-flapped waistcoat blue similarly ornamented.[1] The portrait of Admiral Churchill, also of this period, shows him attired in red

[1] Planche, 'Cyclop. of Costume,' i. 116.

velvet with gold lace, and it is perhaps not generally known that before Anson's time, the lieutenants on the Mediterranean Station used to purchase the soldiers' old red coats at Gibraltar and Mahon, and these when trimmed with black were worn as a suitable, if not dignified, uniform.[1]

During the voyage of Captain Shelvocke round the world, begun in 1719, we are informed that 'the chief officers had a scarlet suit each.' The account of this voyage, written by William Betagh, Captain of Marines in the expedition, is of particular interest, for it clearly shows that Shelvocke had very original ideas on the necessity of a proper uniform for the officers under his command. Early in the voyage he made the following speech to them: 'Gentlemen, we have yet a long voyage in hand, and 'tis uncertain where or how we shall be furnished with cloaths, when these we have are worn out or impaired. To show you therefore that I have your interest as much at heart as my own, I have considered that your sleeve cuffs and pocket flaps will be first subject to the injuries of time; which to prevent, I here make each of you a present of as much gold and silver flowered silk as will serve to cover them. To you gentlemen sea officers scarlet with gold; and to you gentlemen of the marines, green with silver.' We also learn that Shelvocke's own costume was a 'black *peaud'soy* sute trimmed with large silver loops down the breast.'[2] A good idea of the dress worn during the years 1736-44 may be gathered from the pictures reproduced by Commander C. N. Robinson, R.N. The officers are

[1] Barrow, 'Life of Anson,' p. 151.

[2] Betagh, 'Voyage round the World,' pp. 30-2.

depicted in laced three-cornered hats, neckcloths, long coats reaching to the knees, laced waistcoats to the thighs, tight knee-breeches, stockings and buckled shoes. Unfortunately the colours are not mentioned; but from other sources we know that scarlet trimmed with silver lace was worn by officers about 1740,[1] while the portrait of Admiral Mostyn, painted about 1734 when a lieutenant, shows him habited in red. For those who wish to pursue the subject further there is the fine collection of portraits of the distinguished admirals of the period which are to be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

[1] Robinson, ' British Tar ' ; Langley (G.), ' Life and adventures, 1740,' p. 72.

THE FIRST NAVAL UNIFORM FOR OFFICERS, 1748

In the previous chapter I have shown how the ordinary seaman was dressed during the first half of the eighteenth century, and in this chapter I have endeavoured to piece together the main facts which led to the adoption of a uniform dress for officers in 1748. Strange as it may seem, up till that year our naval officers were alone among those of maritime powers in lacking a distinctive uniform, although one had been adopted in the French service as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. An examination of the portraits in the naval gallery at Greenwich Hospital reveals ' every variety of cut and complexion of dress,' and our officers appear to have been habited according to their own tastes—a custom which was often extremely fanciful, and sometimes grotesque. Smollett's description of the dress of the dandy captain in ' Roderick Random ' is well known.[1] But although the picture may be slightly overdrawn, the counterpart is to be found in the following amusing anecdote concerning Captain (afterwards Sir William) Burnaby, who went out to join Vernon on the West Indies station in 1741. Burnaby always aimed at being the best-dressed man in whatever company he mixed, while Vernon, as is known, was just the

[1] Captain Whipple had a white hat with a red feather; pink-coloured silk coat, white satin waistcoat, embroidered with gold; crimson velvet breeches; silk stockings, and shoes of ' blue meroquin,' with diamond buckles.

opposite. Immediately after his arrival at Jamaica, Burnaby ' proceeded to pay a visit of ceremony to the Commander-in-Chief. On this solemn occasion he equipped himself gorgeously in a suit of silk, or, as some say, velvet, very splendidly laced.' When Burnaby was announced, Vernon, who was ' coarsely dressed in a very ordinary manner, rose from his escritoire with much apparent and pretended confusion, and hurrying into an inner compartment put on a wig of ceremony. With pretended haste and embarrassment, he advanced towards Burnaby with great gravity, and desired to know his commands. When the latter informed him, with much precision and attention to form, " that he had the honour to command the bomb-vessel which had just arrived from England," Vernon, with a ludicrous and grotesque alteration of countenance replied, " Gad so, sir, I really took you for a dancing master ! " ' [1]

It was owing to the absence of an established uniform that many of the ' crack-captains ' designed a special uniform for their own ships, and Anson in 1743, when on a visit to the Viceroy at Canton, dressed his barge's crew in scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, trimmed with silver [2] ; while in 1746 all the officers of the Kent of 70 guns, were habited in grey, faced with scarlet, and trimmed with silver.[3] Such was the incongruity of dress in the service, that in 1741 an English officer actually went into action wearing a jockey cap ! [4]

In 1746, however, an attempt was made to bring

[1] Charnock, ' Biog. navalis,' v. pp. 131-2.

[2] ' Anson's Voyage,' 1748 ed., pp. 398-9.

[3] E. H. Locker, ' Mems. of celebrated naval commanders ' (Memoir of W. Locker).

[4] Keppel's ' Life,' i. p. 41.

order out of chaos, and a club of sea-officers, who met every Sunday evening at Wills' Coffee House in Scotland Yard, for the professed purpose of watching over their rights and privileges, discussed among other matters the desirability of a general naval uniform. At a meeting of the Navy Club on the 23rd of February, 1745-46, it was moved and proposed :

That three or more of the Members wait on the Duke of Bedford & Admiralty Board with an Address drawn up by a Committee appointed for that purpose, acquainting them, that it is the opinion of thirty Captains who are in Town & is believed the general sense of the Service, that an Uniform Dress is useful and necessary for the Commissioned Officers, agreeable to the practice of other Nations.[1]

The motion having been carried, three officers were appointed to draw up and present the address, desiring the opinion of the Lords of the Admiralty on the matter, and if they approved, requesting them 'to introduce it to His Majesty.' Though no immediate steps appear to have been taken in the matter, the proposal seems to have been favourably received, and on the 3rd of August, 1747, Sir Peter Warren wrote to Anson, from Plymouth, concerning the suggested uniform : 'I can't conceive what reasonable objection can be made by our services to the uniformity of dress and rank proposed in the instrumental I sent you, if it is approved of in that form by his Grace (the Duke of Bedford), and you pray let me know, and I will immediately be answerable for the carrying it through with many of our

[1] Discovered by Mr. Bonner Smith and printed in the 'Mariner's Mirror,' July, 1927.

junior flags, and I believe with all the captains in general.' [1]

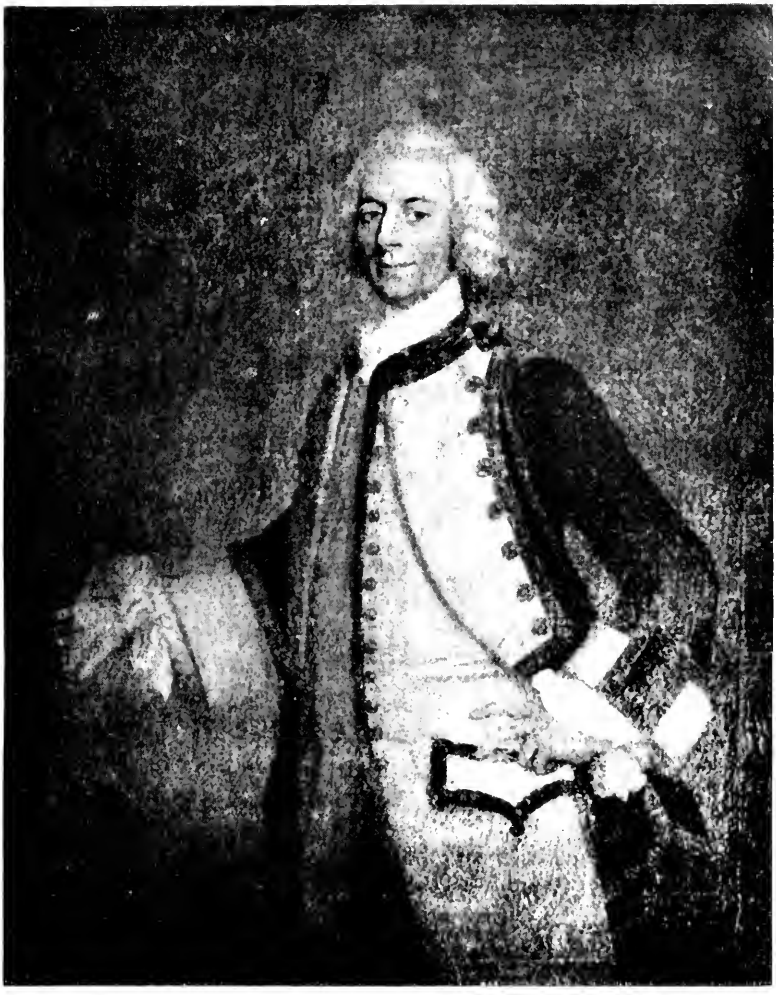
The scheme received the whole-hearted support of Anson, and prominent naval officers were invited to appear in uniforms of their own design in order that a suitable pattern might be chosen. There was evidently much keen competition in the matter, and from the following letter it will be seen that the service ran some risk of being habited in grey faced with red, which was, in fact, the colour of the slop-clothing issued to the seamen at this period.[2] On the 20th of August, 1747, Timothy Brett wrote to Captain Philip Saumarez: 'I told Keppel of your uniform; I find it is going to be general. He (Keppel) is going to have one made up, which is to be grey faced with red, and laced in the manner you describe yours; this, and two or three others are to appear at court for the King's approbation.' [3]

From this, and another letter written to Saumarez by Keppel at the same time, we may conclude that Saumarez was the first in the field with his design. 'Timothy Brett tells me you have made an uniform coat, etc., of your own. My Lord Anson is desirous that many of us should make coats after our own taste, and then a choice to be made of one to be general, and if you will appear in yours, he says that he will be answerable your taste will not be amongst the worst.' [4] Although neither the details nor colour are specified, there is in existence a portrait of Saumarez which purports to depict him in the uniform which

[1] 'Nautical Magazine,' 1846, p. 144.
[2] Hist. MSS. Com. Du Cane MSS., pp. 22-4.
[3] Keppel's 'Life,' i. p. 105. [4] Ibid., i. p. 107.

was finally adopted, and before proceeding any further it is important to examine this portrait, which was exhibited at the Naval Exhibition of 1891 by Lord De Saumarez. The claim that it represents the new uniform was supported by no less an authority than the late Sir John Laughton,[1] and since then the portrait has been reproduced in a recent life of Lord Anson as representing Saumarez 'in the new naval dress which was adopted.' We know that Saumarez attained the rank of Captain in 1743, and that he was killed in action on the 14th of October, 1747. From the evidence that will be produced, it will be seen: (1) that the uniform did not come into force until 1748, (2) that the uniform Saumarez was painted in does not represent the specimens of the coats and waistcoats for captains that have come down to us. Presuming that the painter, who is unknown, depicted his subject faithfully, the details of the uniform are slightly different. It appears, therefore, that this portrait of Saumarez depicts him in the uniform mentioned in the foregoing letters, and not in the one that was finally chosen. The following anecdote, related by Mr. E. H. Locker in 1830, is the generally accepted version of how the colours, blue and white, came to be adopted. Locker, who was a Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital, had heard it thirty-five years earlier from the lips of the veteran Admiral of the Fleet, the Honourable John Forbes. 'Adverting to the establishment of the naval uniform, the Admiral said he was summoned on that occasion to attend the Duke of Bedford, and being introduced into an apart-

[1] 'D.N.B.' (article Saumarez); and 'From Howard to Nelson,' p. 182, note.



CAPTAIN PHILIP SAUMAREZ, R.N.

From the original painting, by an unknown artist, in the possession of Lord de Saumarez

ment surrounded with various dresses, his opinion was asked as to the most appropriate. The Admiral said red and blue, or blue and red, as these were our national colours. "No," replied his Grace, "the king has determined otherwise; for, having seen my duchess riding in the park a few days ago in a habit of blue faced with white, the dress took the fancy of his Majesty, who has appointed it for the uniform of the Royal Navy." '[1]

Personally I am inclined to discredit this story, and like Captain Limeburner in the 'Life of Sir Edward Seaward' (on being told that the uniform was due to the King having seen an elaborate blue and white riding habit on a lady of high rank), I am tempted to exclaim, 'That's Betty Martin—nothing but a cram for land lubbers!'[2] Another account is given by Pennant, who, writing in 1796, states that Vice-Admiral Savage Mostyn is said to have 'first introduced the uniform into the navy.'[3] There is, however, no evidence in support of this statement, although Mostyn was appointed Controller of the Navy in March, 1749. On the whole, I believe that the colours were chosen by the King from Saumarez's uniform, which was in fact blue and white, and that the pattern and lacings were subsequently altered to suit the various ranks. Be this as it may, the earliest notice of the new uniform appeared in the 'Jacobites' Journal' of 5th March, 1748, as follows: 'An order is said to be issued, requiring all his Majesty's sea-officers, from the Admiral down to the Midshipman, to wear an

[1] 'British Archaeological Association Journal,' ii. p. 77.
[2] Sir E. Seaward's narrative. By Miss Jane Porter, 1831, iii. 259.
[3] 'Hist. of Whiteford,' p. 69.

uniformity of clothing, for which purpose pattern coats, for dress-suits and frocks, for each rank of officers, are lodged at the Navy Office, and at the several dock-yards for their inspection.'[1] A short time afterwards the following order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty was issued to 21 Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals, and 132 Captains, Commanders and Lieutenants in command of vessels[2]:

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, etc. Whereas, we judge it necessary, in order the better to distinguish the rank of sea officers, to establish a military uniform cloathing for Admirals, Captains, Commanders, and Lieutenants; and judging it also necessary that persons acting as midshipmen should likewise have an uniform cloathing, in order to their carrying the appearance which is necessary to distinguish their class to be in the rank of gentlemen, and give them better credit and figure in executing the commands of their superior officers; you are hereby required and directed to conform yourself to the said establishment, by wearing cloathing accordingly at all proper times; and to take care that such of the aforesaid officers and midshipmen, who may be from time to time under your command, do the like. And it is our further direction that no commission-officer or midshipman do presume to wear any other uniform than what properly belongs to his rank. Patterns of which, for Admirals and Vice-Admirals and also for Rear-Admirals, may be seen at the Admiralty Office; and patterns for each class of other officers, viz., who have taken post three years, and by his Majesty's late regulation rank as Colonels; all other Post-Captains, who by the said regulation rank as Lieutenant-Colonels; Commanders not taking

[1] Cited in 'Quarterly Review,' 1832, xlviii. 503.
[2] Copy in the Admiralty Library.

post, and Lieutenants, and likewise Midshipmen, will be lodged at the Navy Office, and with the storekeeper of his Majesty's yard at Plymouth. Given under our hands, etc., 13th April, 1748.'

(Signed) DUNCANNON.
WELBORE ELLIS.
JOHN, EARL OF SANDWICH.

It is curious that, business like as the wording of this order is, it appears to have been issued to the officers employed on foreign stations without any accompanying description or pattern of the uniform. This is borne out by the following extract of a letter from Admiral Boscawen, dated 13th February, 1749. 'The order,' he wrote, 'for establishing the uniform enclosed in your letter of the 13th April cannot be complied with, as I am entirely at a loss with respect to patterns.' [1]

The patterns of the Admirals' and Midshipmen's uniforms, mentioned in the official order, have unfortunately not been preserved, but those of the Captains and Lieutenants 'lodged with the storekeeper of his Majesty's yard at Plymouth' are still in existence. Their recovery was due to Mr. John Barrow of the Admiralty, whose attention was drawn to the subject on the occasion of Queen Victoria's *Bal costumé* in 1845, when invitations were issued to distinguished naval officers to appear in the costume worn by their forefathers during the middle of the 18th century. Much difficulty was experienced in tracing any order on the subject, and on being appealed to, Mr. Barrow remembered having seen the uniform patterns at Plymouth some years previously, although

[1] 'Nautical Magazine,' 1846, p. 141.

at the time he was unaware of the interest attaching to them.[1] At his suggestion, therefore, they were sent up to the Admiralty, and were finally deposited in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution among the naval relics of bygone days with whose history they are so intimately connected.[2]

For the benefit of future students the following description of the uniforms may be useful :

Captains of Three Years and Upwards

Coat.—Blue, lined white, with slashed sleeves and white cuffs meeting at the slash. Three brass knob buttons up the sleeve, and twelve down the coat. A small white collar, blue cloth underneath, with three brass buttons on each pocket, and two at the back of the coat (Fig. 1).

Waistcoat.—White kersymere, embroidered with two rows of lace, about 1 inch and inch and a half respectively, with three rows round the pockets. Fourteen brass knob buttons down the front ; three on the pockets and two on the sleeve (Fig. 4).

Hat.—Blue, three-cornered in shape, trimmed with 1 inch lace, with heavier lace over the silk cockade, fastening with one brass button.

Captains of less than Three Years' Service

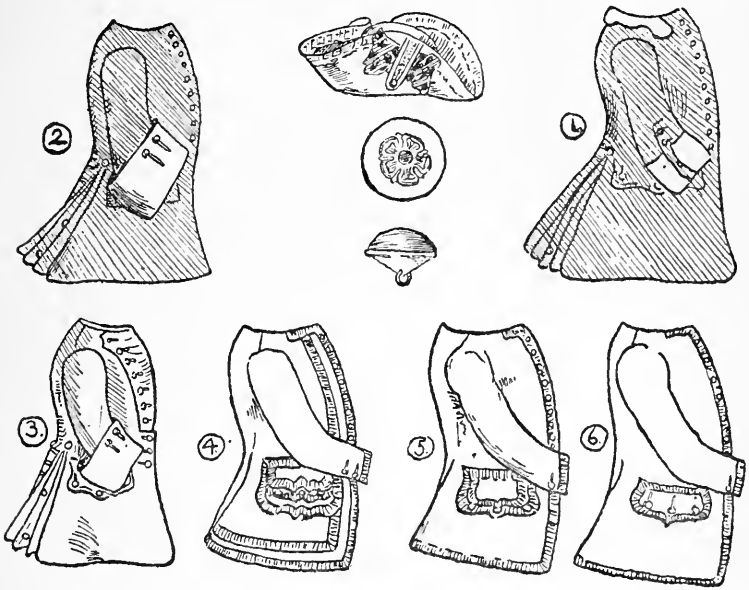
Coat.—Blue, lined white, with large loose white cuff. Eleven brass knob buttons down the front, with three buttons on each pocket, and three round the cuff (Fig. 2).

[1] ' Nautical Magazine,' 1846, pp. 140, 144.

[2] The illustrations of the costumes have been re-drawn from the ' British Archaeological Association Journal,' 1847, by Mr. F. C. Fallon.

Waistcoat.—White kersymere, trimmed with about 1½ inch lace, single row, with twelve brass buttons on the edge of the lace. Two rows of lace round the pockets, with three buttons on each pocket, and one on sleeve (Fig. 5).

Hat.—Blue, three-cornered in shape, trimmed with



about 1¼ inch (silver ?) lace, wider lace and brass button over the silk cockade.

Commanders not taking Post and Lieutenants

Coat.—Blue, lined white, with large blue cuff, and blue lapels in front buttoning back. Seven rose-pattern buttons on each lapel, and three on the coat. Three rose-pattern buttons on each pocket, and two down each pleat at the back of the skirt. Two smaller buttons round each cuff (Fig. 3).

Waistcoat.—White kersymere, trimmed with about 1 inch lace. Fourteen rose-pattern brass buttons down the waistcoat. Single row of lace round pockets, with three buttons on each pocket, and one on sleeve (Fig. 6).

Hat.—None preserved.

The cloth of all is Prussian Blue, and very thick, and the sleeves of the coats are purposely made short and large, so that the laced edge of the sleeves of the waistcoats might show beyond them. Frills were worn at the neck and wrists. The lace on all is probably gold. The knob-pattern buttons of the captain's uniform are peculiarly made, being formed of wood faced with brass, and the shank by which they are attached is a piece of catgut inserted through the wood. The coats had originally three buttons down each pleat of the skirt at the back, as illustrated, but some have disappeared. The uniform breeches were white or blue kersymere, probably according to full or undress. These are not to be seen at the Royal United Service Institution, but an illustration of them appeared in the ' Nautical Magazine ' for 1846.[1]

Although the wearing of the new uniform was made compulsory by the order of 14th April, 1748, there were many difficulties in the way of carrying it into effect. As we have seen, patterns were not sent to ships on foreign stations, nor were the regulations sufficiently explicit to enable officers, in many cases,

[1] In the ' British Archaeological Association Journal,' 1847, the Captains' coats are reversed, captains of three years and over having the large white cuffs. A different identification is shown in ' The Story of the Sea,' 1896 (ii. 708), where a photograph is given of the uniforms in the R.U.S.I. There the Lieutenant has the coat with the large white cuffs and the Captain of less than three years the blue cuffs and blue lapels.

to effect the desired change. Sir John Barrow states that ' there is some reason to believe that the general adoption of it was confined, or nearly so, for some time afterwards to flag officers and captains.' [1] This was certainly the case, for when the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty visited the ships at Portsmouth in August, 1749, they found that everything was in order ' except the gentlemen on the quarter-deck not being dressed in the uniform, many of whom had blue trimmed with white, but almost every one made in a different manner.' [2] As a result the following official order was issued and addressed to Vice-Admiral Sir E. Hawke at Spithead ; Rear-Admiral William Chambers at Plymouth ; and Captain de l'Angle, the senior officer at Chatham : ' [3]

Having on our late visitation of his Majesty's several dockyards been on board the guardships stationed at each port, and upon mustering their respective companies observed that the gentlemen on the quarter-deck were not dressed in their proper uniform, and that even some of the officers themselves though on duty neglected to wear their proper cloathing. We do hereby require and direct you to give orders to the Captains of all the guardships under your command to oblige their officers and gentlemen on their quarter-decks to appear in their uniform upon all proper occasions, and not to suffer any of the latter to walk the quarter-deck unless they do comply herewith ; and, in particular, you are never to suffer any officer to act at a Court Martial in any other habit than his proper uniform. And as example is on these occasions extremely necessary, you are to cause every Captain

[1] ' Life of Lord Anson,' p. 150.
[2] Printed in the ' Army and Navy Gazette,' 19th March, 1910.
[3] Ibid.

under your command to appear in the said dress, and we do expect that you yourself shall constantly appear in the same. Given, etc., 8th November, 1749.

SANDWICH.
DUNCANNON.
WELBORE ELLIS.
THOMAS VILLIERS.

By Thomas Corbett,
Secretary.

For the patterns of the Admirals' uniforms we are dependent on pictorial evidence alone. The portrait of Anson painted by Reynolds in 1755 depicts him presumably in full dress; whilst that of Boscawen, also by Reynolds (1757), shows the Vice-Admiral's uniform of the 1748 order. Another example is to be found in the portrait of Hawke at Greenwich. From these it will be seen that the costume was similar, but with more rich and elaborate lace. The coats were embroidered—the frock uniform for Admirals having 'treble lace' down to the skirts.

This 1748 uniform remained in force throughout the Seven Years' War,[1] and it was not until the 17th July, 1767, that any alteration was effected. Then it was decided 'that the embroidered uniform cloathing appointed to be worn by Flag Officers, and the Full-Dress uniform cloathing appointed to be worn by Captains, Commanders, and Lieutenants of his Majesty's Fleet be discontinued.' The Frock uniform clothing was altered as follows: The Admiral's frock was to have 'narrow lappels down to the waist; small

[1] When D. Pococke visited Portsmouth in 1754 he went to the Academy where 50 youths were instructed in the theory and practice of navigation, and who wore 'sea officer's uniform, blue turn'd up with white.' (Camden Soc. 1889, Pococke's 'Travels,' ii. 115.)

boot cuffs ; a single lace instead of treble lace down the side skirts ; to be laced with plain musquetaire lace.' Captains' and Commanders' frocks were to have narrow lapels down to the waist ; Lieutenants, narrow lapels down to the waist, with flash cuffs like the Commanders, without lace, instead of roll cuffs. A curious proviso was made ' excepting ' such officers ' as have already provided themselves with uniform cloathing according to the establishment of 1748, who are on that account allowed to wear the same until the 4th of June next.' [1]

This, then, is the story of the inception and adoption of the blue-and-white uniform throughout the service, and although the patterns and lacings have been altered from time to time in accordance with the prevailing taste of the day, blue and white have remained, except for a brief period,[2] the naval colours ever since. One shudders to think what might have been but for the gallant Saumarez ; but, *sotto voce*, was it really due to the super-excellence of her Grace of Bedford's tailor ? I think not.

[1] ' London Gazette,' 18th July, 1767.

[2] 1833-43, when the facings were changed from white to red.

POPHAM'S EXPEDITION TO OSTEND IN 1798

FORTY years have passed since the late Sir John Laughton, in a lecture on 'The Study of Naval History,' reminded an audience that it was 'the past which must lead us in the future, and that the study of naval strategy and tactics was linked in the closest possible manner with the study of our history.'[1] However diverse may have been the opinion in the past, no serious student would care to dispute the truth of this assertion to-day. For us the past can never lose its value, and the operations which were carried out against Zeebrugge in 1918, and the strategic reasons which prompted them, are not without an historical precedent.

When the French were elaborating their plans for an invasion of these islands in 1798, various proposals were considered by the British Government as to the most effective means of resisting such an attempt should it be made. A message from the King to Parliament had announced 'considerable and increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of attempting the invasion of His Majesty's dominions.' With the thought of the Spanish menace of 1588 before their minds, and in the hope that the system of national defence adopted then might aid and guide them in the present crisis, the Government ordered a search to be made among the archives in the State Paper

[1] R.U.S.I. 'Journal,' July, 1896.

Office, to ascertain how the Elizabethan statesmen mobilised the naval and military resources of the country to meet the King of Spain's Armada. This little-known, but important collection of documents was afterwards printed for the use of His Majesty's ministers, and some copies still exist in the principal libraries of the kingdom.[1] Among other things it is known that Pitt grounded his measures of the provisional cavalry and army of reserve on this report.

One of the most practical suggestions received at the time was from Captain (afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir Home) Riggs Popham [2] who early in April, 1798, submitted to Earl Spencer, then First Lord of the Admiralty, a detailed and carefully thought-out scheme for a joint naval and military expedition to Ostend, with the object of blowing up the Basin Gates and Sluices of the Bruges Canal. This canal from Bruges to Ostend had recently been completed at a cost of five millions sterling, and in order to avoid the vigilance of the English cruisers it was being used to convey a portion of the invasion flotilla from Flushing to Ostend and Dunkirk, and Popham pointed out to the Government the facility with which these important works could be demolished, thus interrupting the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France, and preventing the concentration of the Dutch sections of the flotilla.

[1] Copies are in the British Museum, London Library, and Public Record Office. It is entitled : ' Report on the arrangements which were made for the internal defence of these Kingdoms, when Spain, by its Armada, projected the invasion and conquest of England ; and application of the wise proceedings of our ancestors to the present crisis.' By John Bruce, 1798.

[2] For a memoir of Popham, see ' Naval Chronicle,' vol. 16.

Popham, who was an advocate of offensive warfare, had achieved considerable distinction as Naval Staff Officer with the army on the continent during the years 1794-95 ; and his intimate knowledge of maritime Flanders eminently fitted him for conducting such an operation. When he submitted his plan to Lord Spencer he was in command of the Deal to Beachy Head section of the Sea Fencibles, a Naval Militia which he had organised and carried into effect in the spring of 1798.

Although the general scheme which he propounded met with the approval of the Government, the Admiralty, on account of Popham's being ' a very young captain ' (he was then in his thirty-sixth year), and the possibility of placing him in command giving ' great disgust and offence to the profession, who were sufficiently irritable in these matters ' [1] hesitated to entrust him with the undertaking. Popham thereupon appealed to Sir Charles Grey, commanding the Southern District, who was an ardent supporter of his scheme and policy ; and finally, after some protest ' against the nomination of naval commanders by land officers,' the Admiralty decided to appoint him. Nevertheless, the half-hearted way in which they entered into the preparations for the expedition unduly delayed its departure, a delay which involved the loss of a spell of fine weather, and prevented the complete success of the enterprise.

The resentment that was felt in the service at Popham's appointment is shown in a letter from Dundas, then Secretary of State for War, to Spencer, in which he accused the authorities of ' a backwardness

[1] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 319.

somewhere in somebody under you in expediting what they may not approve of, or have not themselves suggested.'[1] Incredible as it may seem, it is certain that the Admiralty did at first throw obstacles in the way of the expedition, and although they promised that the naval portion would be ready in ten days, it was not until the 13th of May, four weeks later, that Popham was able to report that preparations had been nearly completed. The troops who were to take part in the expedition numbered about 1400 officers and men, under the command of Major-General Eyre Coote, and comprised four Light Companies of the First Guards; as many of the Coldstream and Third Guards; the Light and Grenadier Companies of the 23rd and 49th Regiments; the 11th Foot; about 100 men of the Royal Artillery; and 9 men of the 17th Light Dragoons.[2] All were embarked by the 13th, and Popham wrote that he hoped to put to sea that evening, if the weather appeared at all settled. The squadron, which assembled at Margate, comprised twenty-seven ships,[3] and it is perhaps not uninteresting to note that both the naval and military commands devolved upon men who were still in their thirty-sixth year.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
**Expedition* (44)	26	Capt. H. R. Popham.
Circe	28	,, R. Winthrop.
Vestal	28	,, C. White.
Ariadne	20	,, J. Bradby.

* Fitted as troopship; armed *en flûte*.

[1] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 333.

[2] Fortescue, 'Hist. of the British Army,' 4, i. 587.

[3] Schomberg, 'Naval Chronology,' iv. 600; Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 340.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Champion	20	Capt. H. Raper.
**Hebe* (38)	14	,, W. Birchall.
**Minerva* (38)	14	,, J. McKellar.
**Druid* (32)	12	,, C. Apthorpe.
Harpy, brig.	16	,, H. Bazeley.
Savage, brig.	16	,, N. Thompson.
**Dart* (28)	16	,, R. Raggett.
Kite, brig.	16	,, W. Brown.
Tartarus, bomb-ketch	8	,, T. Hand.
Hecla, bomb-ketch	8	,, J. Oughton.
Wolverine, gun-vessel	16	,, L. M. Mortlock.
Blazer, gun-vessel	12	,, D. Burgess.
Vesuve, gun-vessel	4	,, W. Elliott.
Crash, gun-vessel	12	,, B. M. Praed.
Boxer, gun-vessel	12	,, T. Gilbert.
Acute, gun-vessel	12	,, J. Sewer.
Asp, gun-vessel	12	,, J. Edmonds.
Furnace, gun-vessel	12	,, M. W. Suckling.
Biter, gun-vessel	12	,, J. D. de Vitrê.
Cracker, armed-lugger		——
Vigilant, armed-lugger		——
Terrier, armed-lugger		,, T. Lewen.
Lion, cutter		,, S. Bevel.

* Fitted as troopships; armed *en flûte*.

No one more fully realised the danger and importance of the enterprise than Popham, and bearing in mind the resentment that had been felt at his appointment, he despatched a letter to the Admiralty on the eve of sailing, trusting that if the expedition should prove unsuccessful, he would not be condemned without an impartial enquiry. 'If I fail in the great object, he wrote with true sailor-like candour to Spencer, 'I only wish your Lordship to enquire into every particular of my conduct before an opinion is passed.'[1]

[1] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 338.

By the 14th of the month all arrangements had been completed, and the squadron proceeded to sea, but owing to a violent gale off the Kentish coast it was detained until the early morning of the 16th. Its ultimate destination had been kept a profound secret, and it was not until the ships had put to sea that Popham explained the object of the expedition, and furnished the commanders with instructions and charts to enable them to take up their respective stations in the night without making signals. Five ships, *Champion*, *Dart*, *Wolverine*, *Crash*, and *Acute*, were appointed to make 'a feint to land to the westward of the town at daylight, and to endeavour to silence the batteries,' and five others, *Kite*, *Cracker*, *Asp*, *Vigilant*, and *Biter*, were 'to keep the harbour open, and be ready to set fire to any vessels on the east side, cut them out, or sink them. The bomb-ketches (*Tartarus* and *Hecla*) were to anchor N.N.W. and E. of the town respectively at about 1500 yards' distance, while the rest of the squadron took up stations to the eastward. While the main attack was being directed against Ostend, the Admiralty undertook to have some large ships off Dunkirk, in order to prevent the frigates there from joining in the action, and part of the original plan was to sink obsolete ships in the harbour at Ostend, but this part of the scheme was subsequently abandoned.[1] Popham left nothing to chance, and his plans included the provision of armed cutters, which were 'to take stations at anchor if possible, at two leagues asunder, in a proper bearing, to lead the squadron directly to its object.'[2]

In order to assist the troops in their hazardous

[1] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 316, 331, 341-2.

[2] Ibid., 341.

undertaking, a number of seamen were to be landed under the command of Captain Winthrop, of the *Circe* ; while Captain McKellar, of the *Minerva*, with two lieutenants, and a party of seamen and soldiers, were appointed to attend to the mines and carry them to the gates as expeditiously as possible.[1] Popham hoped that a landing would be effected during the night of the 16th, but owing to an unfavourable change in the weather this was found impossible. Two days afterwards it was ascertained from a captured vessel that the transport schuyts fitting at Flushing were proceeding immediately by the canals to Ostend and Dunkirk, and both Popham and Coote were convinced of the necessity of making the attempt at once ' even under an increased degree of risk.' At the time this decision was arrived at, the weather appeared more favourable, and Popham therefore signalled to the *Harpy* (Captain Bazeley) to go ahead with the vessels appointed to lie as beacons N.W. of the town of Ostend, and for the *Ariadne* (Captain Bradby) ' to keep between the *Expedition* and *Harpy* ' that he ' might approach as near the coast as possible without the chance of being discovered from the shore.' [2]

At 1 a.m. on the 19th the squadron reached its intended anchorage, but the wind shifting to the west, and blowing hard, raised a heavy surf on the shore. While deliberating whether to put to sea and await a more favourable opportunity or not, the *Vigilant*, an armed lugger, succeeded in cutting out a pilot-boat from under the Lighthouse battery. From the examination of those on board it was learnt that

[1] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 346.

[2] Popham's Despatch, ' London Gazette,' 22nd May, 1798.

Ostend, Nieuport, and Bruges were only held by small garrisons, and Coote, therefore, begged that the troops might be landed, trusting that the weather would moderate sufficiently for their safe re-embarkation. To this spirited proposal Popham at once agreed, and without waiting for the pre-arranged order of debarkation, the men were landed as speedily as possible on the sand-hills three miles east of Ostend Harbour.

So successfully was this accomplished, that the enemy were not aware of their presence until some hours afterwards, and it was not until a quarter past four in the morning that the Ostend batteries opened fire on the ships, which was instantly replied to by the three nearest gun-vessels, *Wolverine*, *Asp*, and *Biter*. Soon afterwards the bomb-ketches, *Hecla* and *Tartarus*, commenced throwing their shells with great quickness and precision into the town, setting it on fire in several places, and inflicting considerable damage on the ships lying in the Basin. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, with the exception of those in the *Minerva* which had parted company during the previous night, were on shore with their artillery, miners, petards, gunpowder, and other materials for blowing up the canal gates.

Before six o'clock Coote had expressed his confidence in being able to blow up the sluices, but owing to the state of the weather Popham records that he became ' very anxious for the situation,' and in consequence all the gun-vessels that had anchored to the eastward of the town, were instructed to get as near the shore as possible to cover and assist the troops. In the meantime the enemy's batteries had kept up an

incessant fire on the *Wolverine*, *Asp*, and *Biter*; and as the *Wolverine* had been much damaged, and the *Asp* had been for four hours gallantly holding her own within 300 yards of the battery, Popham signalled for them to move farther out. The *Dart*, *Harpy*, and *Kite* were ordered to take their stations so that the enemy should be kept occupied, and prevented from turning his guns against the troops, but owing to the low water the ships were unable to draw in close enough to render effective aid.[1] As a feint to cover the operation of bringing up the mines a summons was sent to the commandant of Ostend to surrender the town.

In spite of considerable opposition from a strong body of sharpshooters Major-General Burrard, with four companies of Light Infantry of the Guards; the 23rd and 49th Grenadiers, and two six-pounders succeeded in seizing the approaches to the harbour; while the Grenadiers of the 11th and 23rd Regiments, with the guns, were posted at the Lower Ferry to prevent the enemy crossing the harbour from Ostend. A detachment of Colonel Campbell's company of the Guards, with the Grenadiers of the 49th Regiment, were posted at the Upper Ferry for the same purpose; and the rest of Colonel Campbell's company, with three other companies of the Guards, took up positions at the sluices and country around. To cover the retreat of the troops, if pressed, the 11th Regiment were posted along a ditch to the S.E.; while the Light Infantry companies of the 11th and 23rd Regiments occupied the village of Bredene and extended to the Blakenburg road near the sea.[2] The greater part of

[1] Popham's Despatch.

[2] Coote's Despatch, 'London Gazette,' 21st July, 1798.

the 23rd Regiment remained on board the ships stationed to the westward of the town, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and, if opportunity offered, to land and spike the guns on the town works.

At 9.30 a.m. the *Minerva* anchored, having on board the four Light Companies of the 1st Regiment of Foot under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Warde. It was thought, however, that this additional number of troops would only add to Coote's anxiety, besides the little probability of being able to embark them, and Popham sent her commander, Captain McKellar, on shore to report their arrival. In his absence, Warde, with pardonable zeal and courage, filled two flat-bottomed boats with officers and men, and without considering the danger he would be exposed to in crossing the surf, endeavoured to land them. As the boats drew near the *Ariadne*, Captain Bradby fortunately saw the risk they were running, and succeeded in persuading Warde to return immediately to the *Minerva*, thereby averting what probably would have been a serious disaster.[1]

Soon after this the party of seamen and soldiers who had been landed under the command of Captain Winthrop, with the assistance of Lieutenant Brownrigg of the Royal Engineers, had completed their plans, and by 10.20 a.m. the locks and sluices were successfully blown up, and several vessels of considerable burden intended for transporting troops, were burned in the canal near the sluices.[2]

Having now accomplished the great object of the expedition, the troops made haste to return to the beach,

[1] Popham's Despatch, 'London Gazette,' 22nd May, 1798.
[2] Popham's Despatch.

which they succeeded in regaining by 11 a.m. with the trifling loss of five killed and wounded. Popham hoped to have re-embarked them all by midday, but the wind and surf increased to such an extent that it was found impossible to take off a single man. All communication with the fleet being nearly cut off, Coote attempted to embark some companies, but the boats filled with water, and the men's lives were only saved with extreme difficulty. Anxious for the safety of his force, and in the hope that the wind would moderate by the following day, Coote took up a position on the sand-hills near the coast with his back to the sea. Under the guidance of Lieutenant Brownrigg breastworks were hastily constructed, and the few field-pieces and howitzer were planted on the most favourable spots. In this position the troops lay on their arms throughout the day and night, impatiently waiting for a favourable opportunity to get back to the ships, an opportunity which unfortunately never presented itself. During the night the wind increased in violence, and about four o'clock the next morning two strong columns of the enemy were perceived advancing on their front, and others upon their flanks, having been hastily collected from Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk. The action which followed was maintained with great gallantry for two hours, and it was not until Coote himself had been severely wounded in an attempt to rally the 11th Regiment, and both his flanks had been completely turned, that the helplessness of the position became apparent, and it was decided to capitulate. True to their traditions the Artillery worked their guns to the last moment, finally spiking their pieces and throwing them over the bank as the French poured

in upon them.[1] The English losses then amounted to 163 killed and wounded (including 2 naval officers and 14 seamen), and the prisoners totalled 1134 officers and men (including Captain McKellar of the *Minerva*). The heavy sea which was running prevented Popham, who had witnessed the action from the *Kite*, from rendering any assistance, and as soon as the troops surrendered he ordered all the ships to anchor farther out.

Then, as in 1918, the carrying out of such offensive measures as this acted as a splendid tonic to the nation, besides worrying the enemy and keeping him in a constant state of alarum. In spite of the unfortunate ending of the expedition, Popham's policy was supported by Dundas at the War Office and Lord Spencer at the Admiralty, both of whom were strong advocates for a vigorous offensive war on the enemy's coasts. An attack on the Scheldt or Flushing flotilla was to have followed that on Ostend, and Popham's memorandum on this subject is still extant.[2] Contemporary opinion on such a policy finds its expression in a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville written a few days after the event. 'I am extremely happy in the success of your very important and very well digested attempt upon Ostend,' he wrote. 'The arrangements and the secrecy do great honour to Government, and I trust that you will be encouraged to persevere in this offensive war, which is the only real defensive war. You know how much I have groaned over the want of desultory attempts on the Flemish and Dutch coasts, and you will judge how

[1] Burrard's Despatch, 'London Gazette,' 21st July, 1798.
[2] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. 355-6.

much I have been gratified by the complete success of this blow. I call it complete, for the subsequent misfortune could not have been foreseen, was not necessarily connected with the blow, and, even if it were so, must have been met with your eyes open, and faced for an object so important as that which you have accomplished.' [1]

On account of the capitulation of the troops engaged, there has been a tendency in the past to minimise the importance of the expedition, but the publication of Popham's letters and instructions by the Navy Records Society [2] has thrown much new and valuable light on this little-known episode in English naval history. In the words of Sir Julian Corbett, it appears now as 'a thoroughly well-designed, and brilliantly-executed enterprise,' and it seems beyond doubt 'that the blow did prevent such a concentration by inland waters as had been intended.' [3] In announcing the facts of the case to Parliament, the Government rendered every possible justice to the conduct of the forces engaged, and Huskisson at the War Office, in a letter to Sir Charles Grey, laid the whole blame of the mishap upon the Admiralty.[4] It was certainly not a little hard for Popham to reflect that but for their extraordinary attitude at first, the enterprise would have been carried out in a spell of fine weather with scarcely any loss of *personnel.*

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Fortescue MSS., iv. 218.

[2] 'Spencer Papers,' ii. (Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii.), ed. by Sir Julian Corbett, 1914.

[3] Navy Rec. Soc. xlviii. p. 225.

[4] Fortescue, 4, i. 589.

ADMIRAL SIR HOME RIGGS POPHAM

From A. Cardon's engraving of the portrait by Mather Brown, published in 1806

JOURNALISM IN THE DAYS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

In the history of English journalism during the seventeenth century, the name of John Dillingham occupies a prominent position, yet until 'The Times' a few years ago reprinted one of his articles on 'The Last Hours of Charles I,'[1] very few people had heard of his name, and probably fewer still of his News-books. Even in the Dictionary of National Biography he fails to find a place, but as a fearless and outspoken critic, and one of the originators of the leading article in English journalism, he certainly deserves a niche.

Of his early years nothing is known, though it is believed that he was the son of Thomas Dillingham, rector of Barnwell All Saints, Northamptonshire, who died in 1618. This belief is supported by the fact that the patron of the living was Lord Montagu of Boughton, to whose family John Dillingham seems to have been a sort of Admirable Crichton, filling the dual rôle of family tailor and news-writer with equal facility. The earliest mention of him occurs in 1638 as a 'tailor' living in Whitefriars,[2] and early in 1639, when Lord Montagu was summoned to attend the King at York, with six armed horsemen, it was Dillingham who punctiliously insisted on supplying them with red breeches to their buff coats, 'because otherwise, being country fellows,

[1] 'Times,' 30th January, 1926.

[2] Cal. S. P. Dom. 1637-38, p. 591.

they will not be so neatly habited as the other Lords' men.' [1]

Curious as it may seem, apprenticeship in a cobbler's shop, or any other trade,[2] seems to have been considered a fitting prelude to a journalistic career, and among the writings of his fellow-journalists numerous references (not always of a complimentary nature) are to be found to Dillingham's trade. Some idea of his journalistic activities and position may be gained from a reference to one of his contemporaries, the notorious Marchamont Needham, who in 1650, was said to have ' grown such a Dillingham, such a Taylour of News.' [3]

The services of the professional writer of letters of news were much sought after during the first half of the seventeenth century, and among the Montagu manuscripts there are two long news-letters from Dillingham, dated 1639 and 1640,[4] giving a full account of the military affairs on the continent, similar to the printed ' corantos ' of the day. In considering the position of the news-writer at this period, it is necessary to remember that England was without any printed periodical of domestic intelligence until the end of 1641, and that up to 1648 there was only one post a week.

During the years 1641 and 1642 there is a most interesting series of letters from Dillingham to his friend and patron, Lord Montagu, which are particu-

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. ; Buccleuch MSS. 1, 283.

[2] Among others we may mention that Gilbert Mabbott, journalist and licenser, was a cobbler's son, and Henry Walker an apprentice to an ironmonger.

[3] Williams, ' Hist. of English Journalism,' p. 48 n.

[4] Hist. MSS. Commission ; MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 120-1, 125-6.

larly valuable to the historian, revealing as they do the widening breach between Charles and his Parliament on the eve of the Civil War. Writing on 6th November, 1641, in reference to the endeavour to remove the King's ' evil counsellors,' he says :

This week affords great and unexpected news, and such as is like to prove heavy to this Kingdom. To pass by the answers of the Lords to the business chiefly desired by the House of Commons, which if not timely prevented, will sure prove a great distemper in the Kingdom, and my faith tells me will fall heaviest upon them, that against judgment, for self honours and ends, speak for the continuance of that which hath been the cause of so much misery past, and will (if continued) first or last, be the rock upon which our religion and liberties are like to be shipwrecked.[1]

The trade of the City was seriously hampered by the growing discontent, so much so that Dillingham wrote a few weeks later that ' the citizens have debated and resolved, in case things take not issue suddenly, to shut up shops and desist trade, which, if three or four hundred should do, all will grow into confusion suddenly. There is now (he significantly added) nothing sought for so much as guns and trimming up of old ones.' [2] The incidents connected with the impeachment of the Bishops, and the King's dramatic attempt to arrest the Five Members, are vividly described in a further letter to Lord Montagu. On the 4th January, 1642, Dillingham wrote :

The Commons came to the House, and the Five Men with them, and when it was about twelve o'clock,

[1] Hist. MSS. Commission; MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 132.

[2] Ibid., 139.

they had notice that the King would come with some hundreds to take those men by force. They understanding, went away, and presently the King came with some four hundred, about a hundred of his own servants, and all the rest captains and other broken and desperate fortuned men. These accompanied His Majesty, who for haste went in a hackney coach, but when he came into the Commons' House, he looked about, and found none of them. 'What,' said he, 'are all the birds flown? Well I will find them,' and so departed.

On learning that they had sought refuge in the City, Charles set out in search of them, and in this same letter Dillingham furnishes a graphic description of the King's last appearance in the City, where his Majesty 'had the worst day in London that ever he had, the people crying "privilege of parliament" by thousands, and prayed God to turn the heart of the King, shutting up their shops, and standing at their doors with swords and halberds.' The unfortunate Lord Mayor, for his complaisant conduct on this occasion, Dillingham informs us, was severely maltreated—'the citizens' wives fell upon him, and pulled his chain from his neck, and called him traitor to the City, and to the liberties of it, and had like to have torn him and the Recorder in pieces.' [1]

The historical value of Dillingham's letters is enhanced when we remember that in describing events such as these he was probably an eye-witness, for at that time he was living in Bolt and Tun Yard, in Fleet Street—then, as now, evidently the home of journalism. At the end of January, 1642, the Commons passed a stringent order levelled against the liberty of the press,

[1] Montagu MSS., 139-41.

and in April, Dillingham reported that 'the printers being frighted, the diurnals cease, which though to me trouble yet joy, for I endure not news common'; meaning that with the suspension of the journals, his own news-letters (which, of course, were outside the activities of the censor) would be more eagerly sought after by his friends and patrons in the country.

Like many other Englishmen, Dillingham had fervent hopes that the differences between King and Parliament might be amicably settled, and that the catastrophe of Civil War would be averted. Even at the eleventh hour he thus closes a gossipy letter to his friend, Lord Montagu: 'I think,' he writes, 'the future times will be as a family in which is a froward wife; we may brale and scold, but there will be few blows, only a continual dropping, so that little will grow, but were we shut of our scandalous ministers, and rotten heads of colleges, we should grow unanimous and much better.' A month later, however, he is not so sanguine. The King's message to Parliament on 7th May he reported:

was high, and higher than any before. He demands justice against Hotham,[1] quotes Pym in several places, and appeals to them whether ever any of his predecessors were used as he hath been, and said they talked of a malignant party, but it was sure with them.

This was the momentous occasion when Charles concluded his address to the House with an extract from Pym's famous speech at the trial of Strafford: 'If the prerogative of the King overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy;

[1] Sir John Hotham who refused to open the gates of Hull.

and,' added Charles, 'so we say into confusion.' In the debate which followed, Dillingham states 'that the Commons fell not short, but one of them said sure this message was from some ordinary man, not from the King, and if [it was] it were not fit he wore the Crown longer.' This attack on Charles was made by Sir Henry Ludlow, the member for Wiltshire, who was rebuked by the Speaker for his remarks. In the same letter Dillingham states that the House 'resolved upon an answer, and some moved that the answer give His Majesty to know what hath been done to other Kings for less faults than his, and that if he comply not, they must be constrained to proceed to a new Election.' [1]

It will be seen from the tone of the House that the crisis was fast approaching to a head. The long struggle between Charles and his Parliament for the command of the Militia, ended on the 5th of May by the passing of the Militia ordinance, and on 10th May, Dillingham informs us that both Houses adjourned 'to see the first fruits of the Militia of London in Finsbury Fields'—a review of the London trained bands, 8000 strong.

A month later he reports still further military measures in consequence of the success attending the King's activities in the North. At the beginning of June a committee of both Houses was appointed :

To consider of a way, which, as I am informed, is to raise voluntary horse, and that as many as come in, and they under the command of my Lord of Essex, to march and take to them the trained bands of Lincoln, Yorkshire, and other near counties, and there to do

[1] Montagu MSS., 151-2.

what you may guess. . . . Yesterday (June 8) certain propositions were made from the Commons to the Lords for raising of horse and foot for defence of the Parliament and Kingdom, and that because preparations and arms were multiplied in a secret way by the ill-affected to the Parliament, and his Majesty did persist in his way of raising men, etc.[1]

With this letter, Dillingham's correspondence with Lord Montagu unfortunately ceases, and during the Civil War his letters give place to his news-books, the name by which all English periodicals were known during the seventeenth century. These were really small quarto pamphlets, usually consisting of eight pages, and appearing once a week. On the 14th June, 1643, an ordinance was passed establishing a board of licensers to deal with their supervision,[2] and it is of particular interest to note that the first news-book to be licensed under the new Act was written by Dillingham and entitled, *The Parliament Scout ; Communicating his Intelligence to the Kingdome.* This was printed by G. Bishop and R. White, and bore the date 20th-27th June, 1643.

In a leading article, Dillingham thus sets out the object of his news-book :

Having perused an Ordinance of Parliament, I perceive a generall prohibiting of printing anything but what is licensed, which had it been agreed unto sooner, would have prevented many inconveniences that have befallen the Parliament. . . . And considering withall the condition the Kingdome now stands in, when the Times is the only study, and that then I finde a necessity, that a right intelligence be kept and imparted

[1] Montagu MSS., p. 153.
[2] Williams, ' Eng. Journalism,' 45.

throughout the Kingdome, of the proceedings of the Parliament, and their Armies, to the end the well-affected party, who are willing to sacrifice life and fortune for their Religion and Liberty, and the good of the King and Kingdome, may from time to time be informed and receive encouragement.

By virtue of his news-book, Dillingham for the time being became leader of the Parliamentary press, and for a period of eighteen months the ' Parliament Scout ' was published regularly every Thursday, and does not appear to have had any serious rival. From his letters we have seen that Dillingham was an outspoken critic on matters of national importance, and the same fearless and independent spirit was shown in the production of the ' Parliament Scout.' A Presbyterian, and a bitter enemy of Laud, he was unfortunately unorthodox in his views, and a contemporary Presbyterian critic, with a certain degree of truth, said of him that he was ' so pragmaticall, that he thinks he can teach Parliament how to order State affairs, the Ministry how to frame their prayers and begin their sermons.' [1]

His extreme views naturally brought him into conflict with the authorities, and within a fortnight of Laud's execution in 1645, he devoted a leading article to the debate on Church government, in which he wrote :

This day (23rd January) the House of Commons debated the business of Church Government . . . but the great debate was whether this Church Government is *Jure Divino*, and whether subject to the Civill power. The first was resolved in the negative, the latter in the affirmative ; and indeed it were sad if discipline should once be strecht to *Jure Divino*. Its true, we had dayes in which sometimes this, then that, was *Jure Divino*,

[1] Cambridge, ' Hist. of Eng. Lit.,' vii. 349.

but now we are grown wiser, and set upon a form of Church government that is *alterable*.[1]

Compared with modern-day journalism such language may seem absurdly mild, but not so in Cromwell's day. On the 30th January, complaint was made to the House of Lords ' of a scandalous pamphlet entitled the ' Parliament Scout,' wherein is a great defamation of the Honour of the Lord General,' and in consequence it was ' ordered that the Printer and Author should be found, taken into custody, and brought before the House.' [2]

Dillingham made no effort to evade the order, and on the following day it was ordered that both ' the author and printer should remain in custody till to-morrow morning, and then this House will take the business into consideration.' The House, however, had other and more urgent business to attend to, and three weeks later we find Dillingham and his printer still in custody and petitioning the Lords for their discharge. In his petition, Dillingham states that he ' was summoned some weeks since to attend the House to his prejudice in his employment,' and that he was ' very sorry that anything said by him should cause offence.' [3] The decision of the House is not recorded, but it is evident that Dillingham was released immediately afterwards, although the ' Parliament Scout ' was suppressed.

Before giving an account of its successor, ' The Moderate Intelligencer,' we must briefly mention another important periodical which Dillingham helped to start in 1644. This was ' Le Mercure Anglois,' a

[1] No. 84 ; 23-30 January, 1645.
[2] Lords, ' Journals,' vii. 164.
[3] Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept., 6, p. 48.

news-book (or, to be more precise, a newspaper) which occupies a prominent position in the literature of the Civil War, and incidentally marks a journalistic development of considerable importance between England and France. Associated with Dillingham in the enterprise was one John Cotgrave [1] (probably a nephew of Randle Cotgrave the famous lexicographer), a man of undoubted literary ability. The principal object of 'Le Mercure Anglois' was to provide a weekly account of English affairs in French for the benefit of foreigners and merchants desirous of sending news overseas. Consisting of four small, closely printed pages, it was published on the same day as the 'Parliament Scout,' and printed by the same printer. At first there was some doubt whether the enterprise would prove successful, and trial numbers appeared on the 7th and 13th June, 1644. The result entirely justified the experiment, and on the 10th July, the day before the publication of No. 3, the printer placarded the City with the following notice. A copy of the original bill, the actual printing on which only occupies about four square inches, is still in existence, and on account of its unique character, being probably the earliest known newsagent's bill, it is worthy of being given in full [2]:

These are to signifie, that all Merchants and others, that are desirous weekly to impart beyond Seas, the certain condition of affaires here, and of the proceed-

[1] The Royalist periodical, 'Man in the Moon,' No. 26, Oct. 1649, speaks of Dillingham as 'coupled to another of the same breed, called Codgrave, that can read French and translate Foreign news.' Cotgrave was the author of 'The English Treasury of Wit' and 'Wit's Interpreter,' both published in 1655.

[2] British Museum, E. 54 (13).

ings of the War ; they shall have it weekly published in Print, in the French Tongue, and every Thursday at nine of the clocke in the morning : the Reader may have them (if he please) at Master Bourne's shop at the Old Exchange : the Title of the thing is Le Mercure Anglois, which a while since was begun and continued for two or three weekes, and finding it much desired, during these three weekes past, that the publishing of it (through some occasions) was discontinued : It shall for the future be continued according to the most certaine, and impartiall Relations of affaires here, to come out at the time and place aforesaid.

The writer was at a loss to know what to call the periodical, as the curious expression ' the title of the thing ' clearly shows. A sheet of four pages, it failed to come under the category of either a pamphlet or news-book, and was in reality a ' newspaper.' On comparing it with the ' Parliament Scout ' and ' Moderate Intelligencer ' it is evident that by a mutual arrangement Cotgrave copied and condensed the matter appearing in them for ' Le Mercure Anglois,' and in return, Dillingham was supplied with translations of foreign intelligence—a special feature of his periodicals. The following extract from the editorial in the first number of ' Le Mercure Anglois,' dated 7th June, 1644, is not without interest :

La principale chose qui m'induit à entreprendre cet œuvre est l'amour de verité desirant que les nations estrangères soyent deüment informées touchant les procedeures du Parleament et de la guerre d'Angleterre, et plus speciallement pour donner satisfaction aux Eglises reformées par toute la chrétienté, la prosperité et bonheur desquelles dépend en quelque sorte des bonnes procedures, et succez du Parlement d'Angleterre assemblé à Westmester.

For over four years ' Le Mercure Anglois ' continued to appear, but its career was not without incident, and a contemporary records that on account of its ' lavish expressions ' it was at ' divers times called in.' The last number bore the date 7/17 December-14/24 December, 1648, by which time the Civil War had virtually ended, and the need for its existence was, apparently, no longer considered necessary. The whole issue, comprising two slim quarto volumes, is to be seen among the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum.[1]

We must now retrace our steps a few years to the time of the suppression of the ' Parliament Scout.' On the 22nd February, 1645, Dillingham had expressed contrition to the House for his offending article, and was discharged from custody. Although his first news-book after a short voyage had been wrecked in the turbulent waters of religious controversy, another was ready to take its place, and within five days of his discharge, Dillingham had launched ' The Moderate Intelligencer Impartially Communicating Martiall Affaires to the Kingdome of England.' The first number, printed by the same printer, Robert White, and published on Thursdays, bore the date 27th February-6th March, 1645, and consisted of eight pages small quarto. The opening editorial, from which we quote the following, shows Dillingham in a somewhat chastened mood :

The Treaties between His Majesty of England, His Parliaments of England, and Scotland, not succeeding this winter, gives full and cleare demonstration, that the Warre is like to be prosecuted ; give leave to a

[1] E. 1252, 1253.

new Title, with the renewing the Warre, which represent an extract weekly of such things as come to knowledge, and are fit for publike view . . . which shall ever be according to intelligence, and without invectives.

The mention of the word invectives, reminds us that most of the authors of the news-books of the Civil War did not hesitate to attack each other whenever the opportunity offered. John Cleveland, the famous Cavalier poet and wit of St. John's College, Cambridge, thus satirised Dillingham in 1647 [1]:

He is the Countryman's chronicler and he sings 'Io Peans' to his Muse, as to the Rusticke Dieties. He is the citizen's harbinger and saveth him the labour of walking on the Change to heare newes. He is the epitome of Wit, and is contracted in so small a circumference that you may draw him through a loophole or shoot him as a pellet out of an Eldergun—and though he tell lies by the grosse, yet he would have the Booke-turners of this isle to believe that he useth moderation. . . . He will tell you his Majesty is in health, is merry, plaies at Chesse etc. And then he will comment on his actions, and wish he had never lent his eares to evill councellors. . . . That he is yet minded to weare his Crowne, and not to prostrate it and himselfe at the feet of his vassals. The Diurnall and he are confederate, and resolve to utter nothing but perfumed breath.

In spite of the caustic wit of Cleveland, and the sharp thrusts of other contemporaries, Dillingham, who at heart was a Royalist, found enough support for the 'Moderate Intelligencer' to continue it until after the end of the war. His pen was always ready to

[1] 'Character of a Moderate Intelligencer.'

champion a popular cause, and when the famous agitator, John Lilburne, was sent to the Tower without trial in 1648, he devoted a leader to denouncing the proceedings in the 'Moderate Intelligencer.' Thoroughly disgusted with his own party he concluded with the following [1]:

Upon the whole, fully agreed by both judges, Lieut. Col. Lilburne was sent back to the Tower, they declaring it was against law for them either to baile him, or set him at libertie. If the case be thus then :—Dieu nous donne les Parlements briefe, Rois de vie longue.

This scrap of French, sharp and incisive as it was, proved the beginning of long feud between Dillingham and Gilbert Mabbott, the licenser. The son of a Nottingham cobbler, Mabbott had come to London and found employment as clerk to John Rushworth, who was appointed licenser in 1644. In March, 1646, Mabbott succeeded to the post, but his name is only rendered conspicuous by the personal attacks which he levelled against the King—whose death he desired and clamoured for.[2] It is evident, however, from Dillingham's writings that the idea of any personal attack on the king was repulsive, and it was really his undisguised loyalty to the Crown that caused him to be persecuted. By inserting the French phrase in his news-book, Dillingham had not unwittingly stolen a march on his adversary, for Mabbott did not understand a word of French. When the real significance of the phrase was explained to him some weeks later,

[1] No. 164. 4th May-11th May, 1648. Lilburne was rearrested on a charge of sedition, 20th January, 1648, came before the King's Bench Bar on 8th May, and was not released till the following August from the Tower

[2] Williams, pp. 66-7.

he was furious and refused in future to license Dillingham's copy. Thereupon Dillingham petitioned the House of Lords on 23rd June, 1648, stating that he had :

for three years past, at great cost and pains, collected the martial actions of Christendom, which he had published weekly under the title of the Moderate Intelligencer. The licenser has this week refused to license petitioner's copy, and has licensed another man's by the same title. Prays that his copy may be licensed for time coming, and none other by that name.

Mabbott, on his part, stated ' that about the 8th May last, Dillingham malignantly and to the dishonour of Parliament wrote this passage of French therein : Dieu nous donnes les Parlyaments briefe, Rois de vie longue,' and did not send the sheet for his perusal. He explained that he wrote to Dillingham ' requiring him in his next book to vindicate the honour of Parliament, and crave pardon for that malignant expression,' but that Dillingham had ' ever since refused so to do.' [1]

With the connivance of Robert White, the printer, Mabbott had brought out the ' Moderate Intelligencer ' himself, under the name of the ' Moderate,' numbering it 171, and dating the issue 23rd-29th June. Not content with this, he actually prefaced it with this astounding falsehood : ' I have laid down my former title of ' Moderate Intelligencer,' and do go by another, viz. the ' Moderate.' [2]

Upon reading Dillingham's petition the House of Lords decided in his favour, and it was ' ordered that

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rept., 7, p. 33. The issue actually bears Mabbott's imprimatur.

[2] Williams, p. 104.

the licenser, Mr. Mabbott, shall license the petitioner's book for time to come, and none other by that name.' [1] No action appears to have been taken about the French phrase, and after his petition Dillingham transferred his news-book to another printer. In spite of the Lords' decision Mabbott continued to publish the 'Moderate' on the same day (Thursday) as the 'Moderate Intelligencer,' the number for 6th/13th July falsely stating: 'This is the true Moderate Intelligencer.' Finally, Dillingham was forced to lay his case before the House of Lords again, and on the 23rd September, 1648, he stated that [2]:

On a former petition the House ordered that none but petitioner should use the title 'Moderate Intelligencer,' yet notwithstanding a book railing against the King and Parliament passes under that title, one word only being left out, which is a great dishonour to Parliament, and a great prejudice to petitioner, who, on account of the title is supposed to be the author, and threatened therefore by some to be killed, by others to be beaten. Prays that no one may use title in part or whole.

As a result of this petition it was 'ordered that enquiry be made who is the author of the pamphlet entitled "The Moderate," wherein the King and Parliament is much dishonoured, and upon discovery of him, he is to be attached and brought before this House, to be proceeded against according to justice.' Of special gratification to the petitioner must have

[1] Lords, 'Journals,' x. 345. Mabbott has been aptly described as 'a shameless liar and an ignoble and cowardly wretch' who persistently clamoured for the execution of Charles I, and even at the time of the King's death, made foul accusations against him. (Williams, 105.)

[2] Hist. MSS. Com. Rept., 7, p. 53.

been the proviso of the House 'that Mr. Dillingham be assistant to the gentleman usher herein.' Unfortunately the official records are extraordinarily silent regarding the subsequent proceedings, though, as we shall see, the end of both Mabbott and his newsbook was fast approaching.[1]

By 1648 the majority of Englishmen were weary of the war, and were anxious for reconciliation, although the army had made up its mind that Charles should not be restored. While Fairfax and Cromwell were fighting, the Houses opened up negotiations with the King, then in the Isle of Wight, which negotiations bear the name of the Treaty of Newport. In the midst of his quarrel with Mabbott, Dillingham found time to send a very interesting letter to Lord Montagu,[2] which clearly shows how the treaty was destined to be still-born through the distrust which both parties evinced to it. On the 21st September, 1648, he writes :

We have our eyes here fixt upon the treaty as that which will end troubles, when, God knows, scarce a heart is for it. For his Majesty and his party, they cannot be willing, because they know the Parliament will not so come up to them that they may sway all as before without control. For confirmation of that, an extraordinary hand from the Isle of Wight writes they expect no more but a spinning out of time. For the Parliament, they are so fearful that vengeance be taken of them by King and people, that they think they can never lock fast enough, and yet do they not in the least

[1] Lords, 'Journals,' x. 508. On 7th May, 1649, the Council of State definitely decided to discharge Mabbott from his post, and suppress the 'Moderate.'

[2] Montagu MSS. (Hist. MSS. C.), 163-4. The first Lord Montagu of Boughton had died in 1644.

labour to content any party. The army, heightened by victories and successes, profess no less than a new government to be framed. The impediments they slight as the treaty. The conjunction of the several parties in Scotland makes for them, for they seek but a quarrel to shut that back door for ever and reduce it into two provinces, the wild and the tame, which nature hath almost set. . . . The City of London tame as a lamb, having run themselves out of breath by following fools blindfold. . . . From all this I suppose your honour will see a private country life is best at present. One writ thus to me of no small knowledge in the motion of the great wheels—' I believe all the power visible and plots invisible shall not bring K. C. or any of his to sit upon the throne again, no, though a committee was made and Jac. Dill[ingham] had the chair.'

He then concludes his letter with a particularly human touch, which clearly shows that he had not quite forsaken his original calling:[1] ' I have made the gentlemen your sons two coats of frieze and this Saturday I carry them suits. If I find Mr. Edward desirous of another coat I will make him one trimmed with silver lace for Sundays, or some other garment that shall please him.' It is to be hoped that ' Mr. Edward ' duly received his coat ' trimmed with silver lace,' and that in the peaceful seclusion of his beloved Boughton he found life pleasanter and sweeter than did Jack Dillingham in London a few months later, when Cromwell's army entered into occupation.

In spite of this, the ' Moderate Intelligencer ' con-

[1] A letter written from Northampton expresses a hope for the ' speedy conclusion of Peace . . . and that the Moderate Intelligencer may return to his trade, which I fear he hath almost forgotten.' (Cambridge, ' Hist. Eng. Lit.,' vii. 349.)

tinued to appear, and when the King's execution took place at Whitehall on the 30th January, 1649, Dillingham wrote a graphic and full account of the tragic event in the issue of 1st February.[1] This account, vivid and pathetic as it is, reveals the composed and heroic figure of the King in his last hours, and was reprinted in ' The Times ' of 30th January, 1926.

The vicissitudes of the various news-books at this period are extremely difficult to follow, but the ' Moderate ' finally came to an end on 25th September, 1649. On the 1st of October in that year an Act came into force which suppressed the whole of the licensed press, and in their place two, and later three, official journals were issued by command of the Commonwealth. In consequence, 4th October, 1649, was the last issue of Dillingham's news-book.

This suppression of the licensed press continued till the end of June, 1650, after which date the various news-books began to reappear. As many of their authors and printers had suffered imprisonment, it is only natural that a certain reluctance should have been shown to re-entering the journalistic arena. At length, chafed by his own inactivity, and stung into action by the depths to which most of the press had sunk, Dillingham made an effort to revive his news-book in December, 1652. His leader on this occasion took the form of an apologia, in which he wrote [2] :

Awakened once more by the sadnesse of the Times, I presume to thrust my impartial Mercury upon the stage of the World again. The abuses of the Intelligence are such, that my wearied pen could no longer forbear to run the hazard of its Truth, and castigate

[1] No. 202. [2] No. 166. 1st December-8th December, 1652.

the looser transgressions of the Presse, which seemes enslaved to the drudgery of every mercenary relation. But the Age is so desperate an adorer of novelties, that it embracies newes in any language, or under any colour. Every man hath his peculiar fancy, and if that be tickled, no matter where the truth lies.

Though nearly three hundred years have passed since this sentence was penned, the truth of it is as pregnant to-day as it was under the regime of Cromwell. A concluding word of warning to his enemies is a typical example of the pugnacity with which the news-book of the period was conducted : ' If a sequestrator fall into my sheet,' Dillingham wrote, ' let him not look to be wrapped up in innocency ; if an oppressor drop into my compasse, let him expect his ten in the hundred.'

In spite of the fact that Dillingham had altered the publication day of the ' Moderate Intelligencer ' to Wednesday, it only appears to have survived four issues, the last bearing the date 29th December. The reason for this is undoubtedly to be found in the passing of the Printing and Printers' Act in January, 1653, which dealt a heavy blow at the liberty of the press, and drove the printers almost out of existence, Dillingham's printer, Robert Wood, being among the many who suffered imprisonment. A final effort was made to revive the ' Moderate Intelligencer ' in May, 1653, its day being altered to Monday, this time with more success. The new issue (called No. 1) bore the date 2nd May-9th May, and continued until 10th May, 1654, the latter issues, which appeared on Wednesdays, being ' Printed for George Horton,' who had been arrested under the Act of 1653, and imprisoned

for five and a half months.[1] The year 1654 evidently witnessed the end of Dillingham's journalistic career, and it is fitting that it should have closed at this period, for by an ordinance of 28th August, 1655 (the inquisitorial methods of which it would be difficult to equal), Cromwell once again brought about the suppression of the whole of the licensed press.[2]

It is not until after the restoration of the monarchy that we meet with Dillingham again. On the 26th May, 1664, he sends to his friend Lord Montagu, from London, a long letter, from which we extract the following[3] :

I have with my best eyes lookt over this great city, not, I think, inferior to any in Christendom for bigness, as now increased. I found nothing the same as of old but my friends still loving me ; my relations so declined that my son and your honour's tailor not only worse 500 l. than nought.

Most of the year was occupied with maritime preparations, for war with the Dutch was imminent, and Dillingham furnished Lord Montagu with a graphic account of the proceedings :

His Majesty is returned from his first visit of his navy, having ordered thirteen sail to be forthwith at sea, and thirty after. . . . The preparations are represented great beyond imagination. . . . We take on ten thousand sea and land soldiers, as if we intended a Lepanto fight. . . . Ten of old Noll's [Cromwell's]

[1] Williams, 150-2, 255. The career of the ' Moderate Intelligencer ' during this period appears to have been uneventful.

[2] C.S.P. Commonwealth, 1655, pp. 300-1. The suppression continued until 1659.

[3] Lord Montagu of Beaulieu MSS., 166.

captains are entertained. My Lord of Sandwich [1] [Lord Montagu's cousin] wisheth the fight better than ribbons or feathers. If we go on you will see Hinchingbrooke topped gallantly.

He then concludes this letter—the last that has been preserved, and the only one in which he mentions his family or any personal details—with the following :

It was so hot in London, and my purse so near empty, that I shift down this week, and in regard the carrier was full, I pass with Oundle coach, and Sunday will visit all my kindred. My servant will Monday morning bring me a horse from Boughton that I may come back upon [it] to kiss your honour's hand before I pass North.

And so passes John Dillingham from the busy turmoil of the metropolis on his journey north. We may assume that the last few years of his life were spent in peaceful seclusion among his kith and kin in the neighbourhood of Barnwell. What pursuits he indulged in, or where he died, we do not know, but we should like to associate his name with a project which reveals its donor as a man of kindly personality, whose interests in calmer days were far removed from the troubled waters of journalism. This was the foundation of a Riding Academy in Leicester, by John Dillingham, who towards the end of January, 1672, gave to the Mayor and Aldermen of Leicester a sum of '£185 per annum (upon which is £500 Mortgage), which is to be taken of and the remainder to be disposed of for erecting an Academy in Leicester for to teach

[1] Sandwich was appointed Rear-Admiral in this fleet, and greatly distinguished himself. He was killed in the Battle of Sole Bay, 1672.

young gentlemen to Ryde the Great Horse; fence; vault and other exercises.'[1] Among those appointed to see the project carried through was Lord Montagu, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, a circumstance which is strongly in favour of the donor being John Dillingham, sometime tailor, letter-writer, and journalist of the Civil War and Commonwealth.

[1] Leicester Records, iv. 525.

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