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NAVAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
INCLUDING THE
HISTORY AND LIVES
OF
THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.
BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

WITH
A CONTINUATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812;
COMPRISING
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS OMITTED BY DR. CAMPBELL:
LIKEWISE OF NAVAL CAPTAINS AND OTHER OFFICERS WHO HAVE
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THEIR COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1813.



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P R E F A C E.

“**T**HE general utility and great importance of Naval History to the inhabitants of Britain,” says Dr. Campbell, “are obvious from our being seated in an island; whence it is evident, that, to navigation, we owe our very being as a people. Next to this, is the consideration, that we are a commercial nation, from whence we equally derive internal and external advantages, have enlarged our correspondence to the utmost limits of the globe, whither we have carried our own commodities and manufactures, and have brought from them whatever was esteemed either valuable or singular. The great figure we make in the world, and the wide extent of our power and influence, are due to our naval strength, to which we stand indebted for our flourishing plantations, the spreading the British name, and, which is of far greater consequence, British freedom, through every quarter of the universe. These are the glorious trophies of maritime empire, and the fruits of that dominion over the sea, which was claimed by the

earliest possessors of this island, and has been derived by an uninterrupted succession of NOBLE ACHIEVEMENTS on that element to our times, in which the FLEET OF BRITAIN may be truly said to have no rival.

“The preserving a regular and well-connected detail of the long series of events, by which that mighty empire has been gradually attained, was the original cause of detaching this from our general histories, in which, while it lay involved, there was, as indeed of necessity there must be, no little obscurity. In order to remove which, and to place things in a full and conspicuous point of view, it became necessary to collate and compare, not only our own, but foreign, historians, and, when this was done, to consult a number of other authors, who have incidentally treated of such matters as had any relation to the subject; that, from thence, those circumstances might be drawn, which might illustrate and explain the several parts of the history of our marine. These would have been often esteemed trifling or tedious, improper or impertinent, in general histories, and would necessarily have swelled them beyond their just bounds. But when collected with care, and ranged in their proper order, in conjunction with those parts of our political history which were requisite to their being thoroughly understood, they became equally curious and useful, and furnished the reader with an agreeable variety of pleasing and interesting events, and contributed not a little to cherish and pre-

serve that heroic spirit, which is the source of every gallant enterprise, and which excites private men to despise ease and pleasure, and to brave perils and dangers of every kind, in defence of public safety, or for promoting public good.

“ In order to do this effectually, it seemed requisite to intersperse the Memoirs or personal Histories of those illustrious men, who had distinguished themselves in this method of rendering service to their country. It appeared to be a tribute justly due to those services, and, at the same time, expedient for the satisfaction of the reader, who must naturally desire to be more intimately acquainted with those to whom the nation stood indebted for her discoveries or her conquests. Besides, it gave an opportunity to discuss minutely some points of consequence, that otherwise might have embarrassed the narrative, to vindicate some great characters from injurious aspersions, and to answer many other purposes, that serve to throw light upon the whole design. But to avoid, as far as possible, the confounding Naval History with these Memoirs, it was found expedient to place them at the end of every reign ; and the greatest attention possible has been bestowed, to prevent any unnecessary repetition, or intermixing such circumstances of their lives, as had no connection with the character in which they are here considered.”

Such was the plan adopted by the learned and judicious Dr. Campbell, whose work,

brought down to the present time, is now offered to the public. The editors of this new edition have endeavoured to follow the steps of their precursor, and will feel happy if a discerning public shall think they have not failed in their attempts.

The original work consisted of four volumes, and came no farther than the year 1778, since which, unquestionably the most important period of British Naval History has occurred. In 1780, a new system of tactics, to which we have referred in the Dedication, was introduced into the British service, which, in the course of a few years, not only gave a decided superiority to our fleets, but has, in the end, nearly annihilated the navies of those countries, that heretofore have disputed with us the palm of victory. It is not, therefore, too much to say, that, during this latter period of our History, the Navy of Great Britain has distinguished itself not only above that of all other nations, but greatly above itself in all former epochs.

Previously to this, for near a century, though the prowess of individual commanders, and of our brave seamen in general, could never be called in question, nothing decisive, scarcely any thing that could be deemed truly important, was achieved by our fleets. The enemies of Great Britain had learned a system of manœuvring, which, if not very injurious to our maritime force at least enabled them to meet us on the seas without any dread of that destruction, which, since the year 1782, has

almost always overwhelmed them when fairly brought into contact. Although the new system of tactics is amply detailed in scientific works, particularly devoted to the purpose, and fully understood by those who lead forth our ships to battle, yet it seemed necessary, that the method, together with its effects, should be handed down to the public in this work, which has, for half a century, not only been popular in our own country, but has been translated into several foreign languages, and perpetually referred to by the learned in every civilized state.

How far the continuation of Dr. Campbell's History will be found deserving the approbation of their countrymen, it is not for the editors to say ; while, however, they presume on the candour of their readers, they can confidently affirm, that they have spared no pains in collecting and investigating facts, in order to render the work interesting and accurate. If the glowing descriptions, given by Dr. Campbell, of our naval wars during the usurpation of Cromwell, the reigns of the two last Stuarts, and their successors, William and Mary, excite in the reader the liveliest emotions, and the most feeling interest ; it is believed that the histories now given, of the maritime contests during the latter years of the American war, and the two French wars that have continued so long, are likewise calculated to rouse the attention, and warm the hearts of those who are, in the least, alive to the honour and permanent welfare of their country.

While Dr. Campbell had to record the fame, and illustrate the deeds of a Blake, and a Montague, of a Spragge, and a Raleigh, and a Drake, with those of others, whose names will be long dear to their countrymen ; it has been the ambition, as well as the pleasure of the editors of this enlarged edition to recount the glorious acts, and important achievements of a Rodney, a Howe, a Nelson, and a Cook. To these, they have, likewise, added a long list of other Naval heroes, who, if of less celebrity, as having had fewer opportunities of distinguishing themselves, are not less entitled to their country's gratitude, as well on account of their zeal in what they have done for its interests, as of their readiness, on all occasions, to draw their swords in its defence. Nor have they confined themselves entirely to memorials of the illustrious dead ; the historical part of these volumes obliged them to register the deeds of a St. Vincent, a Hood, a Sidney Smith, the conqueror of Bonaparte at Acre, and of many others who have beneficially served their country, and who are still waiting for opportunities of devoting their lives to its interests ; of these, they have, likewise, at the express desire of the proprietor, given brief biographical sketches.

In this respect, the editors have found some difficulty in knowing where to draw a line with regard to those that should be named, and those which were to be omitted. Their limits would not allow them to give distinct memoirs of all who had a just claim to

separate notice, and it may be, that, in the selection, their judgment, necessarily fallible, will be called in question, by readers who assume to have a more correct knowledge of the merit of our naval officers than they can pretend to. On this subject, while they submit to correction, they must solicit a candid decision.

In addition to the historical parts of the work, and the memoirs, the editors have, in order to render the "Lives of the Admirals" a complete register of every thing belonging to naval affairs, subjoined three Appendices; in the first is an account of tactics as actually practised, including the methods of preparing for an engagement; the mode of conducting an action, and the management of a ship or fleet after the battle is won or lost.

This part of the last volume, which has been drawn, from the best authorities, together with what has been said on the new system of naval tactics, vol. vi. p. 86—96, and in other places, will, it is presumed, be amply sufficient for every reader into whose hands these volumes shall happen to fall. The Appendix, No. II. contains a list of admirals, captains, and others, who have lost their lives, or otherwise greatly distinguished themselves in the naval service of their country, but of whom too little is known to admit of separate biographical articles. In the third number of the Appendix, are given explanations of such sea-terms and phrases as are used in this work, and which, for want of familiarity, might not

be readily understood by common readers. In this appendix, likewise, will be found, in the alphabetical order brief notices of the discovery and settlement of islands and countries, made by European navigators;—chronological tables of the different attempts at invading this country;— of the principal sea-fights by which she has signalized herself as the most celebrated maritime power of the world, together with the references to, and explanations of, other subjects connected with the Naval History of England. To the whole is added a general and full Index.

Although it was, at one time, intended to notice the rise of the navies of other countries, yet, upon more mature reflection, it has been deemed unnecessary. The history of the exertions of these islands, as a naval power, includes, in fact, in one shape or other, a view of the increase or diminution of the maritime force of those nations, who, directly, or indirectly, have challenged a superiority over, or laid a claim to an equality with them.

The editors cannot conclude their preface without acknowledging their obligations to the several works, from which, in the course of their labours, they have derived much valuable assistance. Independently of those which are wholly, or at least, specially devoted to naval subjects, whether of more modern or ancient date, they have had constant recourse to Smollet and the other historians of the present reign; and for facts since the year 1780, which is the time, that the British Naval History of

the reign of George III. begins to grow very interesting, they have been greatly indebted to the volumes of the "New Annual Register," which has long had a deservedly high reputation for the candour and accuracy of all its details. To Charnock's "Marine Architecture," in 3 vols. 4to. and to the "Biographia Navalis" of the same author, in 6 vols. 8vo. to the "Naval Chronology" of Isaac Schomberg, Esq. and to the "Naval and Military Memoirs" of Great Britain by Dr. Beatson, they with pleasure offer a tribute of gratitude; as they do, likewise, most cheerfully and sincerely to Mr. Gold's "Naval Chronicle," a popular and valuable work, published monthly, and patronized by naval officers, and other persons of rank and consideration in the country.



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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE REGENT.

SIR,

THE Patronage which your ROYAL HIGHNESS has deigned to grant the proprietor of this Work, and of which he could have no other expectations than what resulted from your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S beneficence, demands that he should distinctly explain the grounds upon which he has ventured to solicit the Public Support, under the sanction of your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S Name, to a new and much enlarged edition of *Dr. Campbell's Naval History and Lives of the British Admirals*.

It is generally allowed that our safety as a people depends chiefly, if not entirely, on the

Navy, which principle may be admitted without derogating, in the smallest degree, from the high reputation acquired by the Army, in all its gradations, from the General Officer down to the ranks.

Almost every Prince who has swayed the sceptre of these realms, and who has been called to resist the aggressions of a foreign power, has regarded it as a prime duty not only to provide for the defence of his crown and country, by an adequate Navy, but to encourage such a spirit in the people as will induce, at all times, a sufficient portion of them to devote their lives to Naval Duties.

Dr. Campbell's Work, it is asserted upon the most unquestionable authority, has been eminently useful in exciting an ardent spirit in our British Youth, to distinguish themselves by deeds of valour, as protectors of their coun-

try's rights on the Seas. A new edition, therefore, of this popular and highly useful history, even in its original state, might lay claim to the protection of the Public, and of your ROYAL HIGHNESS, born to illustrate, by your regal virtues and patriotism, whatever was great and dignified in any of your Royal Predecessors.

The present enlarged edition of Dr. Campbell's meritorious work, will, however, be found to have a still higher title to Public favour, inasmuch as it will contain the "Naval History" of the country, to the close of the present year, and thus include a period of thirty-three years, not touched upon in any other impression of it, and which is, unquestionably, the most important era in the Naval History of Great Britain.

The last edition of the "*Lives of the Ad-*

mirals" was brought down no lower than the year 1779, but the following year is particularly illustrious in the reign of his present Majesty for the commencement of a New System of Naval Tactics, discovered and promulgated by a British subject, and which has been carried into execution by a Rodney, a Howe, a Duncan, a Nelson, and other illustrious commanders with undeviating, and, in many instances, with unparalleled success. The present edition will explain the merits of this important discovery, will shew in what its great excellence consists, and will triumphantly record the brilliant victories which have resulted from it, and which will, unceasingly, remain, as well to grace the conquerors' brows, as to perpetuate their country's honour.

In Dr. Campbell's history, the biographical sketches are confined to a very small number, about thirty, of British Admirals: in the

edition now patronized by your ROYAL HIGHNESS, it is hoped that the actions of no brave officer who has achieved signal advantages for his country, shall pass unnoticed. Not only shall the gallant deeds of our illustrious Admirals be placed on record, in a work adapted to the general reader, but of those also whose exploits would have rendered them worthy of that exalted rank had they lived to attain the distinction.

The names of a Cook, of a Faulknor, of a Hardinge, and of a vast number of other heroes immortalized by their valour, which must necessarily be unnoticed in a work written entirely on the plan of Dr. Campbell, will not be overlooked, nor their merits neglected in that which is now laid before your ROYAL HIGHNESS, and which, it is presumed, may be regarded, as an improvement upon it.

It is now nearly two hundred years since the learned Selden, in his "*Mare Clausum*," demonstrated that the inhabitants of this country have "*An hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their Seas, conveyed to them from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity.*" To impress this sentiment on the minds of his countrymen was avowedly the main object of Dr. Campbell in his "*Lives of the British Admirals.*" The circumstances of the present times are such, that we may venture to affirm no true Englishman will hesitate in maintaining and adhering to the same doctrine. It is hoped that the work now offered to the public may be the happy means of successfully cultivating the like principles upon the surest foundations, and that it may have the effect of infusing into the hearts of the rising generation a jealousy of their Naval rights, and a determination of vindicating that ascendancy upon the Seas for

which their country has been celebrated, and its fame unrivalled for more than a thousand years.

That the life of your ROYAL HIGHNESS may be long spared, as well in the exalted rank of SOVEREIGN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, as in that of REGENT, during the melancholy affliction of your Royal Father, and that the filial and exemplary respect manifested by your ROYAL HIGHNESS, in the less dignified station, may insure to you, as KING, the zealous attachment of an affectionate and loyal people is the sincere and ardent prayer of

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most obedient, devoted,

and

Most humble servant,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

Piccadilly,
22 July, 1812.



THE
L I F E
O F
D R. C A M P B E L L.*

DR. JOHN CAMPBELL, an eminent historical, biographical, and political writer of the last century, was a native of that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and born in the city of Edinburgh, on the 8th of March, 1707-8. His father was Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, Esq. and captain of horse in a regiment commanded by the then earl of Hyndford; and his mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of ——— Smith, Esq. of Windsor, in Berkshire†. Our author was their fourth son; and, at the age of five years, he was brought by Mrs. Campbell to Windsor,

* This life is extracted from the new edition of the *BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA*, written by DR. KIPPIS, DR. TOWERS, &c.

† The Campbells of Glenlyon are a branch of the noble house of Breadalbane, of which a distinct account may be seen in Nisbet's and Douglas's Peerages. For information concerning the respectable family of the Smiths of Windsor, recourse may be had to Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire*, and to N^o. 5800, a book of Heraldry, in folio, in the British Museum. Mrs. Campbell, likewise, and consequently our author, had the honour of claiming a descent from the famous poet, Waller.

from Scotland, which country he never saw afterwards. It was at Windsor that he is supposed to have received the first principles of his education, under the direction and patronage of his uncle, ——— Smith, Esq. of that place. At a proper age, he was placed out as a clerk to an attorney, being intended for the law; but whether it was that his genius could not be confined to that dry study, or to whatever causes besides it might be owing, it is certain that he did not pursue the line of his original designation: neither did he engage in any other particular profession, unless that of an author should be considered in this light. One thing we are sure of, that he did not spend his time in idleness and dissipation, but in such a close application to the acquisition of knowledge of various kinds, as soon enabled him to appear with great advantage in the literary world. What smaller pieces might be written by Mr. Campbell, in the early part of his life, we are not capable of ascertaining; but we know that, in 1736, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he gave to the public, in two volumes folio, “The Military History of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; comprehending the History of both those illustrious persons, to the time of their decease.” This performance was enriched with maps, plans, and cuts, by the best hands, and particularly by the ingenious Claude du Bosc. The reputation hence acquired by our author, occasioned him soon after to be solicited to take a part in the “Ancient Universal History,” a work of great merit, as well as magnitude, though drawn up with some-

thing of that inequality which is almost unavoidable, when a number of persons are engaged in carrying on the same undertaking. This history was published at first, we believe, periodically; and five volumes of it, in folio, were completed in 1740. The sixth volume was finished in 1742, and the seventh in 1744. A second edition of it, in octavo, began to be published in 1747, and was carried on monthly, with uncommon success, till the whole was concluded in twenty volumes. For what parts of it the Republic of Letters was more immediately indebted to Mr. Campbell, it is not in our power to determine, excepting that he is understood to have been the writer of the *Cosmogony*, which affords a distinguished proof of his extensive acquaintance with the systems of the ancient philosophers. Whilst our author was employed in this capital work, he found leisure to entertain the world with other productions. In 1739, he published, "The Travels and Adventures of Edward Brown, Esq." a book that was so well received as to call for another edition. In the same year appeared his "Memoirs of the Bashaw Duke de Riperda," which were reprinted with improvements, in 1740. These Memoirs were followed, in 1741, by the "Concise History of Spanish America," a second edition of which, if we recollect aright, came out in 1766. In 1742, he was the author of "A Letter to a Friend in the country, on the publication of Thurloe's State Papers;" giving an account of their discovery, importance, and utility. The same year was distinguished by the appearance of the first and second volumes of his "Lives of the

English Admirals, and other eminent British Seamen." The two remaining volumes were completed in 1744; and the whole, not long after, was translated into German. This, we believe, was the first of Mr. Campbell's works to which he prefixed his name; and, indeed, he had no reason to be ashamed of so doing; for it is a performance of great and acknowledged merit. The good reception it met with, was evidenced in its passing through three editions in his own life-time; and several others, besides the present, have been given to the public, under the inspection of Dr. Berkenhout. When our author had finished the third edition, which is more correct and complete than the former ones, he thus wrote to his ingenious and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall: "I am certain the Lives of the Admirals cost me a great deal of trouble; and I can with great veracity affirm, that they contain nothing but my real sentiments, arising from as strict an inquiry into the matters which they relate, as was in my power." In 1743, he published a very curious and entertaining pamphlet, called "Hermippus Revived;" a second edition of which, much improved and enlarged, came out in 1749, under the following title: "Hermippus Redivivus; or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave. Wherein a method is laid down for prolonging the life and vigour of man. Including a commentary upon an ancient inscription, in which this great secret is revealed; supported by numerous authorities. The whole interspersed with a great variety of remarkable and well-attested relations." This extraordinary tract had its origin in a foreign

publication*; but it was wrought up to perfection by the additional ingenuity and learning of Mr. Campbell, and was founded on the following inscription, said to be preserved in Reinesius's Supplement to Gruter:

ÆSCULAPIO ET SANITATI
 L. CLODIUS HERMIPPUS
 QUI VIXIT ANNOS CXV. DIES V.
 PUELLARUM ANHELITU,
 QUOD ETIAM POST MORTEM
 EJUS
 NON PARUM MIRANTUR PHYSICI.
 JAM POSTERI SIC VITAM DUCITE.

From the circumstance here mentioned, which is represented as having been the means of prolonging the life of Hermippus to so great an age, the author raises an hypothesis, and supports it in an admirable strain of grave irony, concerning the salutary nature of the breath of young persons, especially girls and

* This publication appeared at Coblenz, in the beginning of the year 1743, and was entitled, *HERMIPPUS REDIVIVUS, sive exercitatio physico-medica curiosa, de methodo rara ad cxv. annos propagandæ senectutis, per anhelitum puellarum, ex veteri monumento Romano, de prompta, nunc artis medicæ fundamentis stabilita, et rationibus atque exemplis, necnon singulari chymicæ philosophicæ paradoxo illustrata, et confirmata. Autore Jo. Hen. Cohausen, M. D. i. e.* 'HERMIPPUS REVIVED, or a curious Physico-medical Dissertation on an uncommon method of prolonging human life to one hundred and fifteen years, by means of the breath of young women, copied from an ancient Roman monument, now established on a physical basis, by arguments and examples, and illustrated and confirmed by a very singular paradox in chymical philosophy.' By Dr. Cohausen of Coblenz.

young women. Besides this, he digresses largely concerning the hermetic philosophers and their universal medicine ; and relates a variety of stories concerning them, which are excellently calculated, not only to amuse his readers, but almost to deceive those who are not sufficiently aware of his intention, and whose judgments are not matured. The late excellent Dr. Kippis, the writer of this article, well remembers, that, having read the “ Hermippus Redivivus,” in his youth, such an impression was made by it upon his imagination, that, though his understanding was not convinced, or his belief engaged, by the reasonings and facts contained in it, he seemed for two or three days to be in a kind of Fairy-land. Dr. Mackenzie, a physician at Worcester, and author of a Treatise on Health, is said to have viewed Mr. Campbell’s book in a serious light; and to have been so far influenced by it, that he went and lived some time at a female boarding-school, for the benefit of receiving the salutary effects arising from the breath of the young ladies. Mr. Thicknesse, in a late performance, hath gravely adopted the system of the “ Hermippus Redivivus.” It has been asserted, that Bayle alone possessed the faculty of treating at large upon a difficult subject, without discovering to which side his own sentiments leaned, and that his acquaintance with uncommon books extended farther than that of any other man. The Hermippus was an Essay to shew, that such a mode of writing, and such a species of literature were not confined to Bayle. This, as our author himself long afterwards informed Mr.

Hall, was the true key to the book. In 1756, a translation of it into Italian was published at Leghorn: in the introductory preface to which, high commendations are bestowed upon the *Hermippus Redivivus*.

The smaller pieces written by Mr. Campbell were only an occasional amusement to him, and never interrupted the course of the great works in which he was engaged. In 1744, he gave to the public, in two volumes, folio, his *Voyages and Travels*, on Dr. Harris's plan, being a very distinguished improvement of that gentleman's collection, which had appeared in 1705. So well was this publication of our author received, that a new edition was soon called for, which was finished in 1749. The work contains an account of all the circumnavigators from the time of Columbus to Lord Anson; a complete history of the East Indies; historical details of the several attempts made for the discovery of the north-east and north-west passages; the Commercial History of Corea and Japan; the Russian discoveries by land and sea; a distinct account of the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, and Danish settlements in America; with other pieces not to be found in any former collection. The whole was conducted with eminent skill and judgment, and the preface is acknowledged to be a master-piece of composition and information. The time and care employed by Mr. Campbell in this important undertaking, did not prevent his engaging in another great work, with regard to which we have reason to record his learned labours with particular pleasure. The work we refer to is the "*Biographia*

Britannica," which began to be published in weekly numbers in 1745, and the first volume of which was completed in 1746, as was the second in 1748. By one of those revolutions to which the best designs are subject, the public attention to the *Biographia* seemed to flag, when about two volumes had been printed; but this attention was soon revived by the very high encomium that was passed upon it by Mr. Gilbert West, at the close of his poem on Education; from which time the undertaking was carried on with increasing reputation and success. We need not say, that its reputation and success were greatly owing to our author. It is no disparagement to the abilities and learning of his coadjutors to assert, that his articles constitute the prime merit of the four volumes through which they extend. He was not satisfied with giving a cold narration of the personal circumstances relative to the eminent men whose lives he drew up, but was ambitious of entering into such a copious and critical discussion of their actions or writings, as should render the *Biographia Britannica* a most valuable repository of historical and literary knowledge. This end he has admirably accomplished, and herein hath left an excellent example to his successors. For the article Boyle (John,) earl of Cork and Orrery, Mr. Campbell received the thanks of John, the fifth earl of Orrery, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in such a light as to give a spirit of emulation to those who were hereafter to inherit the title." The ingenious Mr. Walpole, in his catalogue of Royal and Noble

Authors, speaking of the Campbells, earls of Argyle, adds, "It is totally unnecessary for me to enter into their characters, that task having been so fully performed by one who wears the honour of their name, and who, it is no compliment to say, is one of the ablest and most beautiful writers of this country." The like encomium might be extended to many other articles, several of which are so uniformly complete and so highly finished, that it is difficult to ascertain where the preference ought to be given. Were we, however, to select any single life from the rest, we should say, that the account of Roger Bacon alone would be sufficient to procure for our author no small degree of reputation. One thing by which he is peculiarly distinguished is, the candour displayed by him with respect to those persons from whom he most differed in religious and political opinions. After he had written the Lives of the Calamys, he was waited upon by the Rev. Mr. Edmund Calamy, to thank him for those articles, and especially for the justice done to his great grandfather, the first divine of that family. Mr. Calamy was even surprised to find that Mr. Campbell was a member of the church of England; and still more so, when he learned that our biographer had undertaken the articles of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Conant, on purpose to prevent their falling into hands that might not equally be disposed to pay the testimony due to their respective merits. Indeed, our author has been charged with an excess of candour, in some of the accounts given in the Biographia. But if, in a few instances, there should appear to be any ground for this charge, it ought to be remembered,

that his error never proceeded from any intention to flatter or deceive, but from the amiable benevolence of his heart, and from his readiness to discern, and to acknowledge, the talents and the worthiness of men who were of the most opposite principles and parties. It ought, also, to be remembered, that his candour was not unfrequently the result of superior knowledge; and that it led him into disquisitions, which tended to throw new light on characters and actions.

When the late Mr. Robert Dodsley formed the design of that useful book, "The Preceptor"* which appeared in 1748, Mr. Campbell was one of the ingenious gentlemen applied to, to assist in the undertaking; and the parts written by him were the introduction to chronology, and the discourse on trade and commerce, both of which displayed an extensive fund of knowledge upon these subjects. In 1750, he published the first separate edition of his "Present State of Europe;" a work which had been originally begun in 1746, in the "Museum," a very valuable periodical performance, printed for Mr. Dodsley. There is no production of our author's that hath met with a better reception. It has gone through six editions, and fully hath it deserved this encouragement; for it is not easy to find a book which, in such a moderate compass, contains so much historical and political information. The perspicuity, the good sense,

* A work upon the same plan adapted to the present improved state of science, with practical rules for the best methods of studying each branch of useful knowledge, and directions to the most approved authors, is said to be in the press and nearly ready for publication.

and the sagacity with which it is written, will ever command attention and admiration, even though some of Mr. Campbell's conjectures and reasonings concerning the future views and interests of the European powers, should happen to be overturned by the late surprising revolutions in the politics of the world. In such high estimation was "The Present State of Europe" held abroad, that the Count de Gisors, one of the most amiable young noblemen of his time, and only son to the Marshal Duke de Belleisle, learned English, when at Copenhagen, in order to be able to read it. The next great undertaking which called for the exertion of our author's abilities and learning was, "The Modern Universal History." This extensive work was published, from time to time, in detached parts, till it amounted to sixteen volumes folio; and a second edition of it, in octavo, began to make its appearance in 1759. The parts of it written by Mr. Campbell, were the histories of the Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, French, Swedish, Danish, and Ostend settlements in the East Indies; and the histories of the kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, Algarve, Navarre, and that of France from Clovis to the year 1656. It may, without controversy, be asserted, that these parts of "The Modern Universal History," must be reckoned among some of its brightest ornaments. As our author had thus distinguished himself in the literary world, the degree of LL. D. was very properly and honourably conferred upon him, on the 18th of June, 1754, by the University of Glasgow. The following is an account of all his smaller publications that have come to our know-

ledge; of which the first is entitled, "The Case of the Opposition impartially stated." This was published in 1742.

In early life, he wrote a little piece, entitled, "A Discourse on Providence," 8vo. the third edition of which was printed in 1748. He published in 1746, "The Sentiments of a Dutch Patriot. Being the speech of Mr. V. H***n, in an august ASSEMBLY on the present state of affairs, and the resolution necessary at this juncture to be taken for the safety of the Republic." The history of this tract, the design of which was to expose the temporising policy of the States of Holland, is somewhat amusing. His amanuensis, when he was going to write the pamphlet, having disappointed him, he requested, after tea in the afternoon, that Mrs. Campbell, when she had ordered a good fire to be made, would retire to bed as soon as possible, with the servants; and at the same time, leave him four ounces of coffee. This was done, and he wrote till twelve o'clock at night, when finding his spirits flag, he took two ounces. With this assistance, he went on till six in the morning, when again beginning to grow weary, he drank the remainder of the coffee. Hence he was enabled to proceed with fresh vigour, till nine or ten o'clock in the morning, when he finished the pamphlet, which had a great run, and was productive of considerable profit. Mr. Campbell having succeeded so well in a performance hastily written, expected much greater success from another work, about which he had taken extraordinary pains, and which had cost him a long time in composing. But when it came to be published,

it scarcely paid the expense of advertising. Some years afterwards, a book in French was brought to him, that had been translated from the German; and he was asked, whether a translation of it into English would not be likely to be acceptable. Upon examining it, he found that it was his own neglected work, which had made its way into Germany, and had there been translated and published, without any acknowledgment of the obligation due to the original writer.

In 1749, he printed in octavo, "Occasional Thoughts on moral, serious, and religious Subjects;" and in the following year he gave the public "An exact and authentic account of the greatest White-Herring-Fishery in Scotland, carried on yearly in the island of Zetland by the Dutch only," and soon after, "The Highland Gentleman's magazine for January, 1751. Within a very few months he published likewise, the following tracts:

"A letter from the prince of the Infernal regions, to a spiritual lord on this side the Great Gulph, in answer to a late invective epistle levelled at his Highness."

"The Naturalization Bill confuted, as most pernicious to these United Kingdoms."

"His Royal Highness Frederick, late Prince of Wales, deciphered: or a full and particular description of his character, from his juvenile years to his death."

"A Vade Mecum; or companion for Unmarried Ladies, wherein is laid down some examples whereby to direct them in the choice of Husbands."

"A particular, but Melancholy Account of the

great hardships, difficulties and miseries, that those unhappy and much to be pitied creatures, the Common Women of the Town, are plunged into at this juncture.”

“ A full and particular description of the Highlands of Scotland.”

“ The Case of the Publicans both in town and country laid open.”

In 1754, he published a work, intitled, “ The Rational Amusement, comprehending a collection of letters on a great variety of subjects, interspersed with essays, and some little pieces of humour.” “ The Shepherd of Banbury’s Rules,” a favourite pamphlet with the common people, and “ The History of the war in the East Indies,” which appeared in 1758 or 1759, under the name of Mr. Watts, are supposed to have been of Mr. Campbell’s composition. Upon the conclusion of the peace at Paris, our author was requested by Lord Bute, to take some share in the vindication of that peace. Accordingly, he wrote a Description and History of the new Sugar Islands in the West Indies;” the design of which was, to shew the value and importance of the neutral islands that had been ceded to us by the French. As his book was to be presented to the King, he was desired to write a dedication to his Majesty; which he wished to decline, because he had hitherto avoided all political disputes, and because his earlier attachments and sentiments had not led him to pay his devoirs to the Court of St. James’s. However, it was at length determined, that he should present the dedication in manuscript. The following is a copy of it :

To the King's most sacred Majesty,
 This little WORK,
 Undertaken by his Royal Commands,
 and honoured by his gracious Approbation,
 is humbly inscribed by
 His Majesty's most dutiful Subject,
 and obliged Servant.
 That PEACE,
 Which your Majesty's Goodness and Wisdom
 have given to this Nation,
 is here shewn to be adequate
 to the restoring her exhausted Wealth,
 to the extension of her Commerce,
 through dominions she hath power to keep,
 and is inadequate only
 in the eye of
 FACTION.

In 1765 Dr. Campbell was appointed his Majesty's agent for the province of Georgia in North America, which he held to the time of his decease.

In 1772, he printed in 4to. "A Treatise upon the Trade of Great Britain to America."

His last grand work was "A Political Survey of Britain; being a series of reflections on the situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of this island. Intended to shew, that they have not as yet approached near the summit of improvement, but that it will afford employment to many generations, before they push to their utmost extent the natural advantages of Great Britain." This work, which was published in 1774, in two volumes, royal quarto, cost Dr. Campbell many years of attention, study, and labour. As it was his last,

so it seems to have been his favourite production, upon which, he intended to erect a durable monument of his sincere and ardent love to his country. A more truly patriotic publication never appeared in the English language. The variety of information it contains is prodigious; and there is no book that better deserves the close and constant study of the politician, the senator, the gentleman, the merchant, the manufacturer; in short, of every one who has it in any degree in his power to promote the interest and welfare of Great Britain. An assiduous pursuit of the numerous hints and plans of improvement suggested by our worthy author, would, perhaps, be the only effectual method of preserving and continuing the prosperity of this island, amidst that combination of enemies and misfortunes, with which she is at present surrounded. As the "Political Survey" is so excellent, both in its design and execution, it is not surprising that Dr. Campbell should receive the highest testimonies in commendation of it, and that it should engage him in a very extensive correspondence. The correspondence occasioned by it was, indeed, so great, that, in a letter to Mr. Hall, dated July 21, 1774, he informed his friend, that it had absorbed a ream of paper; and that he was about to begin upon another ream, which would, probably, share the same fate.

In the account which has been given of Dr. Campbell's writings, we have mentioned some of the encomiums that have been passed upon his literary merit. Several others might be added; but we shall content ourselves with producing one or two, that

happen to be at hand. Dr. Smollett, when doing justice to the eminent writers who adorned the reign of King George the Second, says, "Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision." The author of the "Account of the European Settlements in America," which common fame ascribes to a gentleman of the most distinguished abilities and character, concludes his preface with the following passage: "Having spoken, perhaps, a little too hardly of my materials, I must except the assistance I have had from the judicious collection called Harris's Voyages. There are not many finer pieces than the History of Brazil in that collection. The light in which the author sets the events in that history is fine and instructive; an uncommon spirit prevails through it; and his remarks are every where striking and deep. The little sketch I have given in the part of Portuguese America, if it has any merit, is entirely due to that original.—Where I differ from him in any respect, it is with deference to the judgment of a writer, to whom this nation is much obliged, for endeavouring every where, with so much good sense and eloquence, to rouse that spirit of generous enterprise, that can alone make any nation powerful or glorious." Dr. Campbell's reputation was not confined to his own country, but extended to the remotest parts of Europe. As a striking instance of this, we may mention, that, in the spring of the year 1774, the Empress of Russia was pleased to honour him with the present of her picture, drawn in the robes worn in that country in the days of John Basi-

liowitz, Grand Duke of Muscovy, who was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth. To manifest the Doctor's sense of her Imperial Majesty's goodness, a set of the "Political Survey of Britain," bound in Morocco, highly ornamented and accompanied with a letter descriptive of the triumphs and felicities of her reign, was forwarded to St. Petersburg, and conveyed into the hands of that great Princess, by Prince Gregorio Orloff, who had resided some months in this kingdom. The Empress's picture, since the death of our author, hath been presented by his widow to Lord Macartney.

Let us now advert a little to Dr. Campbell's personal history. On the 23d of May, 1736, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Vobe, of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, with which lady he lived near forty years in the greatest conjugal harmony and happiness. So wholly did he dedicate his time to books, that he seldom went abroad: but to relieve himself, as much as possible, from the inconveniencies incident to a sedentary life, it was his custom, when the weather would admit, to walk in his garden; or, otherwise, in some room of his house, by way of exercise. By this method, united with the strictest temperance in eating, and an equal abstemiousness in drinking, he enjoyed a good state of health, though his constitution was delicate. His domestic manner of living did not preclude him from a very extensive and honourable acquaintance. His house, especially on a Sunday evening, was the resort of the most distinguished persons of all ranks, and particularly of such as had rendered themselves emi-

ment by their knowledge, or love of literature. He received foreigners who were fond of learning, with an affability and kindness, which excited in them the highest respect and veneration; and his instructive and chearful conversation, made him the delight of his friends in general. On the 5th of March, 1765, Dr. Campbell was appointed his Majesty's agent for the province of Georgia, in North America, which employment he held till his decease. His last illness was a decline, the consequence of a life devoted to severe study, and which resisted every attempt for his relief that the most skilful in the medical science could devise. By this illness he was carried off, at his house in Queen-Square, Ormond-Street, on the 28th of December, 1775, when he had nearly completed the sixty-eighth year of his age. His end was tranquil and easy, and he preserved the full use of all his faculties to the latest moment of his life. On the 4th of January following his decease, he was interred in the New Burying Ground, behind the Foundling Hospital, belonging to the parish of St. George the Martyr, where a monument, with a plain and modest inscription, hath been erected to his memory. Dr. Campbell had by his lady seven children, one of whom only survived him, Anne, who, on the 22d of August, 1763, married John Grant, Esq. of Lovat, near Inverness, in North Britain, then captain in the fifty-eighth regiment of foot, and lately his Majesty's Commissary and Paymaster of the Royal Artillery at New York. Mrs. Grant, who was a woman of excellent understanding and taste, which had been cultivated under her fa-

ther's eye, and who was possessed of the most amiable virtues, died at New York, on the 2d of July, 1778, in the thirty-seventh year of her age. Mr. Grant returning some time after to England, departed this life at Kensington, in the month of November 1780. Three children, were left by Mr. and Mrs. Grant. Under the care of their worthy grandmother the Doctor's widow.

Dr. Campbell's literary knowledge was by no means confined to the subjects on which he more particularly treated as an author. He was well acquainted with the mathematics, and had read much in medicine. It hath been with great reason believed, that if he had dedicated his studies to the last science, he would have made a very conspicuous figure in the physical profession. He was eminently versed in the different parts of sacred literature; and his acquaintance with the languages extended not only to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin among the ancient, and to the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, among the modern; but, likewise, to the Oriental tongues. He was particularly fond of the Greek language. His attainment of such a variety of knowledge, was exceedingly assisted by a memory surprisingly retentive, and which, indeed, astonished every person with whom he was conversant. A striking instance of this has been given by the honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, in his tract, intitled, "The Probability of reaching the North Pole discussed."* It is however stated in the fourth

* The instance mentioned by Mr. Barrington, regards the accuracy wherewith Dr. Campbell, at the distance of thirty years,

volume of the Biographia Britannica, that Dr. Campbell's memory did not at all times and on all subjects serve him. He was once looking into a pamphlet at a bookseller's shop, and liked it so well, as to purchase it; and it was not till he had read it half through that he discovered it was of his own composition. In communicating his ideas, our author had an uncommon readiness and facility; and the style of his works, which had been formed upon the model of that of the celebrated Bishop Sprat, was perspicuous, easy, flowing, and harmonious. Should it be thought that it is sometimes rather too diffusive, it will, notwithstanding, indubitably be allowed, that it is, in general, very elegant and beautiful.

Dr. Johnson, according to his biographer, Mr. Boswell, thought very highly of Dr. Campbell. "In the first place," said the doctor, "he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man useful. In the third place, he has learnt much by what is called the *vox viva*. He talks with a great many people." In company once with Johnson, Dr. Campbell said something, which the other began to argue against, "Come," said Dr. Campbell, "we do not want to

remembered the facts related to him by a Dr. Daillie, concerning a voyage towards the North Pole; in which the navigators, among whom was Dr. Daillie himself, went so far as to the 88th degree of north latitude; and might easily have proceeded farther, had not the captain thought himself obliged, by his duty in other respects, to return.

get the better of one another ; we want to increase the stock of each other's ideas." This Dr. Johnson took in good part, and the conversation then went on coolly and instructively.

To all the accomplishments of the understanding, Dr. Campbell joined the more important virtues of a moral and pious character. His disposition was gentle and humane, and his manners kind and obliging. He was the tenderest of husbands, a most indulgent parent, a kind master, a firm and sincere friend. To his great Creator he paid the constant and ardent tribute of devotion, duty, and reverence ; and in his correspondences he shewed, that a sense of piety was always nearest his heart. " We cannot," said he, in a letter to Mr. Hall, " too much insist on the necessity of religion, not only as securing our happiness hereafter, but as the only safe and certain rule of life, and ten thousand times preferable to the modern notions of philosophy, and ties of honour. I may with great truth say, that the Church Catechism is a much better system of morals than Tully's Offices. There are many fine things in these, and in the works of Seneca ; but, in my judgment, none that equal, either in spirit or composition, some of the Collects in our Liturgy." On another occasion, he wrote to the same friend, that he thought there was more good sense, and far better precepts for the conduct of life, in the Wisdom of Solomon, and the son of Sirach, than in all the Heathen Sages put together ; or than could be met with in Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Hume, or Voltaire. It was our author's custom every day, to read one or more portions of

Scripture, in the original, with the ancient versions, and the best commentators before him; and in this way, as appears from his own occasional notes and remarks, he went through the Sacred Writings a number of times, with great thankfulness and advantage.

Such was Dr. Campbell as a writer and as a man. By his works he has secured not only a lasting reputation, but rendered himself highly beneficial to the public; and by his virtues, he became prepared for that happy immortality, which awaits all the genuine followers of goodness.



NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Naval History of the Ancient Britons, before they were invaded by the Romans, and during the continuance of the Roman Empire in Britain.

CONTAINING THE TRANSACTIONS OF ABOUT 1740 YEARS.

THE ancient history of Britain, or rather of the Britons, before the coming of Cæsar into this island, is, we must allow, not a little obscure, as well in respect to their exploits by sea, as in regard to the succession of their princes, and the settlement of their civil government at home; but this matter is carried much too far, when it is asserted, that the histories of those times are mere fables, and idle tales, void of all authority or probability.

Camden disliked the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and his authority drew others to treat it with absolute contempt. But, since his time, through the labours of many industrious men, other ancient authors have been published, which plainly shew, that much true history is to be met with, even in that book, though embarrassed with fiction.

From this history, which, in many circumstances, is supported by others of better authority, we have various passages in relation to the naval power of the

Britons, before Cæsar's expedition. Now, that these are not altogether incredible, must appear from the reason of the thing, on one hand; and, on the other, from what may be cited from writers of unquestionable credit.

Two arguments result from our situation; for, first, the people, whoever they were, Gauls or Trojans, who planted this country, must have come to it by sea, and consequently must have had some skill in maritime affairs, even prior to their settling here. Secondly, the surrounding seas, the convenient ports, and the prospect of the opposite shore, must, doubtless, have encouraged them, when settled here, to practise, and thereby extend, that skill in navigation, which they could not but have possessed before they came hither. Hence I think it might have been rationally concluded, that our British ancestors had performed something worthy of notice at sea, before the Roman invasion, even though there had been no records to attest their actions.

Polybius mentions this island and its commodities; Lucretius also takes notice of it; and these were both writers older than Cæsar. The author of the book *De Mundo*, which goes commonly under the name of Aristotle, speaks of the British islands, and distinguishes between Albion and Hierna, that is, between England and Ireland. Athenæus tells us, out of Meschion, that the main-mast of King Hiero's great ship was found by a swine-herd in the mountains of Britain, and by Phileas Tauromenites conveyed into Sicily; and Solinus speaks of an altar engraven with Greek characters, which Ulysses met with in Caledonia. It is not easy to conceive how so remote a country should be so well known in those times, if the Britons had not both power and commerce by sea. But, to put this matter out of dispute, the learned Mr. Selden owns himself convinced even by Cæsar's writings, that the ancient Britons had a considerable sea force; which he conceives was either weakened, or

totally destroyed in the defeat which Cæsar gave to the Veneti, to whose assistance it was sent.

Having thus shewn that the facts preserved by our British historians may be, at least, in some measure true, I shall proceed to mention those that are for my purpose, with the view of vindicating the reputation of my country; by shewing that the inhabitants of this island have always been, what I hope they always will be, lords of those seas which surround it.

The first naval expedition, celebrated by British writers, is that of the planting this island by Brito, or Brute, of which there is a large, and, in many of its circumstances, no doubt, a fabulous account in Geoffrey of Monmouth; but that the story had a ground of truth, may be easily proved. That this island was inhabited as early as this expedition is placed, appears from the trade of the Phenicians, and from its being so populous at the time of Cæsar's invasion. That the story of Brute was no invention of Geoffrey's, is clear from our having the same account in Henry of Huntingdon, who did not borrow from him; and in Giraldus Cambrensis, who, though he condemns the British history published by Geoffrey of Monmouth, yet in the same breath asserts the story of Brute; and, which is still more to the purpose, from the authority of Saxon writers, whose testimony, in this case, is of unquestionable credit.

One of the most early exploits after this, was that of King Belinus, who is said to have taken the King of Denmark prisoner, and to have obliged him to become tributary. Afterwards, passing with his brother Brennus into Gaul, they, with the joint forces of that country and their own, invaded Italy, and sacked Rome; after which, Belinus returned home, and reigned here with great glory. As for the Scots, they appear to have had a very considerable naval force, by which they held in subjection all the adjacent isles, long before the coming of Cæsar; and this corroborates the other facts strongly.

The commerce of the Britons could not but be very considerable, even in these early times; for, besides the trade which they carried on with the Carthaginians in the western part of the island, they also trafficked with the northern nations, as appears by the flight of Brennus, when he quarrelled with his brother, to a king of Norway; for it cannot be supposed he would retire to an absolute stranger, or, if he had, that he should so soon return with a potent fleet. Their intercourse with all the maritime provinces of Gaul is indisputable; nor is it a light argument of their perfect acquaintance with the arts and sciences then known, that the youth of those provinces were sent hither for instruction. But what is most to our purpose, and which clearly demonstrates that at this time they had the dominion of their own seas in the most absolute degree, is, what Cæsar himself says, viz. That he could get no information concerning the country, or ports of Britain, because the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to visit their isle, and even restrained those from travelling up into the country. The imposing such rules, shews the power of which they were then possessed.

The expedition of Cæsar may seem to fall without the limits of this work, since they contended with him not at sea, but on shore. It was, however, a naval expedition on his side, and undertaken chiefly for the sake of securing the dominion of the sea to the Romans: wherefore I conceive, it will not be thought an unjustifiable digression in me to mention some remarkable circumstances. Cæsar's first expedition from Gaul was with a fleet of eighty ships, and a few gallies, on board of which he embarked two legions. He attempted to land on the opposite coast of Kent, where he found a British army ready to receive him, who behaved so exceedingly well, that even these Roman veterans were astonished, and, contrary to their usual custom, betrayed a dislike to fighting: whence we may justly infer, that this was not the first time the

Britons had ever to do with invaders. The Emperor Julian, a writer of distinguished parts, introduces Julius as leaping from his ship to encourage his frightened soldiers; but Cæsar himself tells us, that it was the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, who, by this desperate action, encouraged the army to gain the shore, from which, with much difficulty, they drove the British inhabitants. After this, Cæsar encamped on Barham Downs, where he waited a supply; in which, meeting with some disappointment, the Britons again gave him battle, and, as he owns, were repulsed with difficulty; insomuch, that, when he had repaired his fleet, he judged it the wisest thing he could do to return to Gaul; and this, accordingly, he did, and took the farther precaution of embarking his forces at midnight. Happy had it been for the Britons, if, after so glorious a contest for the preservation of their freedom, they had concerted proper measures for giving him as good a reception, in case of his making a second attempt, but they were deficient in discretion, though not in valour, and quarrelling amongst themselves, Mandubratius, a traitor to his country, fled to Gaul, in order to invite him again.

Cæsar was at that time returned to Rome; but his lieutenants in Gaul were providing a navy according to his directions, which consisted of no less than eight hundred sail, on board of which, when he came back, Cæsar embarked a numerous army for Britain. He landed as before in Kent, without meeting with any resistance, the Britons being astonished at the sight of ten times the force with which they had before contested. The Romans marched as far as the river Stoure, where, in a short space, the British monarch Caswallan engaged them with a formidable army. In this battle, the Romans forced their enemies to retreat; but in the evening, the Britains boldly attacked the Roman camp, and, when they found themselves unable to keep it, charged quite through the forces appointed to defend it, and recovered their fastnesses. Cæsar marching

forwards toward the Thames, Caswallan caused the ford where he was to pass to be stuck full of sharp stakes, remaining with his army on the opposite shore, in order to have taken advantage of that confusion this contrivance must have occasioned; but the design was betrayed, and Cæsar passed somewhat higher. The place, however, retains the name of Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, and is another proof that the Britons knew how to exert their force by land and by water. After this, Caswallan managed the war without fighting set battles, till Cæsar stormed his capital, which is supposed to have been Verulam, near St. Albans, and that some of the British princes submitted to Cæsar, when he also thought proper to make terms; which Cæsar readily granted him, that he might be rid of this business with honour, which, if we believe his own commentaries, he effected; but we know Asinius Pollio said, those memoirs were written with little accuracy, and small regard to truth; and Suetonius, as to this particular action, tells us, that he was fairly beaten by the Britons.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar consecrated to Venus a military ornament, embroidered with British pearl, a circumstance slight in appearance, but of consequence to my purpose, since by this consecration it is intimated, that Cæsar arrogated to himself the dominion of the sea; whence *vincula dare oceano*, to give laws to the ocean, and *Britannos subjugare*, to subdue the Britons, became convertible terms with subsequent authors, who all endeavour to place Cæsar's British expedition in this, as in far the most glorious light.

Augustus, when he had settled the empire, thought of paying this island a visit, but arriving in Gaul, he heard there of the revolt of the Pannonians, which obliged him to change his design. Seven years after, however, he resumed it, and came again into Gaul, where ambassadors from Britain met him; and, on their promising to pay tribute to him, he desisted a

second time. Finding, next year, that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invasion of Britain: but the inhabitants prevented him, by sending ambassadors, who offered, in the capitol, sacrifices to the Roman gods, swore obedience in the temple of Mars, promised to pay tribute duly, and undertook to yield certain duties for the goods by them exported: which is a plain indication, that the Romans chiefly sought an acknowledgment of naval dominion, or superiority at sea. During the reign of Tiberius, the Britons kept fair with the Romans, by their prudence in this particular; for when some of the soldiers of Germanicus had been wrecked on their coast, they not only received them kindly, but sent them back to him safely. Thus these wise emperors maintained the reputation of the Roman power, without running any further hazards against a people martial in their dispositions, unenervated by luxury, tenacious of liberty, and yet useful as allies.

The felicity of this country was then, as indeed it generally is, owing to the wisdom, courage, and public spirit of its prince. The name of this excellent monarch was Cunobeline, who reigned many years, and with great reputation; but in the latter part of his life, there fell out a misfortune in his family, which proved fatal to his subjects. One of his sons, whom the Latin writers call Adminius, behaved so ill, that his father was obliged to banish him. This prince repaired to Caligula, and excited him to invade the country in his worthless quarrel. The Roman emperor immediately made such preparations, as if he really intended to subdue the whole island; but weighing very maturely the danger of such an enterprise, he resolved to content himself with an imaginary conquest. He sent the letters of Adminius to the Roman senate, as testimonies of the submission of the Britons: he built a mighty watch-tower upon the coast fronting Norfolk, as a monument of his pretended subjugation of the Britons, which, in after

times, served for a kind of Pharos, and was called in the language of the natives *Brittenhuis*, i. e. *Domus Britannica*, the British house; and, to complete all, he drew down his army to the sea-shore, and having disposed them in battalia, he commanded them to fill their helmets with cockle and other shells, calling them the spoils of the ocean, due to the capitol, and to the palace; which act, though it sufficiently spoke his vanity, yet farther demonstrates, that the dominion of Britain and the empire of the ocean were held to be the same thing. Cunobeline did not long outlive this emperor; yet he was so happy as to die before the Romans set foot as enemies again in Britain.

He was succeeded by his son, whom the British writers style Gwyder, a brave and generous prince, of whom the Latin historians say nothing; because the Romans reaped no great honour by their wars against him. He, in the very beginning of his reign, refused to pay them tribute, because certain fugitives, who fled to the Romans, had not been delivered up; which shews that the Britons were incapable of tamely bearing injuries, even from the lords of the world. Among these fugitives was one Bericus, a man of parts, but a traitor, who encouraged the emperor Claudius to think of invading and subduing Britain. Accordingly he sent over his lieutenants, who began and prosecuted the war with success, and afterwards crossing the sea himself, subdued a great part of South Britain, through the valour of his legions, and the intestine divisions of the Britons, who, had they been united, would undoubtedly have compelled him to quit the island. For this conquest the emperor triumphed, and his lieutenant A. Plautius was allowed an ovation. On account of the victory he was complimented, by the poets of his time, as the conqueror of the ocean, and the sovereign of the sea. Suetonius tells us, that among the spoils of his enemies, he placed a naval crown by the civic, in testimony of his having vanquished the ocean; and Seneca the tragedian celebrates this vic-

tory in the following lines; which at once express how high an idea was then entertained of so extraordinary a discovery, and how much glory was supposed to arise from this maritime victory.

*En, qui Britannis, primus imposuit jugum,
Ignota tantis classibus texit freta.*

By him first vanquish'd, were the Britons shown,
And Roman navies sail'd thro' seas unknown.

Yet we must not suppose, notwithstanding these pompous marks of conquest, that the Britons were absolutely subdued: the contrary of this appears plainly from the British histories; and not obscurely even from the Roman writers. Arviragus, who is supposed to have been the youngest son of Cunobeline, inherited the virtues, as well as the dominions of his father, and after long harassing the Romans as an enemy, consented at last, upon honourable terms, to become their friend. That this martial monarch had rendered himself exceedingly formidable to Rome, might, if other proofs of it were lost, be deduced from the following passage in Juvenal, where, bitterly inveighing against the gluttony of Domitian, he introduces one predicting, from the taking of an overgrown turbot;

*Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.—*

Some king you'll take, or from the British throne
Shall proud Arviragus come tumbling down.

The irony of this passage could not have been sharp or cutting, if this British king had not been a very potent prince, and one whose reputation was at once thoroughly established, and universally known.

Thus are we imperceptibly fallen as low as the reign of Domitian; yet some passages there are remarkable enough to oblige us to return to the mention of those reigns which intervene between his and that

of Claudius. The glorious enterprise of Boadicea, who, in the time of Nero, attempted, and almost achieved the driving the Romans entirely out of Britain, having no relation to maritime affairs, falls not within my province. Under the reign of Vespasian, who had himself commanded, with great reputation, in this island, Julius Agricola was sent to preside here. He was a wise governor, as well as an excellent officer, signalized himself in the beginning of his administration, by the reduction of Mona, or Anglesey; with the assistance, however, of British troops, who passed the narrow arm of the sea, which divides that island from Britain, on horseback, and thereby surprised the inhabitants; so that they were vanquished, as much, at least, by fear as by force. Under the reign of Titus, Agricola projected a noble scheme; that of fixing and securing the bounds of the Roman empire in Britain, so as to defend its subjects from the inroad of the barbarous nations inhabiting the northern part of the island. In the prosecution of this design Agricola advanced farther north than any of his predecessors had hitherto done; and observing that two estuaries, or intruding arms of the sea, almost cut in sunder one part of the island from the other, he resolved to fortify this isthmus, and thereby shut out the Scots and Picts; which he, accordingly, performed. These arms of the sea are the Friths of Clyde and of Forth.

Having thus secured the Roman province from all danger, he began to make the necessary dispositions for invading Ireland, as well as for examining and subduing the remaining part of Britain. With this view he fitted out a considerable fleet, and ordered it to sail northwards, looking into all the creeks and bays, in order to gain an exact knowledge of the coast, while himself and the army marched forward by land. This exceedingly alarmed the northern nations, who, as the Roman writers observe, gave all for lost, now the secrets of their sea were discovered.

The Caledonians defended themselves with great obstinacy against Agricola, but with indifferent success ; and, in the mean time, they were terribly harassed by the fleet, which, at length, surrounded the island, and if we may believe the Roman authors, subdued the Orchades, or islands of Orkney. However, it is certain, that after having completed their design, this navy returned to the Portus Trutulensis, or, as it ought rather to be read, Rutupensis, which is conceived to be Richborough, near Sandwich. This expedition gained great honour to Julius Agricola, and was looked upon, in those days, as a most heroic act ; the boundaries of Britain being esteemed, by the Romans, the very utmost limits of the world, as appears plainly from the accounts we have in Tacitus ; and, if any doubts remain as to his impartiality, since Agricola was his near relation, we may put the fact out of dispute, by citing what Juvenal says on the same topic.

—————*Arma quidem ultra*
Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

We fame beyond Juverna have pursu'd,
 And ev'n the distant Orkneys have subdu'd ;
 Our forces now remotest Britons fright,
 In northern climes content with little night.

History informs us, that this expedition of Agricola was in the summer, which accounts for the last line, since, in that season, the Romans certainly found the days very long in the northern part of the isle ; whence they concluded that the inhabitants were content with a slender proportion of rest ; which seems to be the true meaning of their being satisfied with a short night.

Under the reigns of the succeeding emperors, Nerva and Trajan, there happened little of consequence in this island ; but the Emperor Adrian, who succeeded Trajan, understanding that the northern nations made frequent incursions into the Roman province, came

over hither ; and, after gaining frequent advantages over them, he resolved to take the same method which Agricola had formerly done, of bounding the frontier province by a wall, or military entrenchment ; which he, accordingly, cast up, and, as the manner of those times was, strongly fortified. This wall is said to have extended about eighty Italian miles, from Eden, in Cumberland, to Tyne, in Northumberland ; though others say, it was from Gabrosentum, now Gateshead, or Gateshend, in the bishopric of Durham to Carlisle, thereby abandoning a tract of country, seventy miles long and one hundred and forty broad, to the Scots and Picts ; yet, on his return to Rome, he caused a new coin to be struck, whereon he is styled the Restorer of Britain. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, one Lollius Urbicus acted as his lieutenant in Britain, who was very successful in his wars against the northern nations ; and who, having driven them beyond the friths of Clyde and Forth, re-edified Agricola's wall, and restored the Roman province to its full extent. About this time Sejus Saturninus was archigubernus of the Roman fleet here ; but, whether we are to understand, thereby, that he was admiral, or arch-pilot, is doubtful. In succeeding times the Scots and Picts recovered the country which they had lost, and gained so many advantages over the Romans, that the Emperor Severus came hither in person, and, with infinite difficulty, repulsed these invaders, losing no less than fifty thousand men in the war ; and, at last, was content to re-edify Adrian's wall, which he fortified with strong towers or bulwarks, assuming, thereupon, the surname of Britannicus Maximus. He died at York, and his body being burnt at Ackham, there is still to be seen a great mound of earth, raised upon that occasion, and called, by the inhabitants, Sever's hill.

In the succeeding distractions of the Roman empire, Britain like the rest of its provinces, fell into the hands of various masters, styled, by their adherents,

emperors, and, by the rest of the world, tyrants. Amongst these, there is one who deserves to be remembered in this history; since, how bad soever his title might be, he made a good prince to the Britons, and carried the maritime power of this country so high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but also to strike a terror into the whole Roman empire.

Dioclesian and Maximian having shared the empire between them, the latter, who possessed the western parts, finding the coasts much harassed by pirates of several nations, but chiefly Saxons and Franks, made choice of Caius Carausius, a man of known valour, to command the Roman fleet for scouring the seas. This charge he executed with equal courage and conduct; but, as the Roman historians allege, not so honourably as he ought. They tell us that, instead of chastising the pirates, as his duty directed, he too frequently admitted them to composition; and, finding this policy discovered, he had recourse to another, neglecting to take them, till they had enriched themselves by a multitude of prizes, and then seizing them with their ill-got wealth, applied it to his own use. Maximian, informed of these practices, conceived a suspicion of his intending to set up for himself; which scheme, if this officer really had in his head, he furthered by endeavouring to prevent it. The method he took was, by commissioning a person to assassinate Carausius; which failing, this cunning commander improved to his advantage; for, crossing, with a strong squadron of ships over into Britain, he there persuaded a great part of the Roman army, and the Britons in general, to embrace his party, and so, assuming the purple robe, he declared himself emperor, and maintained that dignity against all the power with which his rivals could oppose him. Besides this island, he held the port of Gessoriacum, now Bullogne, in France, and the adjacent coast, whence he so harassed Gaul, Italy, and Spain, by his fleets, that,

however averse Maximian might be to such a partner, he was, at length, compelled to purchase peace, by owning this man for emperor in Britain; and there are still extant some of his coins, having on one side his head, with this inscription, *IMP. CARAUSIUS, P. F. AUG.* On the reverse, the portraitures of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this agreement with Maximian. This coin is of silver, and found no where but in Britain.

However he acquired the empire, it is on all hands agreed, that he held it very worthily; for he governed the Britons with great justice and equity, maintained the dominion of the sea against all competitors with much resolution; and, when the northern nations, that is to say, the Scots and Picts, began to vex his subjects with incursions, he made war upon them, and, having beat them in many engagements, he recovered all that the Romans had ever held in Britain; and, as some say, erected, as a mark of his conquest, that celebrated monument of antiquity, called Arthur's Oven; though others affirm this to be a temple of the god Terminus, and erected by another hand. When he had thus signalized his courage and conduct at their expense, he made peace with these nations, wisely foreseeing that he should, some time or other, stand in need of their assistance against the Roman emperors; who, he knew, waited only for a favourable opportunity of disclosing their hatred against him. He took care, likewise, by all means possible, to increase his fleet; and, which shews him to have been a very politic prince, he negotiated a treaty with the Franks, and other nations, who were seated on the Thracian Bosphorus, and who were become famous for their power at sea; whereby it was stipulated, that they should send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, which, passing through the streights of Gibraltar, should join his navy in the British seas, and act in conjunction against the Romans. This, certainly, is a transaction worthy of being recorded

in our naval history, unless we have so far lost the spirit of our ancestors, as to be proud rather of being slaves to Rome, than of contesting the sovereignty of the sea with that haughty people.

The Romans, justly alarmed at so formidable a confederacy, which, in an instant, deprived them of any safe passage by sea, began to provide for putting a speedy end to this war. In order to this, Constantius and Maximian both applied themselves to raising forces by sea and land. The former undertook to march, with an army, into the territory possessed by the enemy in Gaul; while, the latter, from the naval magazines on the Rhine, fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail. While this was doing, Constantius besieged Carausius in Bullogne, who, having the sea open, defended himself without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that, while he held this advantage, their siege would be to little purpose; but Constantius having found a way to block up the port, by a work of a new contrivance, Carausius had no means of safety left but breaking through the Roman camp, with a few gallant followers. This he performed in a dark night; and, embarking in a small ship, crossed over to Britain, where he had a strong fleet and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this wrong step, when he was informed that, the very night after his departure, the sea had carried away all the works of the Romans, and left the port open. The next thing Constantius did, was, to draw together all the ships that could be had from every part of his dominions; and, having stationed strong squadrons on the coast of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, to prevent Carausius from joining his confederates, he sailed in person, with the rest of his fleet, through the straits of Gibraltar, to meet the Franks; whom he defeated so absolutely, and pursued his victory so closely, that there was not a man of them left. In the interim, Carausius employed his time in preparing the best he could for the defence of Britain; but Alectus, a con-

siderable officer in his service, and whom he had always treated as an intimate friend, supposing that his death would put him in possession of all his power, treacherously murdered him, when he had reigned seven years, and then assumed the purple.

Alectus kept his dominions and his forces; and was, for some time superior in power at sea; but he employed that superiority rather as a pirate than as a prince; sending out his squadrons to spoil the adjacent coasts of Gaul, and to interrupt the trade of all the Roman provinces. Constantius saw this with impatience; but, at the same time, took all the necessary precautions for putting an end to it. At length, he found himself strong enough to fight Alectus by sea; and, with this view, sailed from the coast of Gaul towards that of Britain. Alectus, with a navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the Isle of Wight; whence, on the first intelligence of the departure of the Roman fleet, he stood to sea, in order to intercept it; but it so happened, that Constantius, by means of a fog, passed him, and landed safely in Britain; which he had no sooner done, than, from a foresight that the British fleet would infallibly beat his in a fair sea-fight, he caused his ships to be set on fire, that his soldiers might have no hopes of escaping but by beating their enemies. Alectus quickly returned to Britain, and put himself at the head of a small body of troops; but, perceiving that the hearts of the people were entirely alienated from him, and that he was thereby become inferior on land to those over whom he had a superiority at sea, he grew distracted; and, engaging rashly with Asclepiodotus, who commanded a party of Roman troops, his forces were routed, and himself, having thrown away his purple robe, after a desperate defence, was slain. He held the empire, or rather bore the title of emperor, about three years; and there is yet extant a gold coin of his, with this inscription, IMP. C. ALECTUS, P. F. AUG. On the reverse, SALUS AUG. He seems to have lost

himself by his rashness ; for he certainly fought before the main body of the troops came up. These consisted of foreigners of all nations, drawn to his service from the hopes of pay, and who, as soon as they knew of his misfortune, resolved to satisfy their expectations by plundering those they came to preserve. With this view they possessed themselves of London ; but, as they entered the city, a new mischance befel them : part of the Roman army, severed from the grand fleet at sea by the mist before-mentioned, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and entered the city immediately after them. Upon this, an engagement ensued, wherein the foreigners were defeated and cut to pieces ; their commander, whose name was Gallus, endeavouring to save himself by flight, was pushed into, and drowned in a little brook, called from thence, in the British tongue, Nant-Gall, and, by the Saxons, Walbrook.

In succeeding times, when the government of the Roman empire came to be better settled, proper officers were appointed for maintaining both civil and military government in Britain ; but, above all, due care was taken of naval affairs, and garrisons were placed in various ports, and particularly at those which follow ; viz. Othona, which Camden took to be Hastings, in Sussex ; Dubris, which certainly was Dover ; Lemmanis, which was either Hythe, in Kent, or some place near it, perhaps Lime-hill ; Branodunum, Branchester, in Norfolk, not far from the washes ; Gariannonum, Yarmouth ; Regulbium, Reculver, in Kent ; Rittupis, or Rittupæ, Richborough, near Sandwich ; Anderia, Newenden, in Kent ; and the port of the Adurni, now Alkrington, or Edrington, near Shoreham, in Sussex.

Constantine the Great, as he was born in this island, so he was extremely careful of its concerns. On his death, and the division of the empire among his sons, it fell to the share of Constantine, the eldest. After his murder, his younger brothers, Constantius

and Constans, were both here, and Gratianus was, by them, made general of Britain. The Emperor Julian sent over Lupicinus to repress the Scots; in which he was very successful. Under the Emperors Valentinianus and Valens, Theodosius performed great things in this island; and, having recovered the country between the two walls, he erected it into a province by itself, and called it Valencia. After this, Maximus was general of the Roman forces in this island; who, having vanquished the Scots and Picts, was declared emperor by his army. He, carrying on great wars on the continent, transported thither the flower of the British youth, which was one principal cause of the misfortunes that befel his country; for, after a reign of six years, he was vanquished, and put to death in Italy; and so Britain returned to the obedience of the Roman emperors. The Emperor Theodosius sent over Chrysanthus, who governed here very worthily all the time of his reign. In the nonage of the Emperor Honorius, new disturbances were created by the Scots and Picts, which induced Stilico, who was the emperor's guardian, to send Victorinus to command here; who, having expelled the invaders, re-fortified the wall, and placed a legion in garrison to defend it; the same worthy person took care also to restore the maritime force of the island; whereby he secured it from the insults of those piratical nations who now began to infest the sea. Claudian, in his panegyric on Stilico, attributes all this to him, because done by his order, and by an officer acting under his authority.

But when Alaric, the Goth, made his first irruption into Italy, Victorinus, with his legion, was recalled out of Britain; and, the affairs of the empire continually declining, the Roman forces he left behind thought themselves at liberty to elect, in conjunction with the Britons, a prince of their own, or, as the phrase was in those times, an emperor. Accordingly, they chose and murdered two in less than six months.

Then they set up one Constantine, merely for his name's sake ; who, in a short time, aspired to greater things than the bare dominion of Britain. On this account he, like his predecessor Maximus, assembled the utmost force of the island, and passed therewith over into Gaul, where, by the help of these forces and his fleet, he performed many great things, till the Emperor Honorius made war against, and subdued him. The Britons, in the mean time, were brought to the last extremity by the Scots and Picts ; inso-much that the remainder of the Romans, giving up the country for lost, at least, for the present, buried their treasures, and transported themselves to other parts. However, even after this, on their humble application to Honorius, Ætius, general of the forces in Gaul, had orders to send over a legion ; which he did, and repeated the same favour some years afterwards. This last legion was commanded by Gallio ; who, having repaired, or rather, rebuilt, the wall originally raised by Severus, and fortified the coast against the sudden invasions of the pirates, who then infested the British seas, plainly told the people that the affairs of the empire would not permit them to pass over any more ; but that, for the future, they must think of defending themselves as well as they could ; and, after many exhortations to behave with constancy and courage in the cause of their country, he embarked all the Roman troops, and left the Britons to their fortunes.

Thus, about four hundred and eighty years, according to the computation of the learned Selden, or four hundred and seventy, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, after the first invasion of this island by Julius Cæsar, the Romans quitted it, and surrendered all the rights to which they had pretended. For, this being a voluntary abdication, nothing can be plainer, than that they left the Britons as free as they found them. We are next to inquire, what the effects were of this desertion of the isle by the Romans, and in

what situation the naval affairs of the Britains remained, when they were thus left to themselves.

The Scots and Picts no sooner understood that the Britons were abandoned by the Romans, than they began to form designs not only of pillaging the southern part of the island, but for making an absolute conquest of it; which, accordingly, they attempted, with a numerous army and with a great fleet. The first thing they did was to demolish the wall; that it might be no obstacle to future incursions; then, landing their forces behind the Britons, they so astonished them with numbers, that they relinquished all thoughts of defence. These inroads having destroyed the chief cities, and interrupted agriculture, a famine ensued; which, however grievous to the Britons in one respect, was yet of service to them in another; for it destroyed multitudes of their enemies, and compelled the rest to retreat.

In this situation, they sent over the Bishop of London into Armorica, or Brittany, in France, to demand assistance of their brethren settled there, representing the chief cause of their weakness to be the planting of that country, by the Emperor Maximus, and the leaving there the greatest part of the British navy. This representation had a proper effect upon the King of Brittany; who sent over his brother Constantine, with a squadron of stout ships, and two thousand men. Constantine was crowned their king by the Britons, and, by them, surnamed the Deliverer, because he fought valiantly and successfully against their enemies, and ruled worthily for ten years.

At the time of his death he left three sons, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, surnamed Pendragon. Constans, the eldest, was a very weak man, and, by his father, destined to be a monk; the other two were children. Vortigern, a British nobleman, of great power, took Constans out of his monastery, and, to serve his own purposes, made him king. He go-

verned, for a time, in his name; and, when he thought himself strong enough to rule without him, he caused him to be put to death, and then seized the kingdom: the other children of Constantine flying to Brittany. Vortigern, who, as the Saxon authors tell us, invited their countrymen over into Britain, was a very bad prince, and, by his tyrannical government, encouraged the Scots and Picts again to invade the southern parts of the island, and so alienated the minds of his subjects from him, that he durst not rely on their assistance, even for the defence of their country. The first Saxons who arrived, were Horsa and Hengist, two brothers, with their followers; by whose assistance Vortigern repulsed the Scots and Picts, and settled himself effectually in the kingdom. To fix them, without whose assistance his security could not continue here, he gave them lands in Kent, where they landed; as also in the north, after they had beaten his enemies. These Saxons came over in three ships; but, having thriven so well here, Hengist, who was a wise man, prevailed upon the king, first, to give him leave to build a castle, and then to bring over a fresh supply of his countrymen; which he accordingly did, in a squadron of eighteen ships. With them came over Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, a very beautiful and artful woman, whom Vortigern married, quitting, for her sake, his former queen, by whom he had three sons; and, inviting over, by her suggestions, a vast number of Saxons, he thereby so irritated the Britons, that they resolved to depose him; which, accordingly, they did, and set up his son.

The name of this young prince was Vortimer, a brave and worthy man. He immediately raised an army and equipped a fleet, while his degenerate father meanly sided with strangers against his subjects. The British writers say, that Vortimer defeated the Saxons in four battles; the first on the river Derwent; the second at Ailesford, in Kent, where Horsa was slain; the third was on the sea-shore; on the loss of

which they fled to the isle of Thanet, where they thought they should have been safe; but Vortimer having now revived the spirits of his subjects, and got together a considerable fleet, the Saxons found themselves obliged to try their fortunes in a naval engagement; in which they were beaten, for the fourth time, and obliged to fly home, leaving their wives and children behind them, in the isle of Thanet; nor had they ever returned if Vortimer had lived; but he was, shortly after, poisoned by the contrivance of his mother-in-law.

After the death of Vortimer, the Britons unaccountably invited Vortigern again to the throne. He, persisting in his old sentiments, recalled Hengist, who soon brought over such crowds of Saxons, that when the king would have restrained him, it was not in his power; insomuch, that, after some fruitless struggles, he, at length, fled into Wales, and left the best part of the island to their mercy: and thus, not more by their own valour, than by the weakness of the king, the Saxons first seated themselves in Britain.

In this period of time, Aurelius Ambrosius, the second son of Constantine, was become a man; and, being invited, by the Britons, to prosecute his claim to the crown, he got together a good fleet, and embarking thereon ten thousand men, landed at Totness. The first thing he did was to pursue Vortigern, whom he defeated and destroyed; and then turned his arms against the Saxons, whom he defeated also in several battles: and, in one of them, slew the famous Hengist, either in fight, or, as the British history reports, after he had made him prisoner. Upon this victory, Aurelius made a peace with the Saxons; and was, not long after, at their instigation, poisoned. It is very remarkable, that Paulus Diaconus mentions this British king, and tells us, that by his valour he supported his sinking country.

Uther, surnamed Pendragon, that is, dragon's head,

from his bearing the head of a dragon in his ensigns, succeeded his brother; and carried on the war against the Saxons with various success. In this reign the kingdom was invaded from Ireland; but, by the courage of this prince the enemy was repulsed, and the public tranquillity restored; to preserve which, he equipt a very considerable fleet; and this, together with his dominions, he left to his son, the famous Arthur.

This prince, whose glory, like that of many other martial monarchs, turns more to his prejudice than advantage, by giving an air of fable to his history, and bringing his real deeds in question, through the extravagant pains bestowed by those who recorded them, achieved great things, and intended greater; and was, in truth, one of the most eminent of our naval heroes. He annexed to his kingdom of Britain the six insular provinces; viz. Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orcades or Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark; which, throwing off the yoke under the reign of his successor, were once more recovered by King Malgo, though held by the Britons after that but for a little time.

Thus we have brought down the naval history of this ancient nation to the time of its declension, when they were compelled, by the Saxons, to retire into Wales, and the adjacent counties; where the Britons, for several ages, preserved some maritime strength. If any one should think that we ought to have begun our history lower, that we might have written with more certainty; the answer is ready, and, I hope, satisfactory: many of our wisest antiquaries are of opinion that we derive our excellent constitution from the Britons; their laws being translated by the command of the Saxon princes, and incorporated with their own. If, then, their constitution might be the model of ours, why not their naval dominion the source of ours? We are the descendants of the Saxons; but then they were the successors of the Britons;

and did not think it beneath them to claim under them in this respect. Thus, the glorious King Edward I. in a letter that he wrote to the pope, in asserting his sovereignty over Scotland, derives it from the conquest of Arthur; so that, it seems, his acts were matter of record and history then, though, in the eyes of some, they pass for fables now.

It may not be amiss, likewise, to observe, that we follow some very great authorities, in paying this respect to the British history. Camden himself, though he suspects it in the gross, yet supports many historical passages, in his great work of the description of Britain, from Nennius, and other British writers. The Scottish historian Buchanan, though he treats the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth with great contempt, yet acknowledges the history of Arthur gives more light into some parts of it than that of any other author. The profound Selden, who studied our antiquities with equal application and judgment, proceeds likewise in this tract. To conclude, the immortal Shakspeare, whose works proclaim him as true a patriot as he was a poet, shewed a strong inclination to preserve the memory of our British worthies, by dedicating to their honour several of his plays, such as, the tragedy of King Lear, Cymbeline, Locrine, &c, and the sublime Milton had thoughts of doing the same; though he seems to have altered his mind when he wrote his history.

If so little certainty occur in what the world has generally esteemed matters of moment, we may very well suppose that there is less still to be gleaned from ancient writers, within this period, in reference to commerce; yet, there is something, for what was there, save the thirst of gain, that could establish a regular intercourse between countries so distant as Phœnicia and the British isles? Yet, such a correspondence there was; nor are we left quite in the dark as to the motives upon which it was founded. The Phœnicians, in those early days the greatest traders

in the world, visited these islands for the sake of their tin, which was excellent in its kind, and of which they had great plenty; and, for this reason, they bestowed upon them the name of Cassiterides*; the reader will permit me to give him two instances with respect to the commercial spirit of those ages, which are equally instructive and entertaining.

It was in Spain, in which the Phœnicians had potent colonies and fruitful territories, that they fixed the staple of their trade with those islands before-mentioned, and so jealous, it seems, they were of having their route to the British Indies discovered, that a ship, laden with tin, being chased by a Roman vessel of greater force, the captain and owner wilfully run her on shore, that he might have a chance of drawing his eager enemy into the same misfortune; or, at least, be secure of preventing his rich cargo from falling into his hands, and thereby tempt the Romans to think of opening a passage to those islands themselves. This conduct of his was not only approved, but applauded by his countrymen, who made him ample satisfaction for his cargo. We are indebted for this intelligence to Strabo, one of the most learned and authentic writers of antiquity. The other passage is to be met with in Solinus,† who assures us that the inhabitants of the Cassiterides would not part with their valuable commodities for money, but in-

* These islands are styled Cassiterides from the Greek word *κασσίτερος*, which signifies tin; just as from the Latin word *stannum* we have formed stanneries, to signify tin works. In the like manner, among the Indian nation called the Drangi, there was a city named Cassiteron, from its being a great mart for tin. Stephanus, *de urbibus*, also mentions in the Indian sea an island called Cassitera, for the same reason.

† He says, they have no markets there, and will not deal with strangers otherwise than by barter. But Strabo mentions them as a sober and civilized people, who wore, commonly, black garments, and particularly an inner, or under, robe, reaching down to their ankles, girt under their breasts with a girdle, and walking, commonly, with staves in their hands.

sisted upon having goods for goods ; now this could not arise from a spirit of barbarity, for the use of money was known to the Britons, though the metal they made use of for that purpose was either copper or iron, but flowed from a spirit of traffic ; and there is nothing absurd in supposing that they either re-exported these foreign commodities, or manufactured some of them, and then sold them to other nations ; there being no greater skill required for that, than for extracting and refining metals.

The goods and commodities of Britain in these early days were, corn, cattle, hides, hounds, pearls, lead, tin, silver, and gold. The two first metals were of their own growth ; but, for the two last, I presume they had them from other nations, in exchange. In process of time, when, by their intercourse with the Romans, they were grown more polite, the Britons, probably, extended their trade, though we have no authorities to enable us to give a distinct account of this matter.

There can be no doubt made, that when the Romans had fully subdued all the southern part of this isle, and had introduced their customs and manners among the natives, they must have made a great change in the face of affairs, by bringing in a more elegant and sumptuous way of living, which, consequently, was favourable to trade ; and we have just reasons to believe, caused abundance of good towns to be erected in places held convenient in that respect. It is the conjecture of Bishop Stillingfleet, that London, called, by the Romans, Augusta, owed its rise to this ; but, for my part, I rather believe that it was a fortress and port too, in the time of the Britons ; and that it was, afterwards, altered, rebuilt, and re-peopled by the Romans. We may form some judgment as to the size of towns in those days, by what several historians relate of the mischief done here and at Verulam, by the Britons, when they endeavoured to throw off the Roman yoke, under Queen Boadicea.

They then destroyed both Verulam and London; and, in these two places, they cut off, as one historian says, seventy thousand, or, as another affirms, eighty thousand citizens. Now, at that time, it is agreed that London was not so considerable a place as Verulam, and, besides, the Roman general had withdrawn out of London all who were willing to quit the place; so that, as Tacitus expressly tells us, there were none left behind, except such as, through age and infirmities, were unable to leave it, or such as were so taken with the delights of it, that even the approaching danger could not induce them to quit it. If, therefore, under these circumstances, such numbers were killed in two places only, we must conclude, from thence, that the country, under the obedience of the Romans, was very populous. Yet, in succeeding times, when they were blessed with a long and general peace, the Roman dominion much farther extended, and, beyond all comparison, better settled, the southern parts of Britain must have attained to a far more flourishing condition.

We have very large and very accurate accounts of the several colonies planted, the many fortresses raised, and the disposition of the great roads, which, with infinite diligence, and no less skill, the Romans caused to be raised through all parts of England. We have very learned and very curious dissertations upon their inscriptions, coins, and other antiquities, which have escaped the sharp teeth of time, and have been preserved to our day; all of which plainly shew that they were a very ingenious and polite, as well as a great, a wise, and a brave people.

CHAP. II.

The Naval History of the Saxons, from their first seating themselves in this island, to their being subdued by the Danes, including Memoirs of King Alfred.

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 500 YEARS.

WE have copious accounts of the ancient Saxons, before they transported themselves out of Germany, as well in other authors as their own. They defended themselves against the Romans with equal firmness and success, manifesting the love of liberty, not only by a generous contempt of death in the field, but also by studiously avoiding luxury in times of peace, for which they are deservedly famous. On the declension of the Roman empire, they became noted for their piracies at sea; insomuch, that the emperors were forced to create a new officer here in Britain, called the Count of the Saxon coast, purely to repel their invasions. In succeeding times, they infested the coasts of France as well as Britain, and began to threaten greater exploits than they had hitherto undertaken. We must, however, observe, that they were styled pirates only by their enemies, who felt the effects of their arms; for, as to themselves, they looked on this course of life as a noble and necessary employment.

The Saxon writers say, that they were invited into Britain by King Vortigern, in order to assist him against the Scots and Picts; but the British historians assert, that Hengist and Horsa landing with their forces in Kent, King Vortigern, who was then at Canterbury, sent for them, and received them into his service, without any previous invitation. This account is na-

tural, and the circumstances attending it highly deserve the reader's notice. As soon as they were brought before him, he cast his eyes upon the two brothers, who excelled all the rest both in nobility and gracefulness of person; and having taken a view of the whole company, asked them of what country they were, and what was the occasion of their coming into his kingdom? To whom Hengist (whose years and wisdom entitled him to a precedence), in the name of the rest, made the following answer: "Most noble king; Saxony, which is one of the countries of Germany, was the place of our birth; and the occasion of our coming, was, to offer our service to you, or some other prince. For we were driven out of our native country, for no other reason, but that the established usage of the kingdom required it. It is the custom of that place, that when it comes to be overstocked with people, our princes from the provinces meet together, and command all the youth of the kingdom to assemble before them; then, casting lots, they make choice of the strongest, and ablest of them, to go into foreign climates, to procure themselves a subsistence, and free their country from a superfluous multitude of people. Our region, therefore, of late being actually overstocked, the princes met; and made choice of the youth which you see in your presence, and have obliged us to obey the custom that had been established of old. And they made us two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, generals over them, out of respect to our ancestors who enjoyed the same honour. In obedience, therefore, to laws so long held sacred, we put to sea, and, under the happy guidance of (Woden) Mercury, have arrived in your kingdom."

The Saxon annals acknowledge, that Hengist and Horsa came with no more than three ships; but that the fertility of the British soil, and the vices of the inhabitants induced them to think of sending for more of their countrymen, in hopes of seating themselves here. Another of their historians gives still a fairer

and a fuller account of this matter. The Saxons, says he, made for some time a civil return to the Britons for their friendship; but by degrees, perceiving the country to be of a large extent, the soil fruitful, and the inhabitants little inclined to feats of arms; considering further, that themselves and many of their brethren were destitute of settled habitations, they began to find fault with their pay, to murmur at the quantity of provisions that were furnished them; and, daily increasing their numbers, they at last, on these frivolous pretences, made peace with the Scots and Picts, and, in conjunction with them, turned their arms upon the unhappy Britons. Though most of our writers call these invaders by the common name of Saxons; yet, in truth, there were three German nations, whence issued those swarms of foreigners, who now took possession of this island, *viz.* the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The Saxons erected here three principalities, *viz.* the east, south, and west Saxons. The Angles were, for some time, distinguished into East-Angles, Mid-Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians. The Jutes settled in Kent, and in the Isle of Wight; and, in this last-mentioned place, their posterity remained so long unmixed, that, several ages after, the west Saxons called the inhabitants of that island Jutes.

For some considerable space from their first settlement, they encouraged fresh supplies, and sometimes whole colonies to come over; but, after they had secured their possessions, and fixed their respective principalities, they turned their views entirely to the care of things at home, and very imprudently concluded, that keeping up great armies would secure them from foreign invasion. Though they had the example of the Britons before them, they suffered themselves to be distressed for want of naval strength; not having learned, as yet, that unerring maxim in policy, "That power is best preserved by the use of those means by which it was obtained."

In one thing, they either followed the old British model, or brought the like custom with them from Germany, *viz.* allowing a pre-eminence to one of their princes, who, while the rest only governed within their respective dominions, had the superiority over the whole; and thence, by way of distinction, was styled the King of the Englishmen. This office, in some sort, resembled that of a dictator, and, like it, was sometimes useful, sometimes detrimental; and at last fatal to the people. Offa, the eleventh king of the Mercians, having attained this dignity, began to shew a disposition of ruling absolutely over his neighbours; for which he was better qualified than any of his predecessors, having parts, as well as power, superior to most of his contemporaries. His ambition, however, united the British princes in Wales, and the Saxon kings in England, in an alliance against him; but he baffled their united force, as much by his wisdom as by the strength and success of his arms. To secure himself against the incursions of the Britons, he threw up a strong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee, and running along the mountains, ended at the fall of the Wye, near Bristol. This stupendous work, the Britons called, in their own language, *Clawdh Offa*, and the remains of it are still known by the name of Offa's ditch; and having thus secured himself on this side, he turned his forces against his Saxon neighbours. They, in their distress, applied themselves to Charles the Great, king of France, for protection, who wrote letters in a high style to Offa, commanding him to desist from his enterprises. But these, instead of producing the desired effect, engaged that magnanimous prince to turn his thoughts on the proper means of securing his dominions from foreign attempts, which he soon saw could no other way be done, than by keeping up a naval force. He, therefore, applied himself to the raising a considerable fleet; which rendered him so formidable, that Charles, who was already very power-

ful, and who became, afterwards, emperor, and in a manner lord of the continent, was glad to embrace his friendship ; and, accordingly, an alliance was negotiated between them by Alcuinus, or Albinus, a person distinguished for his great learning, and other accomplishments, of which we have, still remaining, many authentic testimonies. This step procured Offa both peace and reputation during the remainder of his life ; so that, in spite of the efforts of his enemies, he died quietly, after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years, leaving to his successors this useful lesson, "That
" he who will be secure on land, must be supreme at
" sea."

It was under the reign of this prince that the Danes first set foot in England ; but they were almost immediately forced to put to sea, and some of them were slain. A little after Offa's death, they began to infest the coast of Northumberland, where they did incredible mischief ; spreading themselves over the country like locusts ; and when they had eaten up all they could meet with, where they first landed, hoisted sail for some new place. It happened, unfortunately, that the remains of the Britons had still so inveterate a hatred against the Saxons, that, instead of joining with them to repress these new invaders, they assisted them against their old oppressors. Ecgbryht, king of the West-Saxons, having raised himself to the sovereignty of England, equipped a fleet, and defeated a Danish squadron of thirty-five ships, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, with a prodigious slaughter ; yet this did not hinder them, two years after, from landing with a vast force in Wales, where they were joined by their confederates the Britons. King Ecgbryht opposed them, both with a fleet and army ; and though he was not able to do much by sea, yet, coming to a general engagement on shore, he broke entirely the enemy, compelling the Britons to fly to the mountains, and the Danes to their ships. This kind of war was long continued, and exceedingly weakened the Saxons. Their

authentic Chronicle informs us, that King Ethelstan, in the life-time of his father, commanded the British fleet, and, off Sandwich, defeated the Danes in a bloody battle, taking nine of their ships, and obliging the rest to leave the coast; yet, soon after, they returned with three hundred and fifty sail; and, landing, took Canterbury, and other places; and, afterwards, London. From this time, the Saxons abandoned all thoughts of naval affairs, and sought only how to fortify their cities, and defend themselves against their enemies, after they were landed. This was a fatal mistake; for, by thus permitting the enemy to land, without interruption, small bodies of Danes, whom they might easily have cut off, had they attacked them separately, united themselves into irresistible armies; and, being by degrees accustomed to conquest, and driving the inhabitants from the coasts, they at last thought of settling, and being themselves equally proud and lazy, made slaves of the country people, obliging them to plow, sow, and reap for them, as their masters. Such was the situation of things, during the reigns of Ethelwolf, Ethelbert, and Ethelred; so that when Alfred, or Elfred, came to the throne, he had, properly speaking, a kingdom without subjects.

KING ALFRED,

ALFRED, or ELFRED, surnamed *The Great*, the most illustrious of the Anglo-Saxon Kings was, as we have seen, the youngest son of Ethelwolf, and is supposed to have been born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in the year 849. When he was only five years of age, he was taken by his father to Rome, and he was again sent thither with a numerous retinue. On his second visit he received the royal unction from pope Leo IV. on a report of his father's death, though he had no claim as the eldest son. At this polished court he

imbibed, though very young, that taste for civilized society, for which he was afterwards so much distinguished. On his return to his native country, so little attention was paid to him, that he was unable to read at twelve years of age. To his mother he is indebted for the seeds of a good education began indeed at a too late period : she first excited in him the desire of literary attainments by the recital of some Saxon poems, and when he had mastered these compositions, he proceeded to acquire a knowledge of the Latin language, and gained such a turn for study, that he was totally absorbed in literary pursuits, till the state of the kingdom called him forth to active life, in which, as we shall see, he distinguished himself in a most eminent degree, and particularly in improving the navy of his country ; on this account he has a claim to be selected, and placed the first in our Historical Memoirs.

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

When the reins of government fell into his hands,

he found the country destroyed; all the cities and great towns demolished, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been sometimes compelled to fight nine or ten battles in a year. In short, their wealth, their strength, their spirits were exhausted; and, instead of attempting to defend themselves as they were wont, they began every where to submit to the Danes, and to embrace rather a settled slavery; than a precarious freedom, in a country now become a desert, and where it was a difficult matter to find subsistence, even when for a small time released from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not despair of the public safety; but with equal vigour and prudence applied himself at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; so that, in a short time, encouraged by his example, the Saxons began to resume their spirits, and, in many battles, defeated the Danes, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit the country; and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongst them upon reasonable conditions, and in a regular way.

There were two maxims which the king steadily pursued, by which he extricated himself from his troubles. The first was, fighting the enemy, if possible, at sea; of which we have frequent instances in the Saxon Chronicle, and almost always with advantage; by the steady pursuit of which method he had constantly a fleet, and considerable numbers of experienced sailors. But, as it was impossible to guard all the coasts of his dominions; and, as the enemies' squadrons were frequently superior to his own, he was, sometimes, obliged to fight on shore; and, in this case, he likewise used all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time, either to gain intelligence, or to get refreshment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ablest men, not only in the sciences, but also in the arts; and to converse with them frequently and familiarly. By this

means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a comparison of informations, of which even those from whom he learned them were ignorant; and by his superior judgment, so adapted the intelligence he received, as to render his small force successful, both at sea and land, against his numerous enemies.

In maritime affairs he was particularly skilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the sagacity he discovered in providing a kind of ships of a new construction, devised by himself; which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practised in naval armaments, and whose experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his superiors in navigation. He considered with himself, that as the fleets of these invaders were frequently built in a hurry, hastily drawn together, meanly provided, in respect to victuals and rigging, and crowded with men, a few ships of a larger size, built in a new manner, of well seasoned materials, thoroughly supplied with ammunition and provision, and manned by expert seamen, must at first sight surprise; and, in the course of an engagement, destroy numbers without any great hazard to themselves. In pursuance of this project, he caused a certain number of ships to be built, capable of holding, each, sixty rowers, and as in that, double in all other respects to the largest ships then in use. These he sent to sea, with an express command, neither to receive nor give quarter; but to put to death all who fell into their power. Instructions perfectly suited to the design on which these ships were fitted out, and to the circumstances the king's affairs then were in.

It appears, from good authority, that these ships were gallies, since in the Mediterranean these sort of vessels are common, because they are convenient, for the same reason which inclined King Alfred to make use of them, the facility of running with them close under shore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet swifter, than the

vessels in common use, in a duplicate proportion which is the true sense of what ancient writers say of them, may be easily conceived; and thence their great utility arose. In point of numbers, the king had no hope of equalling his enemies; by this contrivance he removed that difficulty which seemed otherwise insuperable: for, with a squadron of these ships, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the same number of the enemy, because the force of his ships rendered those on board them able to contend against as many as they could grapple with; and, in case of the enemy's having either the weather-gage or some other accidental advantage, their swiftness enabled them to bear away; as, on the other hand, the ports were all their own. Their instructions were not deemed cruel, because, whatever their enemies might think of themselves, they were esteemed by the Saxons, and with reason, enemies to mankind; incapable, as experience had convinced them of keeping faith, and therefore unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this severity was necessary for two reasons: first, in respect to self-defence; these ships, though large in comparison of other vessels, were, however, not large enough to contain prisoners with any safety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, exclusive of rowers, above a hundred and twenty men, if so many. Secondly, it was prudent for example sake, in order to strike a terror into these rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infesting this island, and inclined rather to prosecute their designs on some other coast. Add to all this, another circumstance, preserved to us in the Saxon Chronicle, and Alfred's wisdom will from thence most incontestibly appear. These gallies were built after quite another model than Frisian or Danish ships: so that they were wholly strange to the enemy, who for a long time knew not how to board them, though their courage might be great, and themselves, for the age in which they lived, able seamen.

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

Though the care of his own fleet was very commendable in Alfred, yet the concern which he shewed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his subjects, and the discovering and describing distant countries, deserves still higher praise, because the first might be, in some measure, ascribed to necessity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was incontestibly the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of use to all the nations of Europe. It was in order to farther these views, that he kept constantly in his court, at a very great expense, the most eminent men, for worth and knowledge, of all nations, such as Gauls, Franks, Germans, Frisons, Armoric Bri-

tons, besides the inhabitants of every corner of the British isles; of whom he inquired, and from whom he learned whatever was known in those days, which was more than the moderns imagine. Two instances have been transmitted, with authentic circumstances, from his time to ours. The first was, his sending certain persons to discover the utmost extent of the Arctic regions, and the possibility of a passage on that side to the north-east. The other was his correspondence with the Indies. Facts so extraordinary in themselves, of such high importance in respect to the subject of which this work treats, and hitherto left in such obscurity by those who ought to have given us a better account of them, that I presume my dwelling upon them will be considered rather as a just tribute to Alfred's glorious memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as a tedious or unnecessary digression.

Sir John Spelman tells us, that he had been informed, there was in the Cotton library a memorial of a voyage of one Othter a Dane, performed, by this king's procurement, for the discovery of a north-east passage. This paper, he says, he could never see; but he judged, and I think with reason, that it contained nothing more than the relation of that voyage, printed in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, which are in every body's hands; and, if there had been no better account of the matter, even that would have deserved much attention. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation inserted in the Saxon version of Orosius, made by King Alfred himself, whereby it appears, that Othter, for so he is called in this authentic manuscript, was a native of Halgoland, which lies in 66° of north latitude; a man of great substance, of more than ordinary skill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce of the north. He surveyed the coasts of Norway and Lapland by the direction of King Alfred, and presented him not only with a clear

description of those countries and their inhabitants, but also brought him some of the horse-whale's teeth, which were then esteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale-fishing. — This probably encouraged the king to send Wulfstan, an Englishman, to view these northern countries, of which he also gave him a relation. Both these narratives are written with such accuracy in point of geography, so much plainness and probability in respect to facts, and are intermixed with such just and prudent observations, that whoever shall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the same countries, will stand amazed, and readily confess, that the age of Alfred was an age of good sense, and far superior in knowledge to those which succeeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what Ohther or Wulfstan deliver, but all exactly conformable to what the discoveries of the last and present age have taught us. Hence I must infer, that what we read of fleets sent so far north by the Britons, is far from being so incredible as some critics would make us believe; for we can hardly imagine, that Alfred should ever think of such an expedition, without some previous information; and that he might have this from the Britons will appear very probable, if we consider what is related in their histories, and that Asser of St. David's, a learned Briton, was one of this king's most intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign, addressed to himself, which are yet extant.

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

precious stones, perfumes, and other curiosities, of which the king made presents to foreign princes: as the reward of so acceptable a service, Sigelmus was made bishop of Sherburn; and William of Malmesbury, in his pontifical history, gives us a distinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only struck with wonder such as lived in the time when it was performed, but was considered with admiration even in the age in which he lived, adding, that Sigelmus had left to his church several of these Indian curiosities, as unquestionable evidences of so extraordinary a thing. It is true that Asser of St. David's, whom we before mentioned, says nothing of this Indian voyage, though he is very particular in whatever relates to the power, splendour, or reputation of that monarch. But it would be a rash and unjust conclusion to argue from his silence, that no such voyage was performed. Asser, as appears from a passage in his memoirs, wrote them in the year 893, at which time Sigelmus was not returned. But it is very remarkable, that under the year 887, which was that wherein Sigelmus set out, Asser celebrates the king's extensive correspondence, and the great court that was paid him by princes and other persons of eminence, in all parts of the world, and he particularly mentions letters from Abel patriarch of Jerusalem, which he saw and read; and these probably were the very letters which occasioned the king's sending Sigelmus. Add to this, that Asser died soon after the return of this great traveller, who succeeded him in the bishopric of Sherburn; so that the whole of this narration is perfectly clear, and well connected. It may not be amiss to observe, that these Christians of St. Thomas inhabit the peninsula of India, and that the commodities, which Sigelmus is said to have brought back, are precisely those of their country. Sir John Spelman observes farther upon this subject, that the value and use of these curiosities being little known here, the king sought out for artists of all

sorts, particularly goldsmiths and jewellers, for the working of them, and such were the defects of those times, and so excellent was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in those works also, the artificers themselves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius, and manufactured what he designed for them. And, as if there was something peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have still remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the island of Athelney, which was the king's retreat, when he fled from the Danes in the beginning of his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monastery. This curious relic is yet preserved in the Ashmolean collection of curiosities, and, besides its excellent workmanship, hath a Saxon inscription to this purpose, *ÆLFREDUS ME JUSSIT FABRICARI, i. e.* Ælfred directed this to be made. Having thus cleared and justified these naval expeditions performed nearly a thousand years ago, I return now to the thread of my history, and to an account of what the Saxons achieved at sea, after this wise monarch had shewn them the use and importance of a naval force.

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

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

EDWARD succeeded his father Alfred, and proved a great prince; however, his government was disturbed both by intestine divisions, his cousin Ethelwald pretending to the kingdom, and by foreign invasions of the Danes, who, at the request of this Ethelwald, came, in the fourth year of the king's reign, in vast numbers into England. King Edward, finding it impossible to hinder their landing, drew together an army as soon as he could, and followed them into Kent,

where he engaged them, and in a bloody battle killed Eric the Danish king, and Ethelwald, who had stirred up this war. But, finding that he was still incommoded with new swarms of these northern rovers, he had recourse to his fleet; and, having drawn together a hundred ships upon the coast of Kent, he successfully engaged the enemy, and forced the greatest part of their fleet on shore; and then, landing himself, attacked their forces in a bloody battle, wherein, though he lost abundance of men, he entirely defeated his enemies, killing most of their chief commanders upon the spot. By degrees he raised his reputation so high, not only by his military exploits, but by his gentle government, and wise provision for his subjects' safety, that all the petty princes throughout Britain congratulated him of their own accord on his success, willingly owned him for their lord, and humbly desired his protection. The very Danes, who were settled in the island, took the same method of securing themselves against his arms: but within a very short space from this extraordinary mark of good fortune, he died, and, in no long time after, his younger brother, who had succeeded him.

ETHELSTAN succeeded his brother, and gave early proofs of his being the worthy grandson of the great Alfred. He discovered, from his first ascending the throne, a great dislike to that policy, which his predecessors had used, of suffering the Danes and other strangers, who by force had seated themselves in the island, to become legal possessors, in consideration of some small acknowledgment, and a feigned subjection, which was sure to last no longer than they had a fair opportunity of revolting. This was certainly a right maxim; and one may safely affirm, that this monarch was the greatest politician, and, at least, as great a captain as any of the Saxon kings. He wisely judged, that there was no executing his scheme without a considerable force, and, therefore, he kept

his army and his fleet in constant readiness. At the beginning of his reign, he renewed the alliance subsisting between his brethren and Constantine, then king of Scots, conceiving that, as their interests were the same, this would bind him to a due performance of the treaty; in which, however, he was mistaken; for Constantine suddenly broke it, either out of caprice, or from an apprehension of Ethelstan's power. The Saxon, immediately upon this invaded Scotland with a royal army, and ravaged its coasts with a mighty fleet; which brought Constantine to a submission. As soon as Ethelstan was retired, the Scot began to intrigue with the Britons on one side, and with Anlaff, whom most of our historians style king of Ireland, but who, in reality, was a Danish prince, settled there by conquest, on the other. In consequence of these negociations, the Britons marched northwards with a great army, where they were joined by the whole force of the Scots; Anlaff coming at the same time to their assistance with a more numerous fleet than had been seen in those seas. Ethelstan, instead of being dejected at the sight of so many and so powerful enemies, resolved to decide the quarrel by attacking them both by sea and land at the same time, which he accordingly performed with equal valour and success. In this battle there fell five kings, and seven Danish chiefs. It was the bloodiest engagement that had happened in this island; and in the Saxon Chronicle there is a very elegant account of it. By this grand defeat, King Ethelstan effectually carried his point, and rendered himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned in Britain. The use he made of his victory, was, effectually to secure his dominions, by taking from the petty princes such places as he judged to be dangerous in their hands; and, in all probability, he would thoroughly have established the Saxon power, if he had long survived; but he died about a year after, having swayed the sceptre, some say fourteen, others sixteen, years.

Edmund, his brother, succeeded him in the throne; and found himself under a necessity of contesting the possession of it with his old enemy Anlaff and his associates, whom he defeated, and with whom he afterwards made peace; but, finding that there was no dependence upon the faith either of the Danish or British princes seated in the north, he seized on the kingdom of Northumberland, and added it to his own dominions, giving Cumberland to the king of Scots as his feudatory. He had no great occasion for naval armaments, the fame of his brother's power preserving him from foreign invasions; so that, after a short reign, he left his crown to his brother Edred, who was assailed by his old enemies the Scots and Danes, against whom he had not so great success as his brethren. He was succeeded by his nephew Edwy, of whom nothing important is related. During the reign of all these kings, the naval power of the Saxons was continually increasing, to which we may ascribe their not being disturbed with any of those invasions from the north, which had so much harassed their predecessors.

EDGAR, very justly styled the Great, succeeded his brother Edwy; and, from his first ascending the throne, demonstrated himself worthy of being the heir of Alfred and Ethelstan. He thoroughly understood, and successfully pursued their maxims; for he applied himself, from the beginning of his reign, to the raising a mighty maritime force, and the keeping, in due subjection, all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable; that he gave too much into foreign customs, and indulged the Danes in living promiscuously with his own people; which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the state of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad use in succeeding times. In all probability, he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed, much more than any of his ancestors had

done. But he enjoyed it, as a king of this island ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleasure, unworthy of a prince; but by assiduously applying himself to affairs of state, and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greatest danger. But it is necessary to enter into particulars, since we are now come to the reign of that king who most clearly vindicated his right to the dominion of the sea, and who valued himself on his having justly acquired the truly glorious title of Protector of Commerce.

All writers agree, that his fleet was far superior to that of any of his predecessors, as well as much more powerful than those of all the other European princes put together; but they are by no means of the same mind, as to the number of ships of which it was composed. Some fix it at three thousand six hundred; others at four thousand; and there wants not authority to carry it so high as four thousand eight hundred. However, the first seems to be the most probable number; and, therefore, to it we shall keep. These ships he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and them he constantly stationed; one on the east, another on the west, and the third on the north coast of the kingdom: neither was he satisfied with barely making such a provision; he would likewise see that it answered the ends for which he intended it. In order to this, every year, after Easter, he went on board the fleet stationed on the eastern coast; and, sailing west, he scoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay, from the Thames mouth to the Land's end in Cornwall: then, quitting these ships, he went on board the western fleet, with which, steering his course to the northward, he did the like, not only on the English and Scots coast, but also on those of Ireland and the Hebrides, which lie between them and Britain: then, meeting the northern fleet, he sailed in it to the Thames mouth. Thus surrounding the island every summer, he rendered any

invasion impracticable, kept his sailors in continual exercise, and effectually asserted his sovereignty over the sea. As a farther proof of this, he once held his court at Chester; where, when all his feudatory princes had assembled, in order to do him homage, he caused them to enter a barge; and, sitting four on one side, and four on the other, they rowed, while he steered the helm; passing thus in triumph, on the river Dee, from his palace to the monastery of St. John, where he landed, and received their oaths to be his faithful vassals, and to defend his rights by land and by sea: and then, having made a speech to them, he returned to his barge, and passed in the same manner back to his palace. The names of these princes were Kenneth, king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Maccusius, king of Man, and of the isles, and five petty kings of the Britons. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleased to say, that his successors might justly glory in the title of kings of the English; since, by this solemn act, he had set their prerogative above dispute.

In the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to see that justice was duly administered, to prevent his nobles from becoming oppressors, and to protect the meanest people from suffering wrong. These were the arts by which he secured tranquillity to himself; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his subjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it; so that, in his whole reign, there happened but one disturbance, and that through the intemperate fury of the Britons, who, while he was in the north, committed great disorders in the west. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and, that they might feel the effects of plundering, suffered his soldiers to take whatever they could find: but when he saw the people reduced to extreme misery, he rewarded his army out of his own coffers, and obliged them to restore the spoils; by which he left those, whom he found rebels, the most

affectionate of all his subjects. Well, therefore, might our ancient historians boast as they did of this prince; and say, that he was comparable to any of the heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far surpassed them; for whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he established his reputation on a nobler foundation; that of reigning sixteen years without a thief found in his dominions on land, or a pirate heard of at sea. One thing more I must mention; as being much to my purpose, though slighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign; wherein his style runs thus: "*Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis Basileus necnon maritimorum seu insularum regum circumhabitantium, &c.*" That is, I Edgar, monarch of all Albion, and sovereign over all the princes of the adjacent isles, &c. Which plainly asserts his naval dominion. As he lived, so he died, in peace and full of glory.

His son Edward, a child, succeeded him; but, by the time that he had reigned three years, he was, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law, basely murdered, to make way for her son Ethelred, who mounted the throne after his decease, but who was entirely governed by this dowager-queen, his mother. In six years after the death of Edgar, the strength of the nation was so far sunk, that a Danish squadron, consisting of no more than seven ships, infested the coast, and plundered Southampton; and, in a few years after, they ravaged and burned all the coast; insomuch that, in 991, the king, by the advice of Siricus, archbishop of Canterbury, made a treaty with the Danes, and endeavoured to bribe them by a subsidy of ten thousand pounds, to forbear plundering; which gave the first rise to that infamous tribute called Danegeld. This produced an effect which might have been easily foreseen, though quite contrary to what was intended; for the Danes committed greater rapines than ever; supposing, that the worse they treated the

king's subjects, the larger sums they should extort. Thus the king was compelled to take that method, at last, to which he should have had recourse at first; viz. raising an army, and fitting out a fleet. And now, when he had done this, his general betrayed him; whereby the Danes for that time escaped, though a little after they returned, and were defeated. These, however, were but slight mischiefs to those which followed; for, when it is once known that a kingdom is weakly governed, new enemies daily arise. In A. D. 993, came Unlaff, a famous pirate, with a fleet of ninety-three ships, to Staines; and, having wasted the country on both sides the Thames, they went down the river again, and committed new outrages on the coast of Kent. The king sent an army to oppose them, which they beat, and killed the general who commanded it: afterwards they landed in the mouth of the Humber, and committed fresh devastations. The next year Anlaff, duke of Norway, coming before London, with a fleet of ninety-four sail, endeavoured to burn it; but the citizens defended themselves so well, that at length he was forced to desist: then marching into Kent and Hampshire, he compelled the country people to furnish horses for his army; which put it in their power to commit such horrid devastations, that the king, being unable to protect his subjects, had recourse to a composition; and, having sent commissioners to treat with Anlaff, it was agreed to give him sixteen thousand pounds, on condition that he should never again set foot in England; and, which was rare amongst men of his profession, he religiously kept his word. In A. D. 997, a great fleet of strangers entered the mouth of the Severn, spoiled all the adjacent countries with fire and sword, and, afterwards, destroyed Cornwall and Devonshire; and, having collected an immense booty, carried it off to their ships. The next year they committed the like outrages in Dorsetshire, where an army sent to oppose them did but little.

In A. D. 999, they came into the Thames, and marched through Kent, the king met them at Canterbury with his forces, so that a battle ensued; wherein, through some ill management, the king was defeated with great loss. This loss seems to have roused the nobility: for, immediately thereupon, it was determined, in a great council, to raise a numerous army, and to fit out a strong fleet; which was accordingly done: but the old management continuing; these mighty preparations ended in nothing more than exhausting the purses, and breaking the spirits of the people; whereby their enemies were encouraged to trample on them more and more. The next year the fleet was hindered from acting all the summer, by contrary winds, to the great loss and dissatisfaction of the people. In A. D. 1001, new disorders of the same kind happened; and, one of the king's admirals deserting with a great part of the fleet, he was constrained again to think of treating, which accordingly he did; and purchased peace for twenty-four thousand pounds; and yet, the very next year, he found himself so straitened, that he had no other way of setting his people at liberty, than by a general massacre of the Danes, throughout England. This, however, proved but a temporary as well as barbarous expedient; for, in a few years, they were in as bad a condition as ever; insomuch, that, through the fury of the Danes, and the treachery of his nobility, the king was able to do nothing but oppress his subjects, by raising vast sums, to be given to their enemies: for, in A. D. 1007, the Danes had thirty thousand pounds at once.

These oppressions led to a new and general tax for raising and supporting a fleet and army. According to this scheme, every three hundred and ten hides of land were to find a stout ship, and every eight hides a coat of mail and helmet; by which a great force, indeed, was raised. It is plain, that this subsidy was imposed with judgment, and by common consent: it grew, therefore, thenceforward, an annual charge upon

the people; and is that tax we so often meet with in ancient writers, under the name of Danegeld; and from which Edward the Confessor is said to have freed his subjects. The reader must distinguish this subsidy, levied upon the English nation, from the money occasionally paid to the Danes; though they both go under the same denomination. The first was raised at such times, and in such proportions as necessity required; and was properly enough called Danegeld; as it was given to pacify those invaders. The second was a regular, settled imposition, not much unlike our land-tax; and was properly called, in the Saxon tongue, Heregyld, *i. e.* soldier's money; and received the name of Danegeld; because it was originally given to raise a force to withstand the Danes. It amounted to a vast sum in those days; since the Saxon chronicle informs us, that by it, when first imposed, there was a prodigious fleet equipped, such as till then had not been seen. Now, if we take this in a very limited sense, and allow it to signify not a greater fleet than Edgar's, but superior to any of his stationary squadrons; even this would be a very great thing. The consequence of clearing this point will appear in the succeeding part of the work: in the mean time let it be observed, that the nation submitted to this grievous tax, in order to maintain a naval force sufficient to have preserved the dominion of the sea; which might have been effected, had the money been faithfully applied. But such were the delays, such the disorder in all their military preparations, that the people were fleeced, the service neglected, and the unfortunate King Ethelred acquired the surname, or rather was stigmatized with the opprobrious nickname of "The Unready."

It would be to no purpose to swell this work with a long detail of the misfortunes which befel this prince, and his son, the violent Edmund, who, for his many hardy acts in the service of his country, was surnamed "Ironsides:" since these are fully related in all

our histories; and, indeed, there is great reason to suspect, that the stories we meet with therein, are rather amplified than abridged. Two things, nevertheless, deserve the reader's notice in this great revolution. The first, that after the spirits of the people had been once sunk, by levying on them a great sum of money to purchase peace, they never afterwards could be revived; but things daily declined, and the chief persons in the realm sought to secure an interest in the conqueror, by betraying those whom they ought to have defended; so that the reduction of England was not so much owing to the number and force of the enemy, though these were very great, as to the treachery of the few, the dejection of the many, and the disputes of both among themselves; their naval force, even when they were lowest, being more than sufficient to have defended their coasts, had it been properly conducted. But being sometimes betrayed by their admirals, at others distressed for want of provisions, every little accident discouraged them, and any considerable loss disheartened them quite. The conquest of such men could not be hard. The second observation I have to make is this; that Swain, king of Denmark, no sooner found himself superior at sea, than he set up a title to the kingdom; which sufficiently shews, that this island is never longer safe, than while it is the first maritime power: whence the importance of our navy is made too manifest to be denied, and by which we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our constitution, so both must be defended by our fleets.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of the Danes, from the peaceable settlement of Canutus on the Throne, to the Restoration of the Saxon Line; and from thence to the Death of King Harold.

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 48 YEARS.

THE writers of our ancient history, being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, Danes; because the first who troubled the Saxons in this way were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them Normans; which seems to be a contraction of *northern* men. Their practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others, though it passed among themselves for an honourable way of making war. The northern nations were always extremely populous; and, when they found themselves crowded, their custom was to equip a squadron of ships; on board of which went some of their chiefs, followed by a body of such men as were willing to follow their fortunes. At this time they were pagans; and, it must be owned, the structure of their religion was very favourable to these sort of enterprises, representing them rather as effects of heroism, than as acts of robbery. In process of time, as they grew more civilized, they began to change their notions, and effect settlements wherever they found themselves strong enough to make them. It is not our business to enter deeply into their history, since it is evident that they attained dominion here by their power at sea, which is the only thing that brings them under our notice.

When Swain, King of Denmark, invaded this country, about the year 1013, it was in revenge of the death of his countrymen; and there were, at that time, so many great men here, of Danish extraction, and the rest were so much disaffected to their natural prince, that the foreign invader soon found encouragement to set up a title by election, as is intimated by some of our historians, and fully asserted by the Danish writers. Indeed, the defection at that time was so general, that Edmund abandoned his kingdom, and retired into Normandy; and, if Swain had lived, probably, he might have kept the possession. But, dying in the beginning of the next year, the Danes in England declared for Canutus, his son, and the Saxons recalled King Edmund. However, after the death of the last-mentioned prince, Canutus had a strong party who adhered to him, especially among the clergy; so that, at length, King Edmund Ironsides, by the persuasion of one Eadric, who had betrayed his father during his whole reign, entered into a treaty with Canutus, whereby it was agreed that they should reign jointly; after which King Edmund did not live long, and so the whole fell to Canutus by survivorship. Some of our authors, indeed, assert that Edmund was murdered by the contrivance of Eadric; but, for this there seems to be no solid foundation. The Saxon annals say, plainly, that he died on the feast of St. Andrew, in the year 1016; and that he was buried with his grandfather, King Edgar, at Glastonbury.

Canutus ascended the throne by the general consent of the nation; and, in the second year of his reign, raised an extraordinary subsidy, or Danegeld, in order to pay off his fleet. This amounted to 72,000 pounds for the rest of the kingdom, and 11,000 pounds for the city of London; after which he sent back his fleet and forces to Denmark, except forty ships, which he kept to guard the coast. He was a very wise and brave prince; and, from the time he assumed the

crown, did all that was in his power to conciliate the affection of his new subjects; which he so happily effected, that they served him faithfully in his wars for the recovery of some part of his foreign dominions, which were lost during his stay here. Thus, in 1027, he sailed with a fleet of fifty ships, with English forces on board, into Norway; out of which having driven Olaf, who had set himself up for king, the next year he returned into England. Two years after, he invaded the Scots, both by land and sea, and obliged that king to submit to his terms; and, throughout his whole reign, this prince carried his prerogative, in naval affairs, as high as, or rather higher than, any of his predecessors, as the learned Mr. Selden very fully proves, from the most authentic records. Indeed, it was very easy for him to do so, being King of Denmark and Norway, as well as England.

He intended to have made his son, Hardiknute, whom he had by Emma, the widow of his predecessor, Ethelred, the heir of his kingdoms; but he being in Denmark at the time of his decease, his eldest son, Harold, surnamed, from his swiftness, Harefoot, found means to raise a party amongst the nobility, and possessed himself of the kingdom. Some writers tell us that his brother, Hardiknute, prepared a great fleet, with an intent to have invaded his dominions; but, as to this, the Saxon Chronicle is silent; nor is there any thing memorable recorded in his reign. It is said, that he raised the Danegeld, or subsidy, for the maintenance of sixteen ships, which was, it seems, the stated tax in the latter part of his father's reign; and, from what follows, it will appear, that this was a very reasonable imposition: but then it must be considered, that, in the days of King Canutus, his English subjects had nothing to fear; and, from this circumstance, it is probable, that the case was the same under Harold. He died, after a reign of little more than four years; and was succeeded by his brother, Hardiknute; who, coming with a large fleet

to take possession of the kingdom, he, that very year, raised, by the Danegeld, sixty-two ships. The following year he levied 21,099 pounds, and fixed the subsidy, for the future, at thirty-two ships. His uncle Swain being in danger of losing the kingdom of Norway; he sent a fleet, from England, to his assistance; which did not, however, answer the end he proposed; and, a little after, he died, suddenly, at a wedding; and, with him ended the dominion of the Danes in England, in less than twenty-eight years after the coming of Canutus to the crown.

Edward the Confessor, the son of King Ethelbert and Queen Emma, succeeded his half-brother, Hardiknute. In the beginning of his reign he kept up a fleet of thirty-five sail; but, afterwards, falling out with the Earl Godwin and his sons, their quarrels threw the whole kingdom into distraction; insomuch that, in the year 1046, a piratical squadron, consisting of no more than twenty-five ships, commanded by Lothen and Yrling, came to Sandwich; where they landed the forces on board them; who, immediately, plundered the adjacent country, and retired to the island of Thanet; intending, from thence, to have ravaged the coast at their leisure. By this time the militia rose, and not only prevented them from landing, but harassed them so much that it was with great difficulty they escaped. Then, falling on the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, they committed the same outrages there; and, at last, sailed away to Flanders, with the wealth they had gotten, without meeting with any interruption from the king's ships. The next year the king was himself at sea with a fleet, but was able to do little, Earl Godwin and his sons having almost the whole power, while the king had an empty title. Swain, Earl Godwin's eldest son, falling out with his family, as well as the king, committed great outrages on all the coast. His father, too, being disobliged, had recourse to a naval armament; to oppose which, the king fitted out a fleet of

fifty sail ; but, whether it was through the intrigues of the earl, or the weak management of the king, so it happened, that, after all these preparations, a treaty ensued ; in consequence of which the earl was, once more, admitted into the king's favour.

In the midst of these confusions King Edward died, as weakly and irresolutely as he lived, without securing the succession to Edgar Atheling, his intended heir, who had, indeed, a better title than himself ; which threw the nation into great distress, and gave Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, an opportunity of seizing the crown, to which he had little or no title ; an act equally fatal to himself and to the people, since it occasioned the Norman invasion, and the absolute exclusion of the Saxon line ; the monarchs of which had deserved so well of their country, by making good laws, encouraging arts, and defending both by their arms.

The principal persons about King Edward, at his death, were such as had been of Earl Godwin's faction, and, therefore, countenanced a report, spread by Harold, that the king had appointed him his successor ; which we find in the Saxon Chronicle. Harold had all the qualities necessary to have rendered him popular in an elective kingdom. He was of a great family, equally allied to the Saxons and Danes ; very brave in his person ; and well versed in the art of war ; but, above all, jealous of the honour of the nation ; and very desirous of maintaining his independency on land and sea. He had, however, many difficulties to struggle with. A great part of the nation were dissatisfied with his title, and paid him an unwilling obedience. William, Duke of Normandy, laid claim to his crown ; and began to raise an army to support that claim : add to this, that his brother, Tostigo, who had quarrelled with the late king and his own father, appeared on the coasts of Yorkshire and Northumberland, with a fleet of fifty sail. Earl Edwin encountered him on his landing ;

defeated his army ; and, afterwards, destroyed a great part of his fleet ; so that, with no more than twelve ships, he escaped to Scotland.

On the first news of his brother's invasion, Harold prepared to march northwards, in order to prevent, if possible, the fatal consequences of this man's malice, whom he knew to have both courage and ability, considerable interest at home, and potent allies abroad ; nor did he desist from his design on the news of the check which he had received by his late defeat, knowing that his restless temper would not suffer him to be long before he endeavoured to take revenge. Indeed, he found an opportunity sooner than he could have expected ; for he was scarce arrived in Scotland, before he heard of a new pretender to his brother's crown : this was Harold Harfager, that is, " Fair-haired," King of Norway, who set up a title by descent ; and, to support it, put to sea with a fleet of three hundred sail, and a numerous army on board. With him Tostigo joined ; and, both sailing up the Humber, landed their forces, and began to direct their march towards York. The two great Earls, Edwin and Morcar, instantly assembled all the forces they could raise, in order to oppose them. A battle quickly ensued, in which those lords were totally routed ; and, in consequence thereof, the King of Norway possessed himself of York. King Harold, no way discouraged at this ill news, ordered a fleet to be fitted out ; and, in the mean time, marched, in person, against the enemy, who lay in an entrenched camp, which they conceived to be impregnable. But the king, opening the passage at Stanford-bridge, ever since styled Battle-bridge, attacked them with such vigour, that, after a long and bloody dispute, he forced their entrenchments, killed Harold Harfager and Tostigo upon the spot ; and his admirals at sea having like success in beating the Norwegian fleet, Olaf, the son of Harold Harfager, was glad to capitulate, and consent to embark the scattered remains

of his army on board twenty vessels, and to give up all the vast spoils they had taken, with the rest of his father's navy, to the conqueror; which agreement, or capitulation, was presently put in execution.

This was one of the greatest victories that we find recorded by our historians; for, in the beginning of the expedition, the King of Denmark had conquered the Orkneys: and, indeed, considering the force with which he invaded it, there was no small probability of his reducing England. By this defeat the king entirely frustrated that design; and, besides ridding himself of so formidable an enemy, acquired a vast treasure, and greatly augmented his fleet: but, as success generally shews a man in the truest point of light, so the king, on this occasion, discovered some ill qualities which he had hitherto concealed; for, instead of dividing the rich booty he had taken, or so much as a part of it, amongst his army, he laid hands upon the whole; which greatly weakened their affection to him, and made his soldiers less willing to hazard their lives in the service of so hard a master. On the other hand, the Duke of Normandy had been labouring, by a variety of methods, to draw together such an army, and such a fleet, as might enable him to prosecute his title to the English crown; which, at last, by dint of mighty promises to foreigners, as well as his own subjects, he accomplished. His forces, consisting of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britons, he embarked on board a prodigious number of ships, few of which were of any great force, though all fit enough for transports. September 28, 1066, he landed safely at Pevensey, in Sussex, and no sooner saw his troops on shore, than he burnt his useless fleet, which, he knew, was no way able to engage that of the English; and, having done this, and raised a strong fortification, he penetrated farther into the country. Harold had the news of this expedition quickly transmitted to him in the north; whence he marched with great diligence with his forces, flushed,

indeed, with their late victory, but, by so rude a service, much diminished in their numbers. The king, however, taking counsel from the present situation of his affairs, behaved towards them more graciously than he had lately done, and, by sending for the nobility, and representing to them the danger to which themselves and their country, as well as himself and his title, were exposed, gained considerable recruits: so that, by the time he arrived at London, his army was again become very considerable; only his soldiers stood in need of refreshment. But Harold, fearing ill effects from delays, and rejecting the propositions made him by an ambassador, sent from Duke William to meet him at London, continued to move on towards Sussex, in order to determine the fate of the kingdom by a decisive battle, notwithstanding his brother, Grithus, used many prudent arguments to dissuade him, advising him to entrust the army to his care, and to remain at London, in order to take proper measures, in case things went not so well as they could wish.

On the 13th of October, the king arrived near Hastings, where the enemy lay encamped, and, though some proposals of peace were again made to him, he remained firm to his first opinion, of trusting the entire decision to the sword. The next day, being Saturday, he disposed his forces in order of battle, giving the van to the Kentish troops, and reserving the Londoners for the centre, where he fought in person, with his two brothers. The Duke of Normandy, on his side, did all that could be expected from a great captain, and one inured to arms from his very youth. The contest was long and bloody, suitable to the value of the prize which was to be the reward of the victor: but the Normans making use of long bows, as yet not well known to the English, had, thereby, a great advantage, which turned the fortune of the day, and gave them a victory every way complete. King Harold, drawing the choicest

of his troops about his royal standard, fought it out bravely to the last; falling by a shot he received under the left eye, which pierced to his brain. With him fell his brothers Grithus and Leofrick, and of private men 67,974. We need not wonder that this engagement, alone, secured the kingdom to Duke William, especially if we reflect on the hard-fought battle in Yorkshire, but a few months before; for two such actions might well exhaust the strength of a kingdom, almost continually harassed, for some hundred years before, by the Danes. Yet the Saxons, if they had been well united, might have had, at least, another struggle; but their intestine factions contributed as much to their ruin as the force of the invader: for, one part of the nation adhering to Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir of the crown; and another inclining to espouse the party of the great Earls Edwin and Morcar, this division disabled both.

Thus ended that Monarchy which, from the time of Hengist, had continued about six hundred years; and, as it began through personal valour, so the same spirit was preserved, even in its termination; for, as a learned writer of those times informs us, the last King Harold was a man, in gentleness of nature, equalled by few, in martial virtue surpassed by none, having most of those great qualities that render princes glorious; and who, if the event had corresponded with probability, seemed born to repair the decayed state of his country. He left behind him four sons. It is very remarkable, that three of these, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, had interest enough, after the death of their father, to carry off the greatest part of his fleet; which enabled them to make many attempts, as we shall hereafter see, against the power of the Normans: but, proving always unsuccessful, they, at length, retired to Denmark; where they were kindly received, and where, tormented by a quick sense of their misfortunes, they languished out the remainder of their lives.

We come, now, to take a view of the commerce of the Saxons, and to inquire into the use they made of the dominion of the sea, to which they set up so loud a pretence. It so happens, indeed, that we have, in this respect, but very indifferent materials, as to direct facts: but whoever will consider what kind of men the writers of those times were, and how unlikely they were to understand traffic, will not so readily misconstrue their silence, as some critical writers have done; by which I mean, he will not conclude, from thence, that the Saxons had little or no foreign trade, since, if they had ever so much, ecclesiastics were not like to be the best acquainted with it. However, it may be truly asserted, that the trade of the Saxons was very considerable before the Norman conquest, perhaps more considerable than for some time afterwards; and that this is not either a bold assertion, or a groundless conjecture, we shall be able to make out, by a variety of arguments, which, for the honour of our country, deserve to be duly examined.

In the first place, then, let us observe, that the correspondence between our princes and those of the continent, is one good argument in favour of the nation's commerce: for, it cannot be believed, that the greatest princes of Europe would either enter into treaties with obscure and barbarous nations; bestow their daughters on the princes of such people; or receive from them their daughters, to be partners in their beds and thrones. Yet, we see that Charles the Great, of France, entered into an alliance with King Offa, as he also did with the King of Scots; and, as to marriages, Ethelwolf, the father of King Alfred, married the daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald; King Ethelred married Emma, daughter to the King of Normandy; and as to the princesses of England, they were married all over Europe to the most illustrious sovereigns: nay, even in their distress, when the sons of Edmund Ironsides fled abroad for protection, one mar-

ried the emperor's daughter, the other the daughter of the King of Hungary. Now, it is impossible for us to conceive, how the worth and quality of such persons should be known in these distant places, if there had not been an extensive commerce between the subjects of the English kings and those of these princes. Add to this, that Asserius Menevensis informs us, that King Alfred's court was constantly crowded with persons of distinction, and that he was extremely careful in procuring the best artists of all kinds from different parts. Again, the public and private buildings of the Saxons demonstrate, that they were neither a rude nor unsociable people, but rather the contrary, since they were exceedingly elegant for the time in which they were raised; and we know, by experience, that this kind of taste is the pure effect of extensive commerce. We may, likewise, observe, that the very claiming the sovereignty of the sea is a plain indication of our driving a great trade upon it; since those only desire this dignity who know the importance of it; and, as our claims, in this respect, are elder, and more explicit than those of any other European nation, we must conclude, that the value of this right was earlier understood here than elsewhere. These are general reasons only: I will now offer some that are clearer and more particular.

We had greater opportunities of understanding naval affairs in this island, than, perhaps, any other nation ever had; for, before the Roman invasion, the Britains had some skill in navigation, and had fitted out considerable fleets; they, afterwards, improved in this, as in all other arts, by adding the Latin learning to their own; whence we find them, under Carausius, Maximus, and Constantine, able to bear up against all the maritime force of the Roman empire. The Saxons were not destitute of skill in naval affairs before their arrival here: for we read, that they distinguished time by the ebbing and flowing of tides; a kind of knowledge which, notwithstanding all the

boastings of the Greeks, Alexander's seamen had not acquired, even when he made his Indian expedition; and in which it appears, that neither Cæsar, nor any of his soldiers, were well versed at the time of his invading this island. It was, therefore, highly natural, when these nations were in some measure mixed together, and by degrees blended with the Danes, for them to push their genius, for maritime affairs, as far as it would go. And this leads to another argument which is drawn from the vast number of ships that it is apparent we had, at all times, from the fleets fitted out by the Roman governors, and by the Saxon princes, especially Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred; since navies cannot be built in a season or two; or, if they could, would prove of little use in a country destitute of seamen. Lastly, our coin is a proof of our commerce. There were under the Saxon kings a variety of mints, no less than seven in London; and the laws relating to coinage are very numerous. Now, since silver was never a commodity of our own, it follows, that this coinage must have arisen from the profits, or, to use a modern phrase, from the balance of trade in our favour. I presume, I may add to this, a law made by King Edgar, for reducing all weights, measures, &c. to one standard. Now, this was to remedy an inconvenience that must have crept in by trading with different nations, and so introducing their measures; and the scope of the law on the other hand proves, that the legislature, in those days, had a just respect to commerce, and was inclined to do any thing which might facilitate it; all which, taken together, abundantly makes good my assertion; and demonstrates, as far as the brevity of this design will permit, the commercial genius of our ancestors the Saxons, to whom we stand indebted for the chief prerogatives of our crown, I mean in comparison with the other powers of Europe; and that generous spirit of freedom, which is the soul of our excellent constitution, and which the princes

of the Norman line endeavoured, but in vain, to extinguish. With respect to the navigation of the Saxons: the vessels built by Alfred for resisting the Danes, and which were so serviceable in that respect, were built, not only by the direction of the king, but in a new manner which was of his own invention, but the writers who have preserved an account of them, though they are, certainly, competent witnesses as to the fact, yet were far from being proper judges of the manner. They can tell us what the king did, and what were the effects of his doings; but how, or upon what principles, he constructed those new-invented ships of his, was out of their way to inquire; and, consequently, what they could not be expected to declare. This being so, it would be a thing preposterous to pretend to lay it down as certain, that King Alfred's new ships were built in this manner, or in that: all that can be said, was, that the king built these ships longer than usual, and in such a proportion as made them at once stronger and swifter than any with which that age were acquainted.

The candid and ingenuous reader will readily allow, that we had good reason to commend the superior skill of the king, who made that a science which to others was but a trade. There were, no doubt, in that age, abundance of shipwrights, who knew how to put vessels together, so as to make them sound and tight, and good sailors too, as things went in those times. Yet it does not appear, that the king asked their advice; but, on the contrary, he directed their labours, and commanded that ships should be built of a new and very different make from those that were then in use. He was well acquainted with the Danish ships; and saw, that though they were very convenient for transporting troops, yet that very circumstance might be turned to their disadvantage, by employing against them vessels of a different make, longer, higher, stronger, and of a very different proportion in respect to breadth; which is a plain proof,

that he had made himself master of the principles of ship-building, and knew how to vary the form in constructing vessels, so as to fit them for different uses and services: which, if the ignorance of those times were half so gross as modern writers are willing to represent, was certainly a very great and wonderful discovery.

It is also highly probable, that though the king gave directions to his ship-builders, and perhaps a model of the form in which he would have his new vessels built; yet he did not acquaint them with the principles upon which he went, or explain to them the reasons why vessels, built in this new form, were swifter and stronger than those of the enemy; but kept that within his own breast, as a great secret of state. His naval architects might be, and in all probability were, men of as great skill, and extensive capacities as any of their times; but then their knowledge was of a very different nature from that of the king: they might be great artists in their way, but were still mechanics; and though they knew how to build what were esteemed the best ships in this part of the world, yet were they far enough from penetrating into the causes of things, or apprehending clearly the reasons upon which those rules were founded, by which they were guided in their profession, and which experience had gradually introduced.

We have the greater presumption that this was the true state of the case, from the other circumstance, that the king made great improvements in the art of building ships for traffic. Hence we plainly discern, that what he contrived was not the effect of experience, or application of what he had seen or heard others performed, to his own affairs, or a thing that flowed from a lucky thought which was found to answer upon trial; but arose entirely from his great sagacity, which enabled him to see the very bottom of his art, and put it in his power to assign the just pro-

portions of vessels destined for any purposes whatever, as his shipwrights were capable of building and equipping vessels of any dimensions, provided they had the draught of such vessels given them, in case they were of a new invention. These trading vessels were, without doubt, of a form differing from those warlike galleys that were fitted out against the Danes; and, consequently, not near so costly: for broad, large, and capacious vessels, such as are fit for carrying almost all sorts of merchandise, especially bulky and coarse goods, are, in every respect, far less expensive than vessels built for strength and swift sailing.

Whatever Alfred's skill in naval architecture might be, there is very little room to doubt, that the practical part of it continued long after his decease, and proved no inconsiderable cause of the maritime force of his successors. All this time, however, the Danes were exercising themselves in naval expeditions; and as their strength and courage increased, so, by the introduction of luxury, and its perpetual companion, civil dissensions, the power and public spirit of the Saxons declined.

It may, however, be remarked in their favour, exclusive of what has been said before upon that subject, that they certainly cultivated the arts of peace and commerce with equal industry and success. All that part of this island under their dominion, was thoroughly peopled, and full of great towns, adorned, according to the mode of those times, with fair churches and great monasteries, which were at once testimonies of the piety and wealth of that nation. Their ecclesiastics and nobility frequently travelled into foreign regions, and brought from thence rarities of all sorts, to enrich their own country, the flourishing condition of which was what principally allured the Danes, who had the same appetite for riches, though they took a different method of procuring them, and spoiled, by force of arms, such as were

grown opulent through the long continuance of peace.

We must likewise observe, that the incorporation of cities and boroughs was the work of the Saxons, as manifestly appears from the very terms that are still in use, and which are not to be understood or explained, but from a competent knowledge of their language and history. This is, at once, a clear and most conspicuous testimony of the true spirit of that government, which, while in its vigour, provided for the safety and prosperity of the people, by securing the liberties and properties, and by encouraging the industry and integrity of all ranks and degrees of men; which was the true reason that the laws of Edward the Confessor, that is, the laws and constitutions of his predecessors, collected and restored by him, were so universally approved and contended for by the English nation, as their peculiar blessings and birth-rights after the conquest; as will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

But above all, traders, artificers, and manufacturers of every kind, were especially protected and encouraged under the Saxon government. They had their respective guilds, or societies for regulating and promoting their affairs; and it is very remarkable, that there was no less attention paid to the establishment and extension of these lesser fraternities, calculated to maintain order and justice amongst such as got their living by their labour, than of the larger corporations; which is a truth, that all who are acquainted with our records and ancient histories will readily admit: and, therefore, it would be very unnecessary for us to insist longer upon this topic, though it was very material to mention it.

The Danes, after the first fury of war was over, and when they came to be united to, and incorporated with the Saxons, began by degrees to embrace their notions, and visit foreign nations, as well in a commercial, as in a hostile manner; and though their

historians are more inclined to preserve the memory of the latter than the former, yet there is nothing clearer than this matter of fact, by which the subjects of the Danish monarchs were enabled to pay those prodigious taxes that from time to time were levied upon them, and by which the treasury of Canutus the Great was so amply supplied, that, when he took a journey to Rome, he made a more magnificent appearance there than any Christian prince, who, in those superstitious times, had honoured that capital with his presence; and is recorded to have spent and given away such immense sums of money, as filled all Europe with amazement.

But though the Danes, settled in England, departed from the manners of their countrymen, yet those who remained at home retained, in a great measure, the martial spirit of their ancestors, and held in the highest contempt every kind of trade except that of war. We shall see, however, that notwithstanding they long kept up a claim to this country, they were never able to recover it; because, after a few disappointments, their naval power sunk, and they were no longer capable of equipping such fleets as were requisite for the undertaking such expeditions. I mention this circumstance here, that the reader may have an opportunity of observing how soon a naval force is worn out, when employed only to serve the purposes of ambition; and this, notwithstanding all the care and pains that can be taken to keep up the spirits of a nation, and support an exact discipline: for Canutus the Great enacted and published a body of laws for that end, which they would certainly have answered, if the thing had been possible in nature. This observation will very much confirm what has been before advanced, in respect to the great fleets that, for the course of above a century, were maintained by the Saxons for the defence of their coasts. These were, certainly, supplied with seamen from the ships employed in commerce, the only ef-

fectual and lasting method of maintaining maritime power.

Hitherto I have treated things more largely than I propose to do in my accounts of the subsequent reigns, down to that of Henry VII. because this period hath been much neglected; and, from an unwillingness to search into the records of antiquity, we have been made to believe, that, before the Roman conquest, the inhabitants of Britain were an inconsiderable people, which we have shewn to be very false. But, from the time of William, surnamed the Conqueror, our modern histories are more fruitful; and, therefore, we may be allowed a greater brevity there. However, we shall take notice of every thing that is material, or that may contribute to the reader's having a just notion of the state that our naval affairs were in under the reign of our monarchs, respectively, as well as of the remarkable expeditions in their times.

CHAP. IV.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of the princes of the Norman race, viz. William, styled the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry Beauclerk, and Stephen.

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 88 YEARS.

OF all the foreign princes who, in a course of ages, have ascended the English throne, William, duke of Normandy, seemed to promise the best, in regard to the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the crown which he assumed. He was in the prime of his life, if we consider him as a prince, being about forty-three years of age when he came hither; had been a sovereign from his very childhood, and maintained his right in the duchy of Normandy against the king of France, and other troublesome neighbours, with such constancy and courage, as, at length, procured him success, and fixed him in the full enjoyment of the dominions left him by his father. He had many opportunities of being acquainted with the English, before his coming hither, by the near relation between King Edward the Confessor, and his father Duke Robert; and the long stay that king made in Normandy, whilst the power of the Danes subsisted in England. This occasioned a great intercourse between the English and Normans, during the reign of that king, who rendered himself suspected to the former, by his extraordinary kindness to the latter; which might possibly grow from a mixture of fear, as well as love, since he had no other support against the power of Earl Godwin. It was this that induced him to invite Duke William hither in his lifetime; and, accordingly, he made him a visit; and

this was, undoubtedly, the chief motive of his feeding him with hopes of being his heir. As to the title of King William, it is not requisite that we should enter into a minute discussion of it; and, therefore, it will be sufficient to observe; that he claimed three different ways. First, by donation from King Edward; secondly, by right of arms; whence, in succeeding times, he was surnamed The Conqueror; and thirdly, by election: to which some have added a fourth title, by grant from the Pope; though this was no more than an approbation of the first. However he came by the crown, he, certainly, condescended to have his right recognized by the people, and promised solemnly, at his coronation, to govern as his Saxon predecessors had done; though he afterwards did not act quite so conformably to his oath as his subjects expected. To say the truth, he was of a stern and arbitrary disposition, which did not very well agree with the temper of the nation; and from this discordancy between the king's humour and his subjects sentiments as to their own rights, sprung the many disorders which happened during his reign, and the miseries brought thereby upon the people; of which we have ample accounts in the histories of those times.

He was too wise a king not to discern the importance of a naval power, and too high-spirited a prince to suffer any of the prerogatives claimed by his predecessors to be at all prejudiced by his conduct. But, in the beginning of his reign, he found himself, as we have before observed, under great difficulties in this point. He, at his coming from Normandy, assembled all the shipping that could possibly be had, as appears by his delaying his expedition for some time for want of vessels; as also from the number employed, which was not less than nine hundred; and all these, as we have heard, he burned. The greatest part of the English navy was carried away by the sons of Harold, and other malecontents, so

that he could hardly bring together even an inconsiderable fleet; and yet the king resolved to take some care of a matter of so great importance, before his return into Normandy. With this view he passed into Kent, where the natives having first procured a recognition of their rights, delivered up to him the castle and port of Dover, which was what he principally wanted. Here he placed a strong garrison; and, having by this time collected some ships, appointed a squadron for the guard of these coasts; and embarked a part of his army, with the chief persons in England, whom he carried with him as hostages for Normandy; intending to come back, as he did, with a greater force, to secure himself against any defection of his new subjects, as well as from foreign invasions, with both which he was threatened.

In the third year of his reign, that storm which he had foreseen, burst upon his dominions; and, under any other prince but himself, would, in all probability, have been fatal. Our modern historians, especially, relate this so lamely, that their readers can scarce form any just idea of the danger the nation was in; which is one reason for our giving a detail of it: and besides this, it is of so great consequence to the subject of which we are treating; and so fully proves the impossibility of keeping Britain without a superior force at sea, that it would be inexcusable in us either to omit or curtail it. Immediately after his return from Normandy, the king began to treat the English somewhat severely; whereupon many of the most considerable persons retired out of the kingdom; some one way, some another. The two great Earls, Edwin and Morcar, with many others of the nobility, and not a few of the clergy, went into Scotland; where Edgar Etheling and his family took shelter, and from whence they very soon invaded the north part of England. Other lords fled to Denmark to King Swain II. who had always kept up a claim to the English crown, and who, therefore, readily yielded credit to

their assurances, that, if he would but send a force sufficient to give them encouragement, the English, especially in the northern parts, would throw off the Norman yoke, and declare for him. He, therefore, equipped a considerable fleet (some copies of the Saxon Chronicles say 240, others make them 300 sail), and sent them under the command of his brother-in-law Osborn, his sons Harold and Canutus, and some of the English fugitives, well provided with all things necessary, and with a considerable body of forces on board: so that nothing less than subduing the whole kingdom was the intent of this expedition.

Few undertakings of such consequence, and wherein so many persons of different interests were concerned, had, in the beginning, so good success as that of which we are speaking; for the Danish fleet, having favourable winds and fair weather, came safely into the mouth of the Humber, and there debarked their forces about the middle of August, A. D. 1069, as we are told by Matthew Paris. They were immediately joined by Edgar Etheling, the Earls Edwin and Morcar, the famous Earl Waltheof, and many other persons of distinction, with a great army, composed of English and Scots, and then moved directly towards York, which King William had caused to be strongly fortified. The governor, whose name was Mallet, resolved to make an obstinate defence. With this view he ordered part of the suburbs to be set on fire, that the Danes might not lodge in them on their approach; but, through some negligence, the fire caught the city, and burnt a great part of it before it could be extinguished, which gave the Danes an opportunity of gaining it almost without a stroke: after which they attacked the citadel, took it, and put three thousand Normans to the sword. On this success, as the Danish writers say, Earl Waltheof was left there with a strong garrison, and the main body marched directly towards London. The king, however, advanced to meet them with a considerable

army, wasting and spoiling the northern countries; which he conceived well affected to the enemy, and, as some allege, fought with, and gave a check to the invaders; but our gravest historians report the fact quite otherwise. They say, that, finding his troops much inferior to the enemy, he entered into a private treaty with Osborn the Danish general, and offered him an immense sum of money for himself, with free leave to plunder the northern coasts, if he would be content to retire with his forces in the spring; which he accordingly accepted: so the king spoiling one way to revenge the infidelity of his northern subjects, and the Danes plundering the other, they, in the beginning of the next year, returned to their fleet in the Humber, and embarking their forces, returned home. But Swain, king of Denmark, being soon informed that his hopes were frustrated by the covetousness and treachery of his brother, rather than by the force of the Normans, banished him, as he well deserved. Thus ended an expedition which might have produced another revolution in our affairs, if the king's prudence had not been as great as his courage. The next year, the Saxon Chronicles tell us, the Danes landed again in the isle of Ely, to which abundance of malecontents had resorted; but, being able to do little, Swain made a treaty with the king of England: but his fleet sailing homewards, laden with booty, a great part of it was forced into Ireland, and many of the ships, with all their treasure on board them, foundered at sea. But as to this, the Danish writers are silent.

About the same time, the sons of the late King Harold came out of Ireland with a fleet of sixty-five sail, and landed in Somersetshire, where they committed great depredations; till Ednoth, who had been an old servant of their father, marched against them, beat their forces, and obliged them to retire. They made a second attempt, the year following, with a fleet of sixty sail, landed near Exeter, plundered and

burnt the country ; but Earl Brien, raising forces, and fighting them twice in one day, forced them again to fly, with the loss of seven hundred men, and some of the principal nobility of Ireland ; which so broke the spirits of that nation, as to discourage them from abetting the English fugitives any more ; so that the sons of Harold, Godwin, and Edmund, retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received, and spent the remainder of their days.

These accidents convinced the king of the necessity of having a fleet always ready, and, therefore, to this he turned his thoughts ; and, having collected as many ships as he was able, he employed them to hinder succours from coming to the rebels in the isle of Ely, which gave him an opportunity of entering it by land, and reducing to his obedience, or destroying, all who had taken shelter there. In the seventh year of his reign, he attacked Scotland by sea as well as land, in order to be revenged of King Malcolm, who had constantly assisted all the disturbers of his government, and quickly brought him to accept a peace on the terms he thought fit to prescribe. In the tenth year of his reign it appears, that affairs were in better order than they had ever been before : yet it was not long before a great conspiracy was formed in England : and the lords, concerned in it, invited the Welch to enter the kingdom on one side, while the Danes invaded it on the other. The king was at this time in Normandy ; but, having early intelligence of what passed in his absence, he quickly returned into England, seized many of the conspirators, and disappointed them in their intended rising. The Danes, however, under the command of Canutus the son of King Swain, came with a fleet of two hundred sail, upon the coast, and even entered the mouth of the Thames ; but not finding their confederates in the posture they expected, and perceiving that the king had now a navy as well as an army, they retired to Flanders without undertaking any thing.

For nine years after, the king remained quiet with respect to the Danes, who were involved in so many troubles at home, that they had no leisure to vex their neighbours. This respite the king employed in securing his foreign dominions against the attempts of the king of France in taming the Welch, and new-modelling affairs in England, so as to suit them to his own interest and inclination, as also to the raising a better force than hitherto he had fitted out at sea, which in some measure he effected. In the twentieth year of his reign, when he thought to have taken some rest from his labours, and was busied in settling his affairs in Normandy, he was alarmed with the prospect of new danger, by receiving intelligence, that the Danes were making prodigious preparations for the conquest of England. Our writers are far from giving a good account of this matter: for though they tell us in general, that mighty things were intended, and a vast fleet drawn together, yet they deliver no rational motives for this attempt. Nor are they less deficient in what they say of the issue of the design, *viz.* that the fleet was detained two years in the harbour by contrary winds, and, at last, the enterprise was abandoned, when they understood the mighty preparations made in England to receive them. But we meet with a much clearer and more probable story in the Danish Authors.

They say, that King Canutus IV. as soon as he was thoroughly settled on his throne, began to form a design of asserting the title, which he believed his father Swain had left him, to the crown of England; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the persuasions of his brother-in-law Robert, earl of Flanders, who promised him his assistance, and by the incitements of the English refugees, who assured him, that their countrymen were quite tired out with the intolerable oppressions of the Normans, and would certainly join him, if he landed with a force sufficient to protect them. Before he absolutely determined to

make this expedition, he asked the opinion of his brother Olaus, duke of Sleswick, who advised him to undertake it, as did also the states of the kingdom: upon which, he drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of a thousand sail, and put on board them all sorts of ammunition and provision for the great body of troops he intended to embark therein. When all things were ready, he waited some time for his brother Olaus, and at last growing impatient, he went to fetch him out of his duchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, instead of preparing for the voyage to England; upon which he seized, and sent him prisoner into Flanders. During the absence of King Canutus, the conspirators on board the fleet gave out, that the provisions were not wholesome; that several of the vessels were leaky; that the king's mind was changed; and that the best thing they could do was to go every man to his own home: so that, when Canutus returned, he found both his fleet and army dispersed: which is, certainly, a better account of the miscarriage of this undertaking, than the long continuance of cross winds, to which some, or the effects of magical enchantments, to which others, ascribe it.

Certain it is, that King William brought over from Normandy such an army as his subjects till then had never seen; for the maintenance of which he not only oppressed the nation for the present, but, laying hold of the general consternation the people were in, ordered the famous Domesday-book to be made, wherein, taking an account of every foot of land in the kingdom, he learned, to the last shilling, how low they might be drained. I know some historians place this fact in another light; but I follow the Saxon Chronicle, written in his own time, but with a truly English spirit; and, therefore, in this respect, the best guide*. To say the truth, this king knew

* An excellent account of Domesday-book, the reason why it

how to make advantage of all things; but particularly of misfortunes; for, in all the rebellions and invasions which happened during his reign, he constantly spared his Normans, and subdued the English by the arms of the English. So, on the rumour of this invasion, he first took occasion to fill the country with his foreign soldiers, and then pillaged the people for their subsistence, and to fill his own coffers. When the danger was almost over, he sailed to the Isle of Wight, that it might appear he was not destitute of a naval force, in case his enemies resumed their projects; and passed from thence into Normandy. The next year he engaged in a war with France, in which, though he was successful, he lost his life; for, advancing too near the flames of a city which he caused to be burnt, he caught a fever thereby, of which he died, on the 9th day of September 1087, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-fourth of his age. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, that he was a diligent, active prince, and extremely jealous of his sovereignty as king of England. Wales he subdued; and bridled with garrisons, awed Scotland, preserved Normandy, in its full extent, against all the attempts of the French, and, if he had lived two years longer, would have reduced Ireland without employing arms. In a word, he was in England a great king, and to his Normans a good duke.

WILLIAM II. surnamed Rufus, *i. e.* the Red, from the colour of his hair, succeeded his father, though without so much as a plausible title, his brother Robert not only having the pretence of birth, but likewise a plea of merit much superior to his. William, however, thought he might well attain by fraud what his father had both taken and kept by force; and therefore, having the good-will of some of the clergy;

was made, and its contents, is to be found in Hearne's edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle; Vol. II. p. 373.

he wisely determined to procure that of the nation by distributing among them his father's treasures. To this end he made haste to England, and going to Winchester, where his father's wealth lay, he scattered it abroad in such a manner, that the poorest of the people, in every parish in England, felt the effects of it: so that, on his coming to London at Christmas, he was received with all imaginable tokens of loyalty and affection. He easily discerned, that his brother Duke Robert would not fail to give him disturbance, and that, whenever he inclined to do it, a party would not be wanting to assist him in England: he, therefore, to secure himself, in the first place, caressed all the English nobility, and, contrary to his father's maxims, preferred them to the Normans, not through love, but because he saw the Normans better affected to his brother; yet, whatever the motive was, the thing itself was very beneficial to the people; for it once again put arms into their hands, and thereby gave them a power of obliging their princes to keep their promises longer than they intended. Another expedient of his was of no less advantage; he permitted the English to fit out ships of force to act against his enemies; and we shall quickly see what profit the king reaped from this indulgence.

Robert, the eldest son of the conqueror, was in Germany when his father died; whence he quickly returned to take possession of the duchy of Normandy, in which he met with no opposition. When he was settled there, he turned his thoughts upon England, where his uncle Odo, earl of Kent, had formed a strong party for the support of his title. They surprised and fortified several castles; and if Robert, who had a good army in Normandy, and ships enough to transport them, had been as diligent in his own affairs as those who abetted his interest here, he had certainly carried his point, and transferred the crown to his own from his brother's head: but he contented

himself with sending a few troops hither, which, however landed without opposition, the king having no navy to oppose them. But the English observing that, after this, they began to pass the seas carelessly, to their ships, attacked them as occasion offered, and destroyed multitudes of men; so that, in a little time, Robert was glad to desist from his pretensions to the kingdom; and the king, in the fourth year of his reign, invaded Normandy both by sea and land: but, by the interposition of friends, their differences were composed, and for the present the brothers were reconciled.

The year following, the king resolving to be revenged on the Scots, who had invaded his dominions while he was in Normandy, prepared to attack them with a considerable land force, and at the same time fitted out a great fleet. Duke Robert, who was then in England, was intrusted with the management of this expedition, which was far from answering the expectations raised thereby: for the fleet not being ready till towards Michaelmas, there happened such storms on the Scottish coast, that abundance of ships were lost, and many more disabled: the army, too, suffered exceedingly by the severity of the weather; and after all, Duke Robert was glad, by the interposition of Edgar Etheling, to make peace with Malcolm king of Scots; which the king ratified, without intending to keep it. After this, there is little that occurs in his reign as to naval expeditions, except frequent invasions of Normandy; which shew that he was superior at sea, and that he might have made a great figure by his maritime power, if he had been so inclined. But he had other views, and was particularly disposed to bring the Welch under subjection; in order to which, he allowed the nobility on the borders to undertake expeditions at their own expence, and, in consequence of that, for their own advantage.

An accident happened in one of these expeditions,

which shews how much maritime affairs were then neglected, and how imprudent a thing it is to depend on armies without fleets. Hugh earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh earl of Chester, invaded the isle of Anglesey, and easily subdued the inhabitants, whom they plundered, and used very cruelly: but, in the midst of their success, one Magnus, a Norwegian pirate, came from the Orkneys, which were then subject to the Danes, with a small squadron of ships, and landing unexpectedly in Anglesey, defeated these insolent invaders, killed the earl of Shrewsbury upon the spot, and carried off the spoil that he and his associates had taken. Not long after this, King William being informed, that the city of Mans was besieged, he resolved to go to its relief: and though his nobility advised him to stay till a squadron, at least, could be drawn together, yet he absolutely refused to make any delay; but, going on board a small vessel, obliged the master to put to sea in foul weather, for this wise reason, that he never heard a king of England was drowned; and landing at Barfleur, with the troops he had in Normandy, relieved the place. How much soever some commend this action, it was not, certainly, either prudent or honourable, as expressing rather an intemperate courage, than any sober resolution of maintaining his dignity, which would have been better provided for by keeping a navy in constant readiness. This appears also to have been the king's own sentiments: for, on his return to England, the next year, his first care was, to put his marine in a better condition; and, having formed some new projects, he drew together a very considerable fleet, at the same time that he raised a very great army: but before all things could be got ready, he was taken off by a sudden and violent death. For going to hunt in New Forest, he was shot, accidentally, by an arrow's glancing against a tree; so that, after fetching one deep groan, he died on the spot. The current of our modern histories have fixed this fact on Sir Walter

Tyrrell; but several ancient writers, speaking of the king's death, do not mention this gentleman: and a contemporary author affirms, that he had often heard Sir Walter declare, that he was in another part of the forest at the time of the king's death, and that he knew not how it happened. Thus the rumours in one age become history in the next. This accident fell out on the second of August, in the year 1100, when the king had reigned almost thirteen, and lived somewhat more than forty two years.

HENRY, the youngest son of the conqueror, from his being bred to learning, surnamed Beauclerk, stepped into the vacant throne, while his brother Robert was in the Holy Land. He had a bad title, though varnished with many fair pretences: such as his being born after his father became king; drawing his first breath in England, and having ever shewn a great affection for his countrymen. Yet the favour of the clergy, and particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief cause of his peaceable accession; as his being very rich, and knowing well how to distribute his money, gained him, after his accession, many friends. In the very dawning of his reign, he discovered an admirable talent for government, doing more good things than his brother had ever promised. He restored, in a great measure, the Saxon laws; preferred virtuous and able men; eased the people of their taxes, and provided for the security of the seas; promoting also, to the utmost of his power, the trade and navigation of his subjects. Still more to ingratiate himself with the commons, he espoused Matilda, the sister of Edgar, king of Scots, who was niece to Edgar Etheling, the true heir to the Saxon line: all this he did with great sincerity of heart, and not from those principles of Norman cunning, wherein consisted the seeming wisdom of his brother. He carried his affection for the English farther still, by doing them justice upon their oppres-

sors; imprisoning the bishop of Chester in the Tower, who had been the principal adviser of William Rufus, in all his arbitrary exactions. In consequence of all this, he either had, or ought to have had, the entire affection of his subjects. But his wisdom would not allow him to trust entirely to that; and, therefore, as soon as he understood that his brother Robert was returned into Normandy, and received there in triumph, he provided for the security of his dominions by the most natural method, that of increasing his strength at sea, and giving directions to his officers who had the custody of the coasts, called, in the language of those times, butsecarles, to be vigilant in preventing all persons from coming out of Normandy into England.

Time plainly discovered the wisdom of the king's precaution: for Duke Robert, who was returned with a great reputation, and who was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities, quickly renewed his pretensions to the English crown; preparing both a fleet and an army, in order to pass over into England with greater strength, and hopes of better success than he had formerly. All our historians, however, agree, that, if King Henry's commanders at sea had done their duty, he would never have set his feet on this island by force. But it so happened, that, either out of hopes of profit, or from the natural levity of their dispositions, several of them inclined to the duke; and, as soon as they knew his fleet was at sea, went over, with their ships, into his service; by which means he landed safely at Portsmouth with a gallant army. King Henry, however, had not been idle; but had a considerable force about him, when he received this news; upon which he marched directly to Hastings, where he was joined by many of the nobility; though some of these, too, afterwards, went over to his brother. When things were on the point of being determined by arms, and a second battle of Hastings seemed to be the only method of clearing the royal title, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and

some other great men, interposed, and brought about an accommodation, by which the kingdom was left to Henry, and a pension of three thousand marks was reserved to Robert; who, after a stay of six months in his brother's court, returned into Normandy, very well satisfied: though he did not continue so long; perceiving plainly, when it was too late, that he who wanted resolution enough to contend for a kingdom, was not likely to preserve a dukedom in quiet: and this jealousy drew upon him, in process of time, the very thing that he feared, as our historians relate at large, and as I shall briefly shew, so far as it concerns the subject of which I am treating.

After various passages into Normandy, the king, at last, determined to make an absolute conquest of it; pretending, that he was ashamed to see his brother not able to live upon his revenues, though he had not been ashamed to take from him, as a gift, the pension of three thousand marks per annum, which he had forced him to accept in lieu of the crown. With this view he raised a great army, and a fleet proportionable, with which he crossed the sea; and in a short space, conquered the greatest part of his brother's dominions. That stout prince, whose spirit was always superior to his power, resolved to hazard all bravely in the field, rather than remain safe in his person, but stripped of his dominions. Full of this generous resolution, he gave his brother battle, wherein the latter shewed all the courage and conduct of an experienced commander; yet, in the end, was routed, taken prisoner, and thenceforward never enjoyed either land or liberty more.

As Normandy could not have been conquered without a considerable fleet, so it would quickly have been lost again, if the king had not been superior to his neighbours at sea; for the king of France was very desirous of setting up William, the son of Duke Robert, and nephew to the king, in the room of his father. This obliged King Henry to make frequent

voyages thither, and to be at great expence, as well in gratifying the French lords, as in maintaining an army and fleet for its defence; which did not, however, hinder him from chastising the Welch, when they took up arms against him, or from sending to the assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land, as great succours as any prince of his time. Indeed, his remarkable felicity, in attaining almost every thing he undertook, put much in his power; and he had too elevated a soul not to use what he possessed.

He received, however, in the twenty-first year of his reign, a very considerable check: for having settled every thing in Normandy to his good liking, where, for that purpose, he had resided many years, he resolved to return to England, with all the royal family. His only son William, whom he had made duke of that country, and who was alike the delight of his father, and of the nation, ordered a new ship to be built, for the commodious carriage of himself, and many of his princely relations: these, accordingly, embarked on the 26th of November, the weather being fine, and the wind fair. The prince, having made the hearts of the sailors merry, proposed to them a reward, in case they could outsail the vessel in which his father was. In attempting this, they ventured too near the shore, and, unfortunately, just as it fell dark, ran upon a shoal of rocks, then known by the name of Shatteras. The boat was presently put out, and the prince, with some few about him, got into it, and might have been yet safe, if, moved by the cries of his sister, the Countess of Perche, he had not returned, with an intent to take her in; which gave so many an opportunity of crowding into the boat, that it sunk, together with the ship; every soul going to the bottom except a butcher, who very strangely escaped, by clinging to the main mast. There perished, by this misfortune, about two hundred persons; which enables us to give some guess at the bulk and burden of ships in those days.

I find no other circumstances in this king's reign of weight enough to deserve mentioning: I shall, therefore content myself with observing, that, by several laws relating to trade (particularly one, which gave every wreck to the owners, if a living thing was found on board), he manifested his attention to commerce; and his care of maritime affairs. To this we may add, that the Danish prince of the Orkneys made him frequent presents, as testimonies of his veneration and respect; and though Morchad, king of Ireland, whom the writers of that country style Murchertus O'Brian, in the beginning of his reign, treated the English but indifferently; yet, on King Henry's threatening to prohibit all commerce with that island, he came to a just sense of his folly, and ever after behaved as became him towards the subjects of so great a prince. It is in some measure wonderful, that, considering the many and great fatigues this prince underwent, he was not sooner worn out; but, as he was fortunate in all other things, so in this also he was happy, that he enjoyed a longer life and rule than his predecessors; dying on December 2, 1135, after having reigned thirty-five; and lived near sixty-eight years. He was a monarch of great endowments, improved by an excellent education, who sincerely loved the English, and had always a just regard to the honour of his crown

STEPHEN, Earl of Blois, nephew, by the father's side, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandson to William the Conqueror, by cajoling the English lords, promising wholly to remit Danegeld, and to ease them in other particulars, attained the possession of the English crown, to the prejudice of Maud the empress, through the same arts, precisely, whereby her father had defrauded his brother Duke Robert. This King Stephen was a prince, who, abating his ambition, had few or no vices; brave in his person, a good officer; and who, in all probability, would have made an excellent king, if he had come to the throne with a

better title, and thereby secured a more peaceable possession : but, being involved in wars and disputes, almost his whole reign, and having given up or relinquished that tax, by which he should have secured the sovereignty of the sea, which promise he exactly kept, we need not wonder that we have less to say of him than of the other Norman princes.

In the third year of his reign, he, with a great fleet, and a considerable army on board, invaded Normandy : and though Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, the husband of Maud the empress, did all in his power to defend it, yet he rejoined that dukedom to the English crown, intending to have bestowed it on his son Eustace. However, his affairs had not this prosperous current long ; for, after many domestic troubles, his competitor Maud landed in England, and laid claim to the crown. Though her retinue was very small, scarce one hundred and fifty in number, yet she quickly grew strong enough to give the king a great deal of trouble : nay, at length she became so powerful, that she took him prisoner, and sent him to be kept at Bristol ; where, by her orders, he was put into irons ; yet afterwards exchanged for her bastard brother, Robert, earl of Gloucester. This potent lord, crossing over into Normandy, recovered it for his sister and her son Henry ; and then returning, is recorded to have invaded the northern parts of the kingdom, with a fleet of fifty-two sail ; which shows how low the maritime strength of the nation was then fallen, and what mighty mischiefs follow from a contested succession, which, however it may end as to princes, is sure to be always fatal to their subjects.

Indeed this reign of King Stephen, if our best histories, and the Saxon Chronicle especially, be worthy of credit, was most unfortunate for the people ; exposing them to such miseries and distresses as in times past they had never felt, and which would hardly meet with any belief now. Amongst all their grievances this was none of the least, that there was a to-

tal stagnation of trade, much counterfeit money, and no security for foreign merchants; remedies for all which, are expressly provided by the treaty of peace made with Henry Duke of Normandy, by King Stephen, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was confirmed by the king's charter, whereof an authentic copy is preserved in Holingshed's Chronicle, and no where else. The king did not live long after this settlement of his affairs; otherwise he would, in all probability, have done his utmost to restore things to a better state; about which, when his mind was employed, he was carried off, by a complication of disorders, in October 1154; when he had reigned nearly nineteen years. He was a great captain, says Matthew Paris; and most of our other historians agree as to his personal qualifications, a good king. Only that ancient and venerable book, the Saxon Chronicle, which ends with his reign, sets down nothing but calamities and misfortunes which happened therein: and yet this prince had a reputation for piety, and was remarkably kind to the monks.

According to the method I have hitherto followed, I ought to speak now of such discoveries as were made within this space of time, or extraordinary acts performed by private persons: in respect to which, however, I shall not detain the reader long; because, in the first place, we have not much of this kind to note; and secondly, what there is, hath been already examined by Hakluyt and other collectors, and therefore may be presumed to be sufficiently known already. Such are the travels of Alured, bishop of Worcester, in the year 1058, to Jerusalem; the journey of Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, to the same place in 1004; both of which are private transactions, and only prove that Englishmen were as forward as any, in those days, in undertaking such journies as might contribute to the increase either of their knowledge or reputation. As to the expeditions of Edgar

Etheling, they are somewhat of a different kind; and are, in some measure, of national importance. His high quality, as the true heir of the English crown, made all his actions very conspicuous, during the times in which he lived; and, as he often found it troublesome staying at home, under the eye of such as, to his prejudice, were vested with supreme power, and bore him no good-will; so he chose to signalize his courage abroad, in such adventures as fell in his way. Thus he commanded a body of Normans, which was sent into Apulia; and returning out of Italy with honour, he then applied himself to Robert, duke of Normandy, who treated him with kindness and respect, and with whom he went to Jerusalem; where he likewise gained such great reputation, that, first the emperor of Constantinople, and then the emperor of Germany, would willingly have detained him in their courts: but he came back in 1102, and was, four years afterwards, taken prisoner with duke Robert, in Normandy. One of our most famous historians, who was his contemporary, reproaches him severely for his not accepting the offers that were made him abroad, and for his fond attachment to his own country: but, if we consider that his sister was married to the king of Scots, and that her daughter by that king was espoused to King Henry, in whose reign he returned, one cannot think that censure very reasonable, or that his wasting the last years of his life in so obscure a retirement, that we know not where it was, or when, or how he died, appears more dishonourable to his memory, than to the writers of that age, who were so devoted to power, that they could not so much as do justice to the character of a man obnoxious thereto. Athelard, a monk of Bath, is said by Bale to have travelled through Egypt and Arabia, in search of knowledge; and that, on his return home, which was towards the latter end of the reign of Henry I. he published many learned works. Ieland, a more accurate writer, tells us he was a great

traveller ; but without any mention either of Egypt or Arabia ; though he informs us, that he translated Euclid's Elements out of Arabic into Latin ; and that himself had seen another learned work, translated by the same monk, from an Arabic treatise, intitled, Erith Elcharmi : which deserves to be remarked, because very probably these books were then first brought to the knowledge of learned men here ; and, therefore, this man might be said to travel for public advantage. William of Tyre, and Robert Ketensis, are both mentioned in Hakluyt, from Bale, for learned men and travellers, as they were. The former flourished under King Henry, the latter under King Stephen ; but I find nothing farther capable of recommending their fame to posterity.

It appears from the renewed charters of the cinque ports, that, as they were first incorporated by Edward the Confessor ; so, during the reigns of the several princes mentioned in this chapter, they were particularly serviceable upon all occasions : whence it is evident, that there was a flourishing trade carried on from this coast even in these times, and before them. As to the commerce of the river Thames, and the city of London, there is an ample testimony in the works of William of Malsbury, who flourished under King Stephen : for he assures us that it was then frequented by merchants of all nations, and so ample a store-house of all the necessaries of life, that, upon any dearth or scarcity of corn, the rest of the nation was cheaply and conveniently supplied from thence. The same writer observes as to Bristol, that a great trade was carried on from thence to Norway, Ireland, and other places, whence the inhabitants were vastly enriched. Without doubt, the accession of the Norman dominions was of considerable use in respect to trade ; as was our former intercourse with the Danes, since it enlarged our correspondence with the northern parts of the world, a thing always profitable to a country abounding with valuable commodities of manufac-

tures ; as will more clearly appear, even from our concise account of the succeeding reigns.

The reader will observe, that we refer any advantages arising to the inhabitants of this island, from their falling under the same sovereignty with the duchy of Normandy, to the succeeding reigns ; since there is nothing more certain, than that under the government of the prince mentioned in this chapter, they suffered severely. William I. provoked by frequent insurrections in the north, and the assistance given by the Scots to such as took arms against him, ruined the northern parts of his territories in such a manner, that they did not recover during this whole period. On the other hand, his son and successor, William Rufus, demolished thirty-six good towns, in the fairest and most fruitful part of England, for the making that which is still called the New Forest. What is ascribed to rage in the one, and wantonness in the other, may perhaps be justly styled the fruits of the same policy in both : for it looks as if the father had a mind to make war, a thing more difficult to the inhabitants of the north, by preventing their joining with the Scots so easily, or subsisting their forces conveniently when joined ; and the son might possibly be willing to have that coast less populous, that the inhabitants might not be tempted to aim at preventing his return from Normandy, whenever his affairs carried him thither, as otherwise perhaps they might have been.

Both those monarchs seem to have had no tenderness at all for this country, but considered it as a farm, of which it was wisdom to make the most while in their possession. Henry had indeed a heart, if not entirely, yet in a good measure, English : under him the people began to recover again, and grow wealthy, as the king did likewise, for it was in his time that the revenue arising from the crown-lands was adjusted, and fixed to a settled and certain rate, so as that it might be paid, either in money or provisions. As

this shews that the people were beginning to grow rich, so, by attending his affairs at home as well as he did those abroad, the king grew rich too, inso-much, that at the time of his demise, he actually left in his coffers the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money, exclusive of plate and jewels. This would have coined, in our times, to thrice that sum; but, in reference to its real value, ought to be esteemed about a million. Stephen seized upon all this, and spent it in his wars, with much more. Better had it been, if he had spent it in his follies; for then it would have gone amongst the people, without prejudice to their industry: whereas his reign being a series of troubles, they were so often in arms, that they could attend to nothing else; which was the true source of that misery and poverty before-mentioned.

But to understand this, and many of our subsequent reflections perfectly, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the manner of dealing in those days, the nature of payments, and the value of gold and silver. As to the common people, in their ordinary way of trading in the country, they made but little use of money, and yet derived great advantage from the laws enacted for settling its value; since, by those laws, the rates of most saleable goods were likewise settled; by which exchange or barter was very much facilitated; and where commodities could not be brought to balance each other exactly, the difference was paid in money, that is, in silver or gold, according to the rates at which they were then fixed by law, so that none, in their open dealings, could be over-reached, cheated, or wronged.

Payments, *ad scalum* and *ad pensum*, were by weight. Twenty shillings were then a pound, and the officers took sixpence over, called vantage-money. This kind of payment was very ancient: when payment was made *ad pensum*, the payer was to make good the weight, though he had allowed the sixpence

over. To prevent fraud in the fineness, as well as weight, part of the money was melted down, called combustion. There were two sorts of payments by combustion; real and nominal: real, when a sample of the money was put into the furnace; nominal, when a twentieth part of a pound was taken and accepted in lieu of actual combustion. When money paid in was melted down, or the supplement made by adding one shilling to each twenty; the ferme was said to be dealbated, or blanched: so one hundred pounds, thus paid into the exchequer after combustion, was said to be one hundred pounds blank. This was opposed to payments made *numero*, or by tale, which is our modern way. Computations, or at least payments, were made by pounds, marks, half-marks, shillings, pence, &c. silver by marks, half-marks, ounces, and half-ounces of gold. The mark of gold was equivalent to six pounds of silver, or six score shillings: the ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen shillings of silver: the pound of silver was twenty shillings; the mark of silver thirteen shillings and fourpence; the shilling twelvecence. It is requisite to have these notes before our eyes, when we are speaking of what passed in times at such a distance; for, otherwise, it will be almost impossible to prevent falling into great mistakes about subjects of importance; as, indeed, several able historians have done, for want of attending carefully to these matters, which, in all probability, they did not conceive so deserving their notice: and yet a disposition to negligence is sometimes as fatal to the reader, as an inclination to falsehood.

But that I may not seem to expect more caution in others, than I have shewn myself, I think it may not be amiss to give the public some account of the reasons why I suppose that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, found in the treasury of King Henry I. was equivalent to near a million at this time. In order to this, it is necessary to acquaint

the reader, that, in the reign of that prince, the king's tenant, who was bound to provide bread for one hundred men, was allowed to compound, by paying one shilling in money. The very learned bishop Fleetwood supposes, that this was bread for one meal; but I am inclined to think, that it was bread for a whole day; and am induced to think so, because, in countries where this establishment has always prevailed, a ration of bread is still so accounted. In our times, [1742] I presume, the value of bread for a day may be computed at about twopence, or rather more; and consequently, bread for a hundred men will come to sixteen shillings and eightpence; so that what could be then bought for one shilling, would cost almost seventeen now. Yet if we should hastily conclude from hence, that any given sum of money, at that time, ought to be multiplied by seventeen, to find its equivalent in ours, we shall be much in the wrong. For the shilling in those times, was thrice as heavy as ours; and, therefore, was, in reality, worth three shillings; so that, in fact, the bread that would now cost sixteen shillings and eightpence, might have been bought then for as much silver as is in three of our shillings. According to this computation, one hundred thousand pounds then, would not be worth quite six hundred thousand now: but if we reflect, that a great part of this sum must have been in gold, and that it is very reasonable to believe the composition was not exactly made, or strictly set, it will appear that the estimation I have made is agreeable to truth; or, at least, not very wide of it.

It may not be amiss, after dwelling so long upon this subject, to explain another point; that is, the difference between the Saxon and Norman money, which in sound was very great, though but very little in fact. The Saxons divided the pound weight of silver into forty-eight shillings, which the Normans divided only into twenty; but then the Saxons

divided their shilling into fivepence only; whereas the Normans split theirs into twelve: from whence it follows, that the number of pence in the Saxon and Norman pound was the same, and the pounds themselves exactly of the same value, as being in reality what the word implies, a pound weight of silver. It has been before observed, that great sums of money were paid in weight; and the reason of it is not hard to be found: for the coin then current was the silver penny, with a deep cross indented on the reverse; so that it might be easily broken into the halfpenny, or farthing. This was convenient enough, therefore, for small matters, but not for great; and for this reason all large payments were by the scale; and in cases of very great moment, it was stipulated that it should be so: just as in succeeding times it was required, that payments should be made in sterling money, and as, at present, we use the phrase of good and lawful money of England,

CHAP. V.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of Henry II. Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II.

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 235 YEARS.

HENRY II. ascended the throne, with universal consent, on the death of King Stephen, having, besides his kingdom, large dominions on the continent, by various titles, *viz.* Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Main, and Tourain, which rendered him extraordinarily powerful. He was about twenty-eight years old at this time, and esteemed as wise and brave a prince as that age produced. His first care was to restore the government to its former state, by rectifying the many disorders which had crept in during the unsettled reign of King Stephen. Having performed this, he projected the conquest of Ireland; for which, though he had many pretences, yet he thought fit to obtain the Pope's bull, the rather, because the reigning pontiff, Adrian IV. was by birth an Englishman. This favour he easily obtained, for propagating the Christian faith, together with the power and profits of the holy see, as by that instrument appears. In order to this expedition, the king conferred with his great council at Winchester; but his mother disliking the project, it was for that time laid aside.

His next expedition was beyond the seas, in the fifth year of his reign, undertaken at a vast expence, with a great fleet and potent army, for the recovery of the earldom of Toulouse, to which the king claimed a title: but he was not so happy in this as in his other expeditions, though he was so far superior at

sea, that his enemies durst not contend with him on that element. In the eleventh year of his reign, he employed both a fleet and an army against the Welch, and, afterwards, was engaged in various disputes with the king of France, which obliged him to a long residence in Normandy. In the sixteenth year of his reign, he caused his son Henry, then about fifteen years of age, to be crowned king in his life-time, which, instead of contributing, as he supposed it would, to his peace and prosperity, proved the cause of very great calamities to himself and subjects.

About this time, the king resumed his grand design of conquering Ireland, to which he had various incitements. Some pretensions he formed, from its having been anciently subdued by the Britons: another motive was, the injuries done to his subjects by the piracies which the Irish committed, taking and selling English prisoners into slavery: but that which gave him the fairest occasion was the tyranny of Roderick O'Connor, who, assuming the title of Monarch of Ireland, oppressed the other princes in the island, and thereby forced them to seek the protection of King Henry. One of these, whose name was Dermot, king of Leinster, being driven out of his dominions, passed over into Normandy, where the king then was, and intreated his assistance, which was readily granted: but the king, like a politic prince, advised him for the present to apply himself to some of his barons, to whom he granted a licence to undertake an expedition in his favour. Accordingly, Robert Fitz-Stephens in the month of May, in the year 1169, landed at Wexford with a very small force: he was immediately followed by Maurice Prendergast; and these, by the assistance of King Dermot, having gained footing in the island, Richard earl of Chepstow, commonly called in our histories Richard Strongbow, who was the chief undertaker; went thither in person, and landed August 25, 1170, at Waterford with a greater force, and in a short time

reduced Dublin and many other places. King Henry, having advice of their unexpected success, began to take umbrage thereat, and published a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to return out of that island by a time prefixed, on pain of confiscation of their estates in England: but they, by assuring the king of their duty, and submission to his will, engaged him to revoke that order, and to come to an agreement with them, whereby he reserved to himself the sea-ports and coasts, and confirmed their inland conquests to the undertakers. The king, however, resolved to go over thither in person, and for that purpose drew together a considerable army, which he embarked on board a fleet of four hundred sail, and passed therewith from Milford-haven to Waterford, where he landed October 25, 1171. The appearance of so great a force, and the presence of the king, had such an effect on this country, then torn by intestine divisions, that, in a very short space, the king made this great conquest, which he had so long sought, and so vigorously endeavoured, without effusion of blood. Afterwards, keeping his Christmas at Dublin, he there received homage and hostages of the several petty princes, and even of the great King Roderick O'Connor, so that, if his affairs had permitted him to have remained there so long as he intended, he would, in all probability, not only have effectually reduced Ireland, but also left it in a quiet and peaceable state. It was discord arising in his own family that prevented this; for Eleanor his queen, his eldest son King Henry, his younger sons Richard and Geoffrey, entering into a conspiracy against him, and being supported therein by the power of the king of France, old King Henry was obliged about Easter to leave Ireland, and return to Wales; which he did, without suffering any loss, having before settled the English conquests in that island as he thought proper. Of this war we have a very distinct account, though interlarded with

many superstitious circumstances, by Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, an eye-witness.

The king was engaged, by the unlucky accidents before-mentioned, in various wars for many years together; in all which he supported himself with undaunted courage, and admirable conduct. In Normandy he defeated the king of France, and the forces of his own son Henry: the loyal nobility of England, in the mean time, not only repulsed the king of Scots, who had invaded the northern provinces of England, but took him prisoner; and the earl of Flanders, who had raised great forces, with an intent to have invaded England, was so awed by the king's success, that he was forced to give over his enterprize, and disband his army: and these great things the king was chiefly enabled to perform by his superior power at sea, in which, though some contest happened between him and his son Henry, yet it was quickly over; for the king's fleet destroyed most of the rebels' ships, and many of their confederates; insomuch that, wearied by degrees, with repeated disappointments, and brought low by numberless defeats, his enemies were at length content to accept a peace on the terms prescribed them by the king; after which, he transported his victorious army on board a royal fleet into England, landing at Portsmouth on May 26, 1175. The same year, Roderick O'Connor made a second and more full submission to the king, who thereupon transferred his title to that island to his son John, who, as some writers report, was crowned king with a diadem of peacock's feathers set in gold, sent to his father by the Pope for that purpose. Some part of this story, however, cannot be true, since it appears, from the great seal made use of by this prince, that he never styled himself king, but lord only of Ireland; into which country he also went, several years after, with a con-

siderable army, and continued there some time, though without performing any great matter.

Even after these times of confusion, and notwithstanding all the expence they had occasioned, the king shewed the greatness of his mind by giving extraordinary assistance to the Christians in the Holy Land, not only by licensing several of his nobility to go thither at their own charges, but also by advancing large sums of money, and furnishing ships and arms. How much there was of piety in these expeditions, I pretend not to determine; yet certainly the king's intent was good, and this good effect followed it, that his fame, and the reputation of the nation, was spread thereby to the most distant parts of the world, insomuch that the crown of Jerusalem was offered to the king, who, considering the state of his affairs at home, modestly declined it. Indeed, the troubles he had so happily quelled some years before, broke out again in the latter part of his reign, when he was as unfortunate as of old he had been happy; insomuch that, after undergoing a cruel reverse of fortune, occasioned chiefly by his being obliged to end these disputes by fighting on land, where his French and Norman lords often betrayed him; he was, at length, compelled to accept such terms of peace as France and his rebellious son Richard would afford him; which affected him so sensibly, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died on July 6, 1189, when he had reigned near thirty-five years, and lived sixty-three. He was the first prince of the royal house of Plantagenet, and was possessed of very extensive dominions. He enjoyed England in a fuller and better settled condition than his predecessors, restoring the ancient laws, and abolishing Danegeld. He humbled Scotland more than any of his predecessors, kept Wales in strict subjection, subdued Ireland, and held all the maritime provinces of France, even to the mountains which

divide it from Spain ; so that, as a foreign writer confesses, he justly claimed, and undeniably maintained, his sovereignty over the sea, which he esteemed the most honourable prerogative of his crown.

RICHARD succeeded his father King Henry in all his dominions, as well on the continent as in this island ; and, having adjusted all his affairs in France amicably with Philip Augustus, who was then king, he came over hither to settle his domestic concerns, that he might be at liberty to undertake that great expedition on which he had set his heart, *viz.* of driving the Saracens out of the Holy Land, in which he was to have King Philip of France and other great princes for his associates. The power of the Saracens was then exceedingly great, and they were growing no less formidable at sea than they had been long at land ; so that, if the whole force of Christendom had not been opposed against them in the east, I see very little or no room to doubt of their making an entire conquest of the west : for, since they were able to deal with the joint forces of these princes in the Holy Land, they would undoubtedly have beat them singly, if ever they had attacked them. How little soever, therefore, the Popes are to be justified in their spiritual characters in regard to these cruises, they indisputably shewed themselves great politicians. As to the particular case of England, though it might be hard on those who lived in these times, yet the nation, as a nation, reaped great advantages from it ; for it not only excited a martial spirit, which in that age was necessary for their preservation, but it also raised a much greater naval force than had ever been set on foot since the coming of the Normans, and withal carried the English fame to such a height, as astonished the whole world, and was the true source of that respect which has ever since been paid to the English flag. But it is now time to return to the expedition.

The articles of agreement between the two kings, Richard and Philip, are recorded at large in our own and the French historians, as also the naval regulations; with which, therefore, I shall not meddle. One thing, however, is very observable, that, when King Richard appeared with his fleet before the city of Messina in Sicily, it so much astonished the French king, that he from that moment conceived such a jealousy of King Richard, as could never after be extinguished. During the stay of our king in this island, a difference happened between him and King Tancred, which occasioned the attacking Messina, and taking it by the English, which, as our writers say, gave no small umbrage to King Philip; though the French historians affirm, that he abetted King Richard, and had a third part of the money paid him by King Tancred for his pains. However that might be, it is certain, that this last-mentioned prince did, by a treaty of composition, agree to give King Richard 60,000 ounces of gold, four large galleons, and fifteen gallies; by which accession of strength, the English fleet, when the king left Sicily to sail for Cyprus, consisted of thirteen capital ships of extraordinary burden, 150 ships of war, and fifty-three gallies, besides vessels of less size, and tenders. In their passage to Cyprus, they were sorely shaken by a tempest, in which several ships were lost, and a great number of men drowned, among whom were some persons of very great distinction. The ship in which Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre, and who was contracted to King Richard, was, with many other ladies of great quality, was very near perishing by their being denied entrance into one of the ports of Cyprus by the tyrannical king of that island, whose name was Isaac, and whom most of our historians grace with the high title of Emperor. This, with the plundering such ships as were wrecked upon his coast, and making prisoners of such persons as escaped drowning, so provoked King Richard, that

he made a descent with all his forces, and, in the space of fourteen days, reduced the whole island, taking the king and his daughter and heiress prisoners. Here he received Guy, formerly king of Jerusalem, with several other Christian princes in the east, who swore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors with a considerable body of troops in Cyprus, he sailed from thence with a much better fleet than he brought with him; for it consisted of 254 stout ships, and upwards of 60 galleys. In his passage to Acon or Ptolemais, he took a huge vessel of the Saracens, laden with ammunition and provision, bound for the same place, which was then besieged by the Christian army. The size of this ship was so extraordinary, that it very highly deserves notice. Matthew Paris calls it Dromunda, and tells us, that the ships of the English fleet, attacked it briskly, though it lay like a great floating castle in the sea, and was in a manner impenetrable. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no less than 1500 men, of whom the king caused 1300 to be drowned, and kept the remaining 200 prisoners, who, another writer says, were all persons of distinction. After this victory, the king proceeded to Acon, which he blocked up by sea, at the same time that his forces, in conjunction with those of other Christian princes, besieged it by land; so that, at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole strength of the Saracens under their famous prince Saladin.

The French and English took joint possession thereof; but King Philip was so sensible of his glory being eclipsed by the superior merit of King Richard, that nothing would satisfy him but returning home, contrary to all the stipulations that he had made with the king of England. To this King Richard, with much ado, consented, upon his taking a solemn oath not to invade any of his dominions till King Richard himself should be returned forty days. King

Philip left behind him the duke of Burgundy, with a body of ten or twelve thousand men, with orders to obey King Richard as captain-general of the Christian forces in the Holy Land, but with private instructions, as our historians surmise, to frustrate, as much as in him lay, all that king's undertakings; which, if it be not true, is at least very probable, since that duke acted as if he really had such instructions. But notwithstanding this, Richard took Ascalon, Joppa, and other places; reduced the greatest part of Syria, beat the Saracens in several engagements, and if his confederates had done their duty as well, would infallibly have retaken Jerusalem, which was the principal design of the war. That he really intended it, appears from the testimony of a celebrated French historian; who tells us, that the king had formed a project of acquiring mighty dominions in the east, and had for that purpose given to Guy of Lusignan the kingdom of Cyprus, in exchange for his title to the crown of Jerusalem. But, at length, finding himself envied and betrayed by his confederates in the east, and having intelligence that his brother John sought to usurp his dominions at home, he made a treaty with Saladin, and resigned his pretensions to the kingdom of Jerusalem, to his near kinsman Henry earl of Champagne. Such was the conclusion of this famous expedition, which might have ended better, if that mixture of envy and jealousy, which is so rooted in the temper of our ambitious neighbours the French, had not inclined them rather to sacrifice all regard to honour, and all respect to religion, than suffer so great an enterprise, as that of taking Jerusalem would have been, to be achieved by an English prince.

The king, having settled his affairs in the best manner he could in the east, endeavoured to make all possible haste home, but met with a sad misfortune in his passage; for being shipwrecked on the coast of Istria, where with great difficulty he saved

his life; he thought, for expedition sake, to travel by land through Germany incognito, taking the name of Hugo, and passing for a merchant. But arriving in the neighbourhood of Vienna, he was unluckily discovered, and made prisoner by Leopold, duke of Austria, with whom he had formerly had some difference in the Holy Land, and who basely made use of this advantage to revenge his private quarrel. After he had kept him some time, he delivered, or rather sold him to the Emperor Henry VI. a covetous, mercenary prince, who was resolved to get all he could by him, before he set him at liberty. The injustice of this proceeding was visible to all Europe; but the dominions of the emperor, and of the Austrian prince, were so far out of the reach of England, and the enemies of King Richard were become so numerous and powerful, that, instead of wondering at his remaining fifteen months a captive, posterity may stand amazed how he came to be at all released; especially, since so large a ransom was insisted on, as one hundred and four thousand pounds: which, however, was raised by the people of England, though with great difficulty; part of it being paid down, and hostages given for the rest. In the spring of the year 1194, the king returned to England, where he began to rectify all the miscarriages which had happened in his absence; and perceiving that nothing could effectually settle his foreign dominions but vigorous measures, and a war with the French, whose king acted as perfidiously as ever, he suddenly drew together a considerable fleet, embarked on board thereof a large body of forces, and transporting them into Normandy, quickly disappointed all his potent enemy's views; and, after five years war, brought him to think in earnest of peace. Here, notwithstanding, I must take notice of one thing, which however slight in appearance, is exceedingly pertinent to my subject: I mean the marriage of Philip Augustus with Isemberga, the daughter of Canutus V.

king of Denmark; which match was made with no other view than to engage the Danes in the interest of King Philip, who intended to have employed their naval force against that of the English: and a clearer proof than this cannot be offered, of our being masters of the balance of Europe, notwithstanding the personal misfortunes of King Richard, in virtue of our superiority at sea.

In the course of the war, the king having gained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Blois, his troops possessed the enemy's camp and baggage; whereby all the records and charters of France, which then were wont to follow the court wherever it went, came into the hands of the English, and through carelessness were dissipated and destroyed. At last, when King Richard was reconciled to his brother John, and had effectually quelled his foreign enemies, he was taken out of this life by an extraordinary accident. A certain nobleman having found a large treasure hidden in his own lands, sent a part of it to the king, who thereupon demanded the whole; which being refused him, he presently besieged this nobleman in his castle; and going too near the walls to give directions for an assault, he was mortally wounded by an arrow; though some say that the wound was not mortal in itself, but was rendered so by the ill management of an unskilful surgeon. However this might be, he died on April 6, 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-first of his age. He was a prince very justly surnamed Cœur de Lion, or Lion's Heart; since his courage carried him through all things; and his firmness was such, that it alike bound to him his friends, and daunted his enemies: a strong instance of which we have in the message sent by Philip of France to Earl John, on the king's being released by the emperor; *viz.* That the devil was now let loose again, and, therefore, he should take the best care he could of himself. Of all our princes, none better understood the value of a naval

force, or how to use it; as appears not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his establishing the laws of Oleron, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the constant care he took in supporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging seamen; whereby he drew numbers from all parts of Europe into his service, and by a like vigilance in promoting and protecting commerce.

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

ancient usage, founded on the indubitable rights of his predecessors.

From his entrance on the government, the king of France shewed himself as much his enemy, as ever he had been his brother's; invading his territories on the continent, under pretence of protecting prince Arthur; but in reality in order to aggrandize himself, and to unite Normandy and other provinces to the French crown. This obliged King John to pass frequently into Normandy with considerable armies; where sometimes he did great things, and sometimes little or nothing. He hoped, however, in the end to bring his enemies to submission; but his barons refused their assistance; and yet, when his French territories were torn from him, they clamoured at the loss. This so exasperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high spirit, that he resolved to conquer them first, and make one experiment more of the fidelity of his subjects. In order to this, he assembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to pass into Normandy: but, when all was ready, and the nobility seemed thoroughly disposed to behave as became them, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshall earl of Pembroke came, and, in the name of the Pope, forbade him to proceed. The king unwillingly obeyed; and yet, repenting of this step, he the next day put to sea, with a few faithful subjects, hoping that the rest, either out of fear or shame, would have followed; but in this he was disappointed; for they not only remained where they were, but by sending after the king's small squadron, prevailed on many to come back; so that the expedition was entirely frustrated, which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly mortified and offended the seamen, of whom no less than fourteen thousand were come from different parts of the kingdom, in order to serve on board the royal fleet. This, at the

same time that it shews King John's misfortune, demonstrates also how great our maritime force was in those days, and what wise regulations subsisted; since such a number of seamen could be so easily drawn together. Our best writers agree, that the archbishop and the earl of Pembroke, prevented the king from being able to assemble such a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them: for he always kept the hearts of the seamen; and by doing so defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of France to struggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is an extraordinary fact, and of the highest importance to my subject; therefore I shall endeavour to make it out in such a manner, as to leave the reader no colour of doubt; and, by so doing, shall effectually prove, that though a king may be undone by trusting to his army, he cannot but be safe if he is secure of his fleet.

The kingdom, or as it was then properly styled, the dominion of Ireland, belonged to King John before he attained the realm of England; and had remained more obedient to him than any other part of his territories: but now troubles began there; and such accounts were transmitted of the insolence of some of the lords proprietors, and of the devastations committed by the native Irish, hitherto unsubdued, that the king resolved to go over in person and reduce it. For this purpose, the king ordered a great army to be levied, and drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of five hundred sail; with which he passed from Pembroke in Wales into Ireland, where he landed on May 25, 1210. The fame of his coming, and the appearance of so great a force as he brought with him, so terrified the inhabitants of the sea coast, and low countries, that they immediately came and submitted. On his arrival at Dublin, twenty of the Irish chiefs came in, and swore fealty to him; and having thus performed much in a peaceable way, he

by force of arms achieved the rest, reducing the king of Connaught, besieging and taking the castles of many rebellious lords, and forcing them either to yield or to quit the kingdom. When things were brought to this pass, he thought of civil establishments; ordered the whole realm to be for the future governed by the English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other legal officers in every county. At his departure, he constituted John de Gray, then bishop of Norwich, governor of Ireland, a very wise and prudent man, who pursuing the king's plan, brought that nation into a settled state. This certainly shewed not only the spirit and temper of the king, but the utility of his fleet, without which he could not have entered on this expedition with such honour, or have finished it with so great success; especially at a time when at home things were in so bad a situation.

On his return he found the Welch in rebellion, his barons disaffected, and the king of France contriving an invasion: the Pope also absolved the king's subjects from their allegiance, and gave the kingdom of England to Philip Augustus of France. This monarch, well pleased with so noble a present, raised a prodigious army, and brought together, some say, thirteen hundred ships, in order to embark them for this island. On the other hand, King John was not slack in his preparations; he shewed his diligence in collecting a force equal to that of the enemy, and his magnanimity in dismissing a part of them, that the rest might have the greater plenty of provisions; yet, after this was done, he encamped sixty thousand men on Barham Downs, having a larger fleet riding along the coast than had been seen in those times; and in this posture he waited for his foes. But the Pope's legate coming over, and promising to deliver him from this danger, if he would submit himself and his kingdom to the see of Rome; he, to prevent the effusion of blood, and, perhaps, fearing the treachery of his barons, consented thereto, and the Pope imme-

diately prohibited King Philip to proceed. He, too, notwithstanding his great power, obeyed, though with an ill will; yet resolved to make some use of this mighty armament; and, therefore, turned it against the Earl of Flanders; sending the best part of his fleet to lay waste the coasts of that country; while himself with a great army entered it by land. King John was no sooner informed of this than he ordered his navy, under the command of his brother the Earl of Salisbury, to sail to the assistance of his ally. He finding the French fleet, partly riding in the road, and partly at anchor, in the haven of Dam in Flanders, first attacked and destroyed those without, and then landing his forces, fell upon the French in the harbour by sea and land, and after an obstinate dispute, took them all; sending home three hundred sail, well laden with provisions, to carry the news of the victory, and setting all the rest on fire. So fortunate was this prince at sea, because his sailors were loyal, who was so unlucky on shore through the treachery of his great men.

Thus delivered from his present apprehensions of the French, the king began to think of passing once again beyond the seas, in order to recover his rights; but met with so many difficulties and disappointments, that it was long before he could carry his design into execution. At last, in the month of February, 1214, he, without the assistance of his barons, embarked a great army on board a powerful fleet, and therewith sailed to Rochelle, where he landed and was well received, the greatest part of the country submitting to him immediately. For some time he carried on the war against the French prosperously; but fortune changing, and his allies being beaten in the fatal battle of Bovines, he was constrained, about Easter the next year, to agree to a truce; the rather, because his subjects in England began to rebel. In the month of November he returned into this kingdom, where he found things in

a much worse condition than he expected. The barons, in his absence, had time to confer together, and had reduced their demands into form; so that the king quickly found, that he either must grant what they asked, or if he ventured to refuse them, must have recourse to the sword. At first he chose the latter; but he quickly found, that the barons were too powerful for him; and, therefore, in a meadow between Egham and Staines, called Runnemede, *i. e.* the Mead of Council, he granted that charter in the sight of both armies, which since, from the importance of its contents, and the solemnity with which it was made, hath been called Magna Charta, or the Great Charter. Yet repenting of this soon after, he endeavoured to frustrate what he had done; but the barons were too powerful for him, and reduced him to such straits, that, at length, he was constrained to fly to the Isle of Wight, where he lived in a manner little different from that of his predecessor King Alfred, when he fled from the Danes; yet in all his distresses his seamen remained faithful: and now, when he had not a house in which he could sleep with safety on shore, he found a sanctuary from all dangers in his ships, in which he frequently chased the vessels of his disloyal subjects, and, by landing on the coasts, spoiled their estates, and thus subsisted the few loyal persons who stuck to him, at the expense of his and their enemies.

In the mean time the barons, plainly perceiving their want of a head, resolved to invite over Lewis, son to the king of France, who had married King John's niece, in order to shelter themselves against the resentment of that monarch by setting his crown on the head of this young prince. Not only Lewis, but King Philip his father, relished this proposal exceedingly, and assembling a fleet of six hundred and ten sail at Calais, the prince, with a numerous army, landed in Kent. The city of London, long alienated from the king in affection, declared immediately for

the invader, received him with joy, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. In the mean time, King John was no ways idle; he endeavoured to maintain himself in Kent, where he had a considerable army; but finding many of his barons unfaithful, and his forces not strong enough to hazard a battle, he garrisoned some castles, and particularly that of Dover, that he might be able to protect his fleet, and then marched to Winchester, where he soon drew together a much greater force than his enemies expected. Breaking out from thence like a tempest, he laid waste the estates of his rebellious barons, in spite of the foreign assistance they had received; and, having acquired a vast booty, he came with it to Lynn in Norfolk, which had signalized its loyalty to him in his utmost distress, as most of the ports in the kingdom did; but, marching from thence into Lincolnshire, his carriages were lost in the washes, and himself and his army narrowly escaped. At Swine's-head abbey he was attacked by a distemper which proved fatal to him; but what that distemper was, is very difficult to say. Some affirm, that it was the effects of grief; others call it a fever; others a flux, and others a surfeit; but many of our first writers, and the most authentic foreign historians, affirm, that he was poisoned by a monk, which it is certain his son Henry believed. This end had the troubles of King John at Newark, to which place he was carried in a horse-litter on October 18, 1216, when he had reigned nearly eighteen years:

We have already shewn how vigorously this king maintained his sovereignty of the sea; to this we must add, that he was a great encourager of whatever had a tendency to the support of maritime strength, or the ease and increase of trade. He granted more and larger charters to cities and boroughs than any of his predecessors, and, by thus strengthening the liberties of the people, incurred the hatred of his ambitious barons. He settled the rates

of necessaries, and effectually punished all kind of fraud in commerce. To him likewise was owing many regulations in respect to money, and the first coining of that sort which is called sterling. One cannot, therefore, help doubting, when we consider that he was the author of our best laws, whether those writers do him justice, who declare that King John was one of the worst of our kings. He stood on bad terms with the monks, and at that time they penned our histories; which is a sufficient reason against his obtaining a good character, even though he had deserved it. So much of his fame, however, as may result from the respect he had to naval affairs, we have endeavoured to vindicate; and shall do the same good office to every other prince, in whose favour authorities may be produced against common opinion.

HENRY III. a child between nine and ten years of age, succeeded his father immediately in his dominions, and in time became also the heir of his misfortunes. At first, through the care of the earl of Pembroke his guardian, he was very successful, that wise nobleman shewing the barons, that now they had nothing to fear from King John; and themselves also by this time well knew, they had very little to hope from King Lewis, who put French garrisons into all the castles that were taken by the English lords, and gave glaring proofs of his intention to rule as a conqueror, in case he could possess himself of the kingdom. In a short time, therefore, the royalists grew strong enough to look the enemy in the face; which the French so little apprehended, that, with an army of 20,000 men, they had marched northwards, and besieged Lincoln. The city quickly fell into their hands; but the castle, being very strong for those times, made an obstinate defence; and, while they were engaged before it, the earl of Pembroke with his forces came to offer them battle.

The barons, who adhered to King Lewis, and were certainly best acquainted with the strength of their countrymen, advised the French general to march out and fight; but he, suspicious of their integrity, endeavoured to secure his forces in the city. The royalists first threw a considerable reinforcement into the castle, and then attacked the enemy in the town. The struggle was very short, the French and their confederates being quickly beaten, almost without blood-shed, and the victorious army so exceedingly enriched by their plunder, that they called this battle Lewis fair, as if they had not gone to a fight, but to a market. The consequences of this battle brought the French prince and his faction so low, that he was glad of a truce, which might afford him time to go back to France for succours; and this being granted, he passed over accordingly to Calais, many of the barons deserting him in his absence.

He did not stay long abroad, but, providing with the utmost diligence a considerable recruit, embarked on board a fleet of eighty stout ships, besides transports, and immediately put to sea. Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover castle, assisted by Philip de Albanie and John Marshall, resolved to encounter him with the strength of the cinque ports, and accordingly met him at sea with forty sail of ships. The English, perceiving that the French had the advantage of them both in ships and men, made use of their superiority in skill; so that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the transports, and sunk them with all the soldiers on board: their long bows also did them notable service: and, to prevent the French from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their decks, which the wind blowing fresh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them; so that, declining the dispute, they as fast as possible bore away for the shore; and landing at Sandwich, Lewis, in revenge for the mischief their ships had done him, burnt it to the

ground. The English were every way gainers by this engagement, as on the other hand it entirely ruined the affairs of Lewis, who was now forced to shut himself up in London, where very soon after he was besieged, the English fleet in the mean time blocking up the mouth of the Thames. He quickly saw how great his danger was, and how little reason he had to expect relief. In this situation he did all that was left for him to do; that is to say, he entered into a treaty with the earl of Pembroke, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of England, and provided the best he could for himself and his adherents; which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners, and remains an incontestible proof, that as nothing but our intestine divisions can invite an invasion, so, while we retain the sovereignty of the sea, such attempts in the end must prove fatal to those who undertake them.

The same wise governors, who had so happily managed the king's affairs hitherto, and had so wonderfully delivered him out of all his difficulties, shewed a like diligence in establishing the tranquillity of the realm, and cultivating a correspondence with foreign princes; of which various testimonies occur in Mr. Rymer's collection of treaties, whence it is incontestibly evident, that they were extremely tender of trade, and of the dominion of the sea. In order, however, to keep up the martial spirit of the nobility, and perhaps to prevent their breaking out into rebellion at home, leave was given them to take the cross, and to make expeditions into the Holy Land. Thus the earls of Chester, Winchester, and Arundel, went at one time; the bishops of Winchester and Exeter at another, with many followers: so that, when they came into Syria, there were not fewer English there than 40,000 men, of whom very probably not many returned home.

The desire which King Henry had to recover the provinces taken from him by the king of France, and

the clear title that he derived from the treaty made with Lewis, who was now king, induced him, more than once, to solicit that prince to restore them, and to send over small supplies of forces into the places which he still held. All this produced nothing considerable: so that at last the king resolved to go over, as his predecessors had done, with a great fleet, and a numerous army. With this view, large sums were demanded, and given by parliament, and such a force assembled, as the nation had scarcely ever seen; but when the forces marched about Michaelmas to Portsmouth, in order to embark, the fleet provided for that purpose appeared so insignificant, that it became necessary to postpone the expedition till the next spring; a thing highly prejudicial to the king's affairs, and much more so to his reputation. The next year the king actually invaded France, and might, if he had pushed this war with vigour, have recovered the dominions of his ancestors; but, being entirely governed by his mother, and her second husband, he consumed both his time and money in pompous entertainments: so that the French, coming down with a considerable body of forces, compelled him, after he had been there from April to October, to embark and sail home again, without adding any thing either to his honour, or to his dominions.

His brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was naturally an active prince, resolved, about the year 1240, to take upon him the cross, and to lead a body of succours into the Holy Land. With him went the Earl of Salisbury, and many other persons of distinction; and not long after, Simon Earl of Leicester, and John Earl of Albemarle, followed his example.

By want of good management at this period, the naval force of the kingdom was impaired to such a degree, that the Normans and Britons were too hard for the cinque ports, and compelled them to seek relief from the other parts of the kingdom, who, in the first year of this king's reign, had performed such ex-

traordinary things. William Marshall, of the noble family of Pembroke, having by some means or other, incurred the king's displeasure, became a pirate, and, fortifying the little island of Lundy, in the mouth of the Severn, did so much mischief, that at length it became necessary to fit out a squadron, to reduce him; which was accordingly done, and he suffered by the hand of justice at London: yet the example did not deter other discontented persons from practices of the like nature.

An idle desire of making his son Edmund king of Sicily, drew the king into vast expences, and yet produced nothing glorious, in the least degree to the nation, any more than another expedition he made for the recovery of Normandy, in 1260, which ended in a dishonourable treaty; whereby, for the sake of certain sums of money, he renounced all title to those countries which had been the patrimonial possessions of his ancestors; and thenceforward left the dukedoms of Normandy and Anjou out of his titles. On his return home, he met with fresh griefs, and greater disturbances than ever. The barons grew quite weary of a king entirely directed by foreigners, and who thought of nothing but providing for his favourites, at the expence of his people. The cinque ports, ever steady in his father's interest, revolted from him, sided with the barons, and fitted out a considerable fleet for their service: but, as these were times of great licence, so, in a very short space, the inhabitants of these ports forgot the motives on which they took arms, and began to consider nothing but their private interest, taking indifferently all ships that fell into their hands, and exercising an unlimited piracy on foreigners, as well as the king's subjects. By their example, something of the same nature was practised on the coast of Lincolnshire; for certain malcontents, having seized the isle of Ely, plundered the adjacent countries, and carried to this receptacle of theirs all the booty they acquired.

At length, however, by the industry and valour of Prince Edward, they were reduced; and the same worthy person, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, brought the inhabitants of the cinque ports to return to their duty.

The confusion of the times, however, was such, and the king's temper so timid, so irresolute, and, in all cases, so little to be depended on, that the gallant prince Edward, with his brother Edmund, and many other persons of the first distinction, took the cross, and went against the Saracens. A stronger instance there could not be, of the low and exhausted state of the kingdom, than the equipage with which these princes went; for their squadron consisted of no more than thirteen ships, on board of which there were embarked but one thousand men: and yet, on his coming into the east, the very fame of Prince Edward drew to him a considerable force, with which he performed many noble acts, insomuch, that the infidels, despairing of any success against him in the field, had recourse to a base assassination, which likewise failed them. On his recovery, the prince, finding that he should not be able to do any great service to the Christian cause in those parts, settled his affairs in the best manner he could, in order to return home: in the mean time, the king his father, in the last years of his life, enjoyed more peace than he had formerly done, which was in some measure owing to a change in his conduct; having learned by experience, that to govern a kingdom was a painful office, and required more application than hitherto he had bestowed upon it. But what seems to have been the chief cause of this short calm, after so high a storm, was, the death of his principal opposers, all of whom King Henry out-lived, and the uneasy circumstances in which they left their heirs: so that, upon the whole, the fire of sedition might, in this case, be said to be extinguished for want of fuel, and the king to die in peace, because the power of disturbing him was exhausted.

He ended his life on November 10, 1272, when he had reigned somewhat more than fifty-six years, and lived sixty-six.

EDWARD I. surnamed Longshanks, though at his father's decease in the Holy Land, was readily and unanimously acknowledged his successor; nor did there happen any disturbance, notwithstanding he delayed his return to July 25, 1274: in his passage home he visited Pope Gregory X. and King Philip of France; stayed some time at his city of Bourdeaux, and having thoroughly settled his affairs abroad, arrived here with an established reputation, as well for wisdom as courage; which perhaps was the principal reason that all ancient animosities seemed buried in oblivion: and his barons shewed as great alacrity in obeying him, as they had discovered obstinacy in thwarting his father. He, on the other hand, manifested a great spirit of forgiveness, and, addressing himself to the government, with equal spirit and diligence, quickly gave a new face to public affairs. The desire he had of settling the realm in perfect tranquillity, engaged him to spend some time in making new laws, and composing old differences amongst potent families; in regulating affairs with the king of Scots, and in providing for the security of the English frontiers towards Wales; by redressing the grievances complained of by the Welch, and heaping favours upon David, brother to Llewelin, who ruled over all Wales. Yet this peace did not continue long, and the nature of our work leads us to shew how it was broken, and what were the consequences of that breach.

Llewelin was a wise and warlike prince, more potent than any of his predecessors, but withal excessively ambitious; filling his mind with vain hopes, founded on old prophecies, and furthered in all probability by his intrigues with some of the English barons. These notions induced him to decline paying

homage to King Edward, and to endeavour to strengthen his interest, by marrying the daughter of Simon Mountford, late earl of Leicester, the determined enemy of the royal family. This lady coming to him by sea from France, was taken by some ships from the port of Bristol, and, with her brother, brought to the king, who treated her very kindly. In order to put an end to these disputes, Edward entered Wales with a great army, and at the same time harassed the coast with his fleet, which brought the proud Llewellyn so low, that he yielded to a peace on very hard terms: in consequence of which, however, the king, from a royal generosity, sent him his wife. Not long after, he broke out again, and, in conjunction with his brother David, committed such devastation in the English marches, that the king was obliged to turn against him the whole force of the kingdom; and having slain him in battle, added Wales to his dominions, and declaring his young son Edward, just born at Caernarvon, prince thereof, put an end to the British line. His policy in securing his conquest is worthy of observation: for first, to awe the people he distributed the inland parts amongst his nobility; and next, to prevent their falling into the Welch customs, he established the English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other legal officers in those parts: lastly, for his own security, which he judged depended on a naval force, he kept all the ports of the principality in his own hands, encouraging the inhabitants in their application to inland trade and foreign commerce, more than any of their native princes had done, that they might become true subjects of an English king, rich and free.

In the seventeenth year of the king's reign, fell out the death of Alexander king of Scots, which afforded Edward another opportunity of displaying his wisdom, and of extending his power. This prince had for his first wife Margaret, the king's sister, by whom

he had a son, who died young, and a daughter named Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway, to whom also she bore a daughter, called Margaret likewise, whom the Scots, with the consent of King Edward, acknowledged for the heiress of their crown. She, in her passage from Norway, going on shore in the Orkneys, died there; whereupon many competitors for the Scottish diadem appeared, who agreed to submit the decision of their respective titles to King Edward. These were, Eric king of Norway, Florence earl of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Anandale, John de Baliol lord of Galloway, John de Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenock, Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche, John de Vesci for his father, Nicholas de Soules, and William de Ross: and great consequences King Edward drew from this reference, which put the whole island into his power, and gave him a pretence for keeping a strong squadron of ships upon the northern coast in right of his sovereignty over those seas; which, though always claimed, had not been exercised by some of his predecessors. After much consultation, carried on with great solemnity, the king pronounced his judgment in favour of Baliol, as descended from the eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, although Robert le Bruce was somewhat nearer in descent, by a younger daughter; who therefore holding himself injured, still kept up his claim.

Notwithstanding these arduous affairs at home, King Edward was far from neglecting his concerns on the continent, where he still preserved the duchy of Guienne, and some other dominions, to which he passed over when occasion required; and, contrary to the usage of his predecessors, took all imaginable care to preserve the friendship of France, which in the end he found impracticable; and that his rights were only to be defended by force.

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king made great preparations for invading Flanders, and

though he met with many interruptions from his barons and clergy, yet by the latter end of August he sailed from Winchelsea with a mighty fleet, having a gallant army of between fifty and sixty thousand men on board, and landed at Sluys in Flanders on the twenty-seventh of the same month, where a very unlucky accident fell out. The squadron from the cinque ports, quarrelling with the Yarmouth mariners, suddenly fell to blows; so that, notwithstanding the king's interposition, a desperate engagement followed, wherein twenty ships of the Yarmouth squad on were burnt, most of the men on board them lost, and three of the largest ships in the navy, one of which had the king's treasure on board, were driven out to sea, and, not without much difficulty, escaped. This was an ill beginning; and indeed, nothing answerable to the force employed therein was done through the whole expedition; yet in one respect they were fortunate; for the French having formed a scheme for burning their whole navy in the harbour of Dam, it was luckily discovered; and the English fleet, putting to sea, escaped. The king's confederates abroad also fell from their promises; and the Flemings, to whose assistance the English came, making a sudden defection, the king was next year obliged to return to England, as well on account of these miscarriages, as to quiet his barons, and to repress the Scots, who, at the instigation of the French, took up arms, and invaded the kingdom.

The king, according to his disposition of entertaining peace on the continent if possible, while he had affairs of moment to employ him nearer home, was content, notwithstanding the injuries he received, to make a peace with King Philip, which in the twenty-seventh year of his reign was confirmed, and by the mediation of Pope Boniface VIII. made more explicit by a treaty; wherein it was stipulated, that the king of England should marry the French king's sister, and his son Prince Edward the daughter

of the said king, and that the duchy of Aquitain should be put into the hands of the Pope, until the matters in difference between the two kings should be inquired into, and settled. This truce, indifferently performed on the part of the French, subsisted to the thirtieth year of the king, and then a peace was concluded between the two crowns, of which the third article contained a reciprocal engagement, that neither of the contracting parties should afford any manner of aid or assistance to the enemies of the other, or suffer the same to be given, in any way whatever, in any of the territories or places under their power, and that they should forbid the same to be done on pain of forfeiture of body and goods to the offenders, &c. I mention this article particularly, because, in consequence of it, there fell out the clearest proofs of the king of England's absolute sovereignty of the sea, that could be desired or wished; a clearer proof, perhaps, than the whole world can shew, in respect to the prerogative of a prince, with regard to other princes. It happened thus:

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

To these commissioners, therefore, a remonstrance was presented in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the English seas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewise of the merchants, mariners, strangers resi-

dent, and all others belonging to the kingdom of England, and other territories subject to the said king of England; as also the inhabitants of other maritime places, such as Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Germany, Zealand, Holland, Frizeland, Denmark, Norway, &c. setting forth, "that, whereas the kings of England, by right of the said kingdom, have from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable possession of the sovereignty of the English seas, and of the islands situate within the same, with power of ordaining and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be; and of taking security, and giving protection, in all cases where need shall require; and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof; and also, of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which to the exercise of sovereign jurisdiction in the places aforesaid may appertain: and whereas A. de B. (Lord Coke says his name was de Botetort) admiral of the said sea, deputed by the said king of England, and all other admirals deputed by the said king of England, and his ancestors formerly kings of England, have been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign-guard, with power of jurisdiction, and all the other powers before-mentioned, (except in case of appeal, and complaint made of them to their sovereigns the kings of England, in default of justice, or for evil judgment,) and especially of making prohibitions, doing justice, and taking security for good behaviour from all manner of people carrying arms on the said sea, or sailing in ships otherwise fitted out and armed than merchant ships used to be, and in all other cases where a man

may have reasonable cause of suspicion towards them of piracy, or other misdoings: and whereas the masters of ships, of the said kingdom of England, in the absence of the said admirals, have been in peaceable possession of taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the said sea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions, franchises, and customs: and whereas, in the first article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the said kings at Paris, the words following are set down, *viz.* First of all it is agreed and concluded between us, the envoys and agents above-mentioned, in the names of the said kings, that they shall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies against all the world (except the church of Rome), in such manner, that if any one or more, whosoever they be, shall go about to interrupt, hinder, or molest the said kings, in their franchises, liberties, privileges, rights, or customs, of them and their kingdoms, they shall be good and faithful friends, and aiding against all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain, the above-mentioned franchises, liberties, rights, and customs, &c.; and that the one should not be of counsel, nor give aid or assistance in any thing whereby the other may lose life, limb, estate, or honour. And whereas Mr. Reyner Grimbaltz, master of the ships of the said king of France, who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his sovereign aforesaid, in his war against the Flemings, did, (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and against the tenor and obligation of the said alliance, and the intention of those who made it) wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiral in the said sea of England, above the space of a year, by commission from the said king of France, taking the subjects and merchants of the kingdom of England, and of other countries, passing upon the said seas with their goods, and did cast the men so taken into the prisons of his said

master the king of France, and, by his own judgment and award, did cause to be delivered, their goods and merchandises to receivers established for that purpose in the sea-ports of the said king, as forfeit and confiscate to him; and his taking and detaining the said men with their said goods and merchandises, and his judgment and award on them as forfeit and confiscate, hath pretended in writing to justify before you, the Lords Commissioners, by authority of the aforesaid commission for the office of admiral by him thus usurped, and against the general prohibition made by the king of England, in places within his power, in pursuance of the third article of the before-mentioned alliance, containing the words above written, and hath, therefore, required that he may be acquitted and absolved of the same, to the great damage and prejudice of the said king of England, and of the prelates, nobles, and others before-mentioned: wherefore the said procurators do, in the names of their said lords, pray you, the Lords Commissioners before-mentioned, that due and speedy delivery of the said men, ships, goods, and merchandises, so taken and detained, may be made to the admiral of the said king of England, to whom the cognizance of this matter doth rightfully appertain, as is above said, that so, without disturbance from you, or any one else, he may take cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforesaid office; and that the aforesaid Mr. Reyner may be condemned, and constrained to make due satisfaction for all the said damages; so far forth as he shall be able to do the same; and in default thereof, his said master, the king of France, by whom he was deputed to the said office, and that, after due satisfaction shall be made for the said damages, the said Mr. Reyner may be so duly punished for the violation of the said allowance, as that the same may be an example to others for time to come."

Thus far the remonstrance: on which other writers have largely insisted, let us content ourselves with

making a few obvious reflections. I. It appears from this paper, that the dominion of the sea had not only been claimed, but exercised and possessed, by the kings of England, for times immemorial; which is sufficient to give some credit to the facts which we have related from the British history: for as to the times since the Roman invasion, they were, in an historical sense, within memory. II. It is clear, from hence, what the dominion of the sea was, *viz.* a jurisdiction over the vessels of all nations passing thereon for the common benefit of all, for the preventing piracies, the protection of commerce, and the decision of unforeseen disputes. III. It is no less apparent, that this was an exclusive jurisdiction, in which no other potentate had any share; which must have been founded either in common consent, or in superiority of strength; either of which afforded a good title. IV. We see, by this remonstrance, that the dominion of the sea resting in the king of England, was a point not only known to, but maintained by, the Genoese, Spaniards, Germans, Hollanders, Danes, and, in short, by all the maritime powers then in Europe; which is sufficient to evince, that trade was far from being at a low ebb; and that the prerogative of the crown of England, in this respect, had been hitherto so exercised, as to render it a common advantage. V. We perceive, that foreigners were so jealous of the assuming temper of the French princes, that they would not admit the commander in chief of their naval force to bear the title of Admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to jurisdiction; and, therefore, would have this Reyner Grimbaltz styled only Master of the ships to the king of France. VI. We must observe, that the Commissioners, to whom this remonstrance is addressed, neither had, nor claimed any naval jurisdiction whatsoever, but were appointed to hear and determine whether King Edward's prerogative, as sovereign of the sea, had been invaded by this Reyner Grimbaltz, in contravention of the first article of the

treaty between the crowns of England and France, whereby the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives ; and, consequently, the French king was bound to maintain this prerogative of King Edward, which gave occasion to the commission. VII. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair not to our historians, but to our records ; whence we may safely deduce this consequence, that the want of facts to support such a jurisdiction throughout preceding reigns, ought not to be urged as a just objection ; because, as I once before hinted, most of those who applied themselves to writing history, were very little acquainted with these matters.

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

concession on the part of France, that can be desired; because this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commission of the prince he served, but from the king of England's prohibition; so that, in reality, he asserts himself to have acted under the English sovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal.

Many other instances of this king's claiming and exercising the sovereignty of the sea might be produced, if they were at all necessary; but as, at that time, the title of our kings was no way contested, it is not necessary to detain the reader longer on this head. The remainder of his life was spent in subduing Scotland, on which he had particularly set his heart, as appears, by his directing his dead body to be carried about that country, till every part of it was brought under his son's dominion. In this temper of mind he died, in a manner, in the field; for he caused himself to be conveyed from Carlisle to a village called Burgh upon Sands, where he departed this life on July 17, 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his age.

EDWARD II. succeeded this monarch in the throne with the general satisfaction of the nation. His first care was to solemnize the marriage, concluded for him by his father, with the Princess Isabella, daughter to the French king; and for that purpose he passed the seas, and went to Paris, where he was very magnificently received, and the ceremony of his nuptials was performed with extraordinary splendour. He then returned to England with his new queen, and was crowned on the feast of St. Matthias, with all testimonies of joy and affection from the people.

In the year 1313, Robert le Bruce, king of Scotland, invaded England with a great army, which roused the king from his lethargy, and obliged him to provide for the nation's safety, and his own honour. The next year, therefore, he assembled the whole

strength of the realm, and marched therewith northward, intending to have reduced the whole kingdom of Scotland, according to his father's directions upon his death-bed; but those disasters which always attend princes when on ill terms with their subjects, waited on this unfortunate expedition; so that in a general engagement on June 24, 1314, the English were entirely defeated, though the king discovered much personal courage, and when all fell into confusion, was with difficulty prevailed upon to fly. He certainly meant to have attempted at least the repairing this misfortune, by invading Scotland with a new army; but his reputation was so much injured by his late defeat, and his nobility were so unwilling to fight under his banners, that all his endeavours came to nothing; and he had besides the misfortune to see, not only the northern parts of England ravaged, but Ireland also invaded by the Scots, whom his father had left in so low a condition, and so little likely to defend their own, instead of offending others.

This design of the Scots upon Ireland was very deeply laid, and nothing less was intended than an entire conquest of the island. For this purpose King Robert le Bruce, sent over his brother Edward, who took upon him the title of King of Ireland, and who landed in the north with six thousand men, attended by the earls of Murray and Monteith, Lord John Stuart, Lord John Campbell, and many other persons of distinction; and by the assistance of the native Irish, quickly reduced a great part of the country. This war lasted several years; King Robert going over thither at last in person; and, in all probability, had carried his point, if it had not been for the hasty temper of his brother. Sir Edmund Butler, in the beginning of these contests, had with the English forces done all that, in a very distracted state of affairs, could be done for the preservation of the island, till such time as the king sent over Lord Roger Mortimer, with a very small force, to repress the invaders; who engaging Edward le Bruce in

the famous battle of Armagh, which the Scots very imprudently fought before they were joined by King Robert and his forces; the English gained a complete victory; the pretended King Edward being slain upon the spot, his head carried by the Lord Birmingham into England, and there presented to King Edward. After this all matters in Ireland were so well settled, that the king had thoughts of retiring thither, when sinking under his misfortunes; and would probably have done so, if he had remained master of the sea. His fortunes afterwards again revived, and he began to act vigorously against France; sending orders to his admiral to cruise on the French coasts; particularly to the constable of Dover-castle, and warden of the cinque ports; who executed his commands so effectually, that in a short time a hundred and twenty sail of ships belonging to Normandy were brought into the English ports. At this time his queen Isabella, who had escaped to France, and who had refused to return, appeared in open arms against him; she retired first into Guyenne, and went thence with her son, the prince, to the court of the earl of Hainault, where she openly prosecuted her design of attacking her husband, in support of which she had formed a strong party in England.

The king, on his side, provided the best he could for his defence, which, however, did not hinder her landing with three thousand men, at Orewell in Suffolk, a little before Michaelmas; and immediately after her arrival, the earl of Lancaster and most of the nobility came in to her assistance; so that the king seeing himself deserted, was forced to retire, or rather was compelled to fly into Wales; where, finding himself abandoned by those about him, he went on board a small ship, intending to retire to Ireland; but after tossing to and fro a whole week, he landed again in Glamorganshire, where for some time he lay hidden.

At last being discovered, he was carried prisoner to Monmouth, and thence to Kenilworth-castle, be-

longing to the earl of Lancaster, where he remained till his queen and the counsellors about her took a resolution of forcing him to resign his crown; which, by authority of parliament, was placed on the head of his son. He did not survive long after this, but was conveyed from place to place under the custody of Gournay and Mattravers, who, in the end, brought him to Berkeley-castle, where he was basely murdered on September 21, 1327, when he had reigned twenty years, and, with small ceremony, buried at Gloucester. During his reign, maritime concerns were on the decline, yet, as far as the distractions in his affairs would give him leave, he shewed himself a friend to trade, and remarkably careful of wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, as appears by a charter granted for that purpose, and other authentic proofs.

EDWARD III. called, from his birth-place, Edward of Windsor, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime, being, at first, entirely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite, Roger Mortimer. But, in the fourth year of his reign, when the king himself was but twenty years of age, he, at a parliament held at Nottingham, went in person, and, at the hazard of his life, seized Mortimer in his mother's bed-chamber, and caused him to be carried to London, where, by his death, he, in some measure, atoned for the crimes he had committed in his lifetime.

Thenceforward King Edward ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of his people at heart. He first turned his arms against the Scots, who had done incredible mischiefs in the north; and resolving to repair the dishonour he had sustained during the weak administration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet for the invasion of that country; and though the latter suffered grievously by storm on the Scottish coast, whereby most of his great ships were wrecked, and the rest rendered unserviceable; yet he persisted

in his design of expelling David Bruce, and restoring Edward Baliol; which, at length, with infinite labour, he effected, and received homage from the said Edward, as his grandfather Edward I. had from John Baliol: David Bruce, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of Scotland, retiring into France with his queen, where they were kindly received. In this step of securing Scotland, previously to any expeditions beyond the seas, King Edward imitated his grandfather, as he seems to have done in most of his subsequent undertakings, having always a special regard to the maintenance of a stout fleet, and securing to himself the possession as well as title of lord of the seas, which enabled him to assert, whenever he thought fit, his rights abroad, and effectually secured him from apprehending any thing from the efforts of his enemies at home. While he was laying these solid foundations of power, he thought it not at all beneath him to make use of such temporary expedients as were proper to serve his purpose, and to enable him to maintain his right to the crown of France, whenever he should think fit to claim it.

Though this war was of great importance to the nation, as well as to the king, and carried our naval force to a greater height than ever it arrived at before, yet our plan will not allow us to concern ourselves farther than with the naval expeditions on both sides.

The principal confederate, was James Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, who so well seconded the king's endeavours, that he drew to him the hearts of the Flemings, whom King Edward had already made sensible of the importance of the English friendship, by detaining from them his wool. However, they durst not shew their inclinations till such time as the king sent the earl of Derby with a considerable force, who made themselves masters of the isle of Cadsand; upon which most of the great cities in Flanders declared against the French, and invited King Edward

thither. The French, however, struck the first blow at sea: for having, under colour of sending relief to the Christians in the Holy Land, assembled a squadron of large ships, they sent them over to the English coast, where they took and burnt Southampton; and yet in their retreat they lost 300 men, and the son of the king of Sicily who commanded them: so that, upon the whole, this, though an apparent hostility, could scarcely be styled an advantage.

In 1338, King Edward by the middle of July drew his numerous army down to the coast of Suffolk, and at Orwell embarked them on board a fleet of 500 sail, with which he passed over to Antwerp. On his arrival he was received with great joy by the allies, particularly the Emperor Lewis; but the subsidies he paid them were excessive; nor could he immediately make use of their assistance, the French king declining a battle. In the mean time, by the advice of the Flemings, he assumed the arms and title of king of France; but while the king spent his time in marches and countermarches, in which, however, he gained some advantages over the enemy, the French and their allies the Scots, did a great deal of mischief on the English coasts with their fleet. The town of Hastings they ruined, alarmed all the western coast, burnt Plymouth, and insulted Bristol; all which was owing to the king's employing the greatest part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the Scots; yet, in two instances, the English valour and naval force appeared with great lustre. A squadron of thirteen sail of French ships attacked five English, who defended themselves so valiantly, that, though they lost the *Edward* and the *Christopher*, two of the largest, yet the other three escaped, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy. The mariners of the cinque ports also, taking advantage of a thick fog, manned out all their small craft, and ran over to Boulogne, where they did notable service; for they not only burnt the lower town, but

destroyed four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty lesser vessels, which lay in the harbour, and consumed the dock and arsenal, filled with naval stores.

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

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

The French fleet were extremely well provided

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

In the year 1342 the war was renewed, on account of the contested succession to the duchy of Brittany, King Edward supporting the cause of John de Montford, who was owned by the nobility against Charles de Blois, declared duke by the French king, who was his uncle. On this occasion a considerable body of English troops was sent over into that duchy under the command of Sir Walter de Mannie, who performed many gallant exploits, both by land and sea, though to no great purpose; the French king having it always in his power to pour in as many French troops as he pleased; so that the party of Charles de Blois prevailed, though against right, and the inclination of those who were to be his subjects. King Edward, on advice thereof, sent over a new succour, under the command of the Earls of Northampton and Devonshire.

The French king, having notice of the intended supply, sent Lewis of Spain, who commanded his fleet, which was made up of ships hired from different nations, directing that it should lie near the island of Guernsey, in order to intercept the English squadron in its passage. The fleet consisted of thirty-two sail, of which nine were very large ships, and three stout galleys, and had in them three thousand Genoese, and a thousand men at arms, commanded under the admiral by Sir Carolo Grimaldi and Antonio Doria. The English fleet consisted of ordinary transports, about forty-five sail in all, having on board five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, under the command of the Earls of Northampton and Devonshire. The French squadron attacked them unexpectedly at sea, about four in the afternoon, and the fight continued till night, when they were separated by a storm. The French and Genoese kept the sea, their vessels being large, with four or five prizes; but the rest of the English fleet, keeping close to the shore, found means to land the forces which they had on board, who shortly after took the city of Vannes, and performed other notable services. Towards winter the king passed over with a great army into Brittany, and besieged three principal places at once, yet without success; for the Duke of Normandy, the French king's eldest son, coming with a great army to their relief, a negociation followed, which ended in a cessation of hostilities for three years; which, however, was but indifferently kept, notwithstanding the Pope interposed, as far as he was able, in order to have settled an effectual peace.

In 1345, the war being already broke out with France, the king determined to sail over to Flanders, in order to accomplish his great design of fixing that country firmly to his interest, either by obliging the earl to swear fealty to him as his sovereign, or else to deprive him of his dominions. While, therefore, he lay in the harbour of Sluys, a council was held of his

principal friends in Flanders, on board his great ship the Catharine. At this council assisted James d'Arteville the brewer, who, by the strength of his natural eloquence, ruled all the Netherlands, and ruined himself by giving into the king's project. He, when his countrymen the Flemings demanded a month's time to consider of the propositions that had been made to them, undertook that all things should go to the king's wish; yet finding a great faction raised against him by one Gerard Dennis a weaver, he accepted of a guard of five hundred Welchmen from the king. This, however, proved of little signification, for, in a sudden tumult of the people, a cobbler, snatching up an axe, beat out his brains.

The king was still at Sluys with his fleet when this unfortunate accident happened; at which, though he was much moved, he was forced to dissemble his resentment, and to accept of the excuses made him by the cities of Flanders. Attributing, however, all to the arts of the French, he resolved once again to attempt the conquest of that kingdom, and to employ therein the utmost force of his own.

In the midst of the summer of the year 1346, the king drew his navy, consisting of 1000 ships, to Portsmouth, and shortly after arrived at Southampton with his army, composed of 2500 horse, and 30,000 foot: these he quickly embarked, the fleet sailing thither for that purpose, and on the 4th of June he put to sea, intending to have landed in Guyenne; but being driven back by a storm on the coast of Cornwall, and, the French writers say, put back thither a second time, he at last determined to make a descent on Normandy, where, at La Hogue, he safely debarked his forces, and began very successfully to employ them in reducing the strongest cities in the neighbourhood; after which, he spread fire and sword on every side, even to the very gates of Paris. The French king, provoked at so dismal a sight, as well as with the news that the earl of

Huntingdon, with the English fleet, had destroyed all the coast almost without resistance, resolved, contrary to his usual policy, to hazard a battle, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of August, and received that remarkable defeat, which will immortalize the little town of Cressy. The victory was so entire, that for the present it left the king without enemies; and so much the effects of true courage, that, though Philip had quickly after an army of 150,000 men on foot, yet they had no desire to fight again.

After this, the king on the last day of August appeared before Calais, and formed a siege that lasted eleven months, and which, if we had leisure to dilate on all the circumstances attending it, would appear little inferior to the fabulous siege of Troy, or the reduction of Tyre by Alexander the Great. The king knew that he was to reduce a place strong by nature and art, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, furnished with a numerous garrison, full of expectation of relief from King Philip, who was not far from thence with his mighty army before mentioned. These difficulties, instead of discouraging Edward, inflamed him with a desire of overcoming them. He invested the place regularly by land, fortified his lines strongly, and within them erected a kind of town for the conveniency of his soldiers, wherein were not only magazines of all sorts for the service of the war, but vast warehouses also of wool and cloth for supplying the sinews of war by a constant trade at two settled markets, his troops all the while being exactly paid, and doing their duty cheerfully.

As for the fleet which blocked up the place at sea, it consisted of 738 sail, on board of which were 14,956 mariners. Of these ships 700 sail belonging to his own subjects, and thirty-eight to foreigners; so that there seems to be no reason for putting us on a par with our neighbours for hiring ships, since it is as evident, that we were then able to fit out great fleets

from our own ports, as that our enemies were able to do nothing but by the assistance of the Genoese, and other foreigners. The French king made some shew of relieving this place, by approaching within sight of Calais at the head of a mighty army, the loss of which he was determined, however, not to venture. The garrison of Calais and the citizens seeing themselves thus deceived, had no other remedy left than to submit themselves to the mercy of a provoked conqueror, which, in the most abject manner, they sought, and were, at the queen's intreaty, spared. Thus ended this glorious siege, wherein the English monarch triumphed over his enemy by land and sea, carrying his own and the nation's fame to the utmost height, and forcing even his enemies to acknowledge, that nothing could equal the courage and conduct of himself and his renowned son the Black Prince, but the courtesy and generosity of their behaviour.

The king, having carried his point in taking Calais, was content, at the earnest entreaty of the Pope, to make a truce for a year; and the first use the French made of this was, to attempt recovering by fraud what they knew it was in vain to attempt by force. The king had bestowed the government of Calais on Aymeri de Pavia, whom soon after some French noblemen persuaded to accept of 20,000 crowns, and to deliver up this important fortress. King Edward, being informed of the design, passed with great secrecy from Dover to Calais, with 300 men at arms, and 600 archers; and, being received by night into the forts, he was ready to repulse the French troops under the command of the Count de Charney, who came, with 1200 men, to surprise the place. The combat was long and doubtful; but at last it ended in the total defeat of the French, who, instead of taking the fortresses, were all either killed, or made prisoners. The king and Prince Edward were both in this action, and both in some danger, especially the king, who, at length, took Sir Eustace de Ribau-

mont, the knight with whom he fought, prisoner, and rewarded him for his valour with a rich bracelet of pearl: and thus, as Robert de Avesbury remarks, the deceit of the deceivers proved fatal to themselves.

In the month of November 1349, a squadron of Spanish ships passed suddenly up the Garronne; and finding many English vessels at Bourdeaux laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the English seamen, and carried away the ships, though in time of full peace. King Edward having intelligence that a squadron of Spanish ships, richly laden, were on the point of returning from Flanders, he drew together at Sandwich a squadron of fifty sail, on board which he embarked in person about Midsummer, having with him the prince of Wales, the earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Arundel, and Gloucester, with many other persons of distinction. They met with the Spanish fleet on the coast near Winchelsea, which consisted of forty-four very large ships, styled caracks: they were beyond comparison bigger and stronger than the English vessels; and yet the latter attacked them with great boldness. The Spaniards defended themselves resolutely, and chose, at last, death rather than captivity, refusing quarter, though it was offered them. Twenty-four of these great ships, laden with cloth and other valuable goods, were taken, and brought into the English harbours, and the rest escaped by a speedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused himself to be represented on a gold coin, standing in the midst of a ship with a sword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name transmitted to posterity as **THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS.**

On the death of Philip the French king, his son John succeeded in the throne, who in the beginning of his reign bestowed the duchy of Aquitaine upon the dauphin; which so provoked King Edward, that he gave it, with the like title, to his son the prince, and sent him with a small army of veteran troops to main-

tain his title. With these forces, on September 19, 1356, he won the famous battle of Poitiers, in which he took the king of France and his youngest son Philip prisoners, and with them the flower of the French nobility, with whom, towards the close of the year, he landed in triumph at Plymouth; from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received with the utmost respect by the citizens, having at their head Henry Picard, then lord-mayor, who afterwards entertained the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, at dinner.

The taking of their king brought the French affairs into great disorder, which was increased through their own dissensions, and occasioned such a terrible fluctuation in their councils, that king Edward, believing himself ill-dealt with in the negotiations they had set on foot for the deliverance of their king, resolved to quicken them by invading France with a more potent army than hitherto he had employed against them, and accordingly embarked at Sandwich, October 24, 1359, on board a fleet of 1100 sail, and the next day landed his army on Calais sands, consisting of nearly an hundred thousand men. The dauphin, with a great army, kept about Paris, but could not be drawn to a battle; which, though it lost him some reputation, yet it certainly preserved France; for King Edward, perceiving that though he was able to take their greatest cities, and to plunder their richest provinces, yet it was by no means in his power to preserve his conquests, resolved to put an end to so destructive a dispute, which, though it raised his glory, served only to ruin two great nations; and, from this generous view, concluded the peace of Bretigni, so called from its being signed at that place, May 8, 1360.

By this treaty King Edward, for himself and successors, renounced his title to the kingdom of France, the duchy of Normandy, and many other countries; the French, on the other side, giving up to him all

Aquitain, with many countries depending thereupon, as also the town and lordship of Calais, with a considerable territory thereto adjoining. By this treaty King John obtained his liberty, and was conveyed in an English fleet to Calais in the month of July following. King Edward, who was in England at the time the French king went away, passed also over to Calais in the month of October, where, upon the twenty-fourth, the treaty was solemnly ratified after the performance of divine service; and the kings mutually embracing, put an end to all their differences; John proceeding from thence to Paris, and King Edward returning on board his fleet to England.

The war, however, was renewed in the year 1369. The pretence made use of by the French was, that the prince of Wales had raised some illegal taxes in his French dominions, of which the nobility of those provinces were excited to complain to the French king, and to demand redress as from their sovereign lord.

King Edward conceiving himself, by this conduct, entirely freed from his stipulations in the treaty concluded with King John, resumed the title of king of France; and having received great supplies of money from his parliament, made mighty preparations for invading France; and for the present, several squadrons were sent to sea to cruize upon the enemy. One of these, on the coast of Flanders, took twenty-five sail of ships laden with salt. These ships were commanded by one John Peterson: and having brought this cargo from Rochelle, thought to shew their bravery by attacking the earl of Hereford with his small squadron, and so drew upon themselves this misfortune. The same year, the French formed the siege of Rochelle, the news of which gave King Edward great disquiet: he, therefore, immediately ordered the earl of Pembroke, a young nobleman of great courage, to sail with a squadron of forty ships, and such forces as could be drawn together on a sudden

to its relief. Henry, king of Castile, having notice of this embarkation, and fearing if the English succeeded, that they would again deprive him of his kingdom, which was claimed by the duke of Lancaster in right of his wife, fitted out a stout fleet, consisting of forty sail of great ships, and thirteen tight frigates, which, well manned, under the command of four experienced sea-officers, he sent to cruize before the entrance of the port of Rochelle, in order to intercept the English fleet.

The earl of Pembroke arriving on Midsummer-eve, before Rochelle, engaged this fleet, but with indifferent success; the Spaniards having ships of war, and he only transports; however, being parted in the night, he lost no more than two store-ships. The next day he renewed the fight, wherein he was totally defeated; all his ships being taken or sunk, and himself sent prisoner into Spain. On board one of his ships were twenty thousand marks in ready money, which were to have been employed in raising forces; but by this accident went to the bottom of the sea.

King Edward had all this time been preparing a vast number of transports, and a stout fleet, in order to transport his army to Calais; but having intelligence of the terms on which the city of Touars had agreed to capitulate, he resolved to employ his forces and his fleet for its relief. With this view he embarked a considerable body of troops on board a fleet of four hundred sail; and to shew the earnest desire he had of saving so important a place, he went in person with the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, all three his sons, and many of his nobility; but all his endeavours were to no purpose: for, embarking the beginning of August, the fleet was so tossed by contrary winds, that after continuing at sea about nine weeks, the king found himself obliged to return to England; where, as soon as he landed, he dismissed his army, by which untoward accident Touars was lost.

The king, notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, still kept up his spirits, and resolved to make the utmost efforts for restoring his affairs in France: but being grown far in years, and worn down with fatigue, he contented himself with sending the duke of Lancaster, with a great fleet, and a good army on board, to Calais. At the head of the forces the duke of Lancaster passed through the heart of France to Bourdeaux, in spite of all the opposition the French could give him, who made it their business to harass him all they could in his march, though they were determined not to fight. Thus far the expedition was equally successful and glorious; but in the latter end of it the army, by continual fatigue, began to diminish, and the duke of Lancaster was glad to conclude a truce, which was prolonged from time to time so long as the king lived. He died in June 1377, in the fifty-first year of his age.

In the course of this reign, we have taken notice of the great jealousy which the king expressed for his sovereignty of the sea; but if we had mentioned every instance thereof, it would have swelled the account beyond all reasonable bounds; some special cases, however, it may not be amiss to touch here. In the peace made by him with King John, wherein Edward renounced all title to Normandy, he expressly excluded all the islands dependent thereupon, that he might preserve his jurisdiction at sea entire. In his commissions to admirals and inferior officers, he frequently styles himself sovereign of the English seas; asserting that he derived his title from his progenitors, and deducing from thence the grounds of his instructions, and of the authority committed to them by these delegations. His parliaments likewise, in the preambles to their bills, take notice of this point; and that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of England, in right of his crown, was sovereign of the seas. He was also, as we have before shewn, very attentive to trade, and

remarkably careful of English wool, the staple of which he managed with such address, that he long held the principal cities of Flanders attached to his interest, contrary to the duty they owed to their earl, whom he more than once engaged them to expel.

RICHARD II. from the place where he was born, styled Richard of Bourdeaux, the son of the famous Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather in the kingdom with general satisfaction, though he was then but eleven years old. He was crowned with great solemnity; and being too young to govern, the administration naturally devolved upon his uncles, and particularly John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, then styled king of Castile and Leon. While the great men in England were employed in adjusting their interests, and getting good places, the French king's fleet, consisting of fifty sail of stout ships, under the command of Admiral de Vienne, infested our coasts; and a body of troops landed in Sussex, by whom the town of Rye was burnt. This was in the latter end of June, within six days after King Edward's decease; of which the French having notice, they thence took courage to attempt greater things. On the twenty-first of August they landed in the Isle of Wight, pillaged and burnt most of the villages therein, and exacted a thousand pounds of the inhabitants, for not burning the rest; afterwards passing along the coast, they landed from time to time, and destroyed Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, to the great dishonour of the lords about the young king, who were so much employed in taking care of themselves, that they had little time to spare, and perhaps as little concern for the affairs of the nation; so that, if private persons had not interposed, matters would have gone still worse. For though Sir John Arundel drove the French from Southampton with loss; yet they burnt Hastings, and attempted Winchelsea, which was defended by the abbot of Battel. At Lewes they

beat the prior, with such troops as he had drawn together; and having killed about a hundred men, not without considerable loss on their side, re-embarked their forces, and returned home.

In some measure to wipe off the shame of these misadventures, a considerable fleet was at length sent to sea, under the command of the earl of Buckingham, who had with him many gallant officers, and who intended to have intercepted the Spanish fleet in their voyage to Sluys; with which view he twice put to sea, and was as often forced into port by contrary winds; so that his project came to nothing. The duke of Lancaster, who promised to defend the nation against all enemies for one year, got into his hands a subsidy granted by parliament for that purpose; yet he executed his trust so indifferently, that one Mercer, a Scots privateer, with a small squadron, carried away several vessels from under the walls of Scarborough castle; and, afterwards, adding several French and Spanish ships to his fleet, began to grow very formidable, and greatly disturbed the English commerce.

In times of public distraction, private virtues are commonly most conspicuous. John Philpot, an alderman of London, who, with great wealth and a fair reputation, had a very high and active spirit, at his own expence, fitted out a stout squadron, on board which he embarked a thousand men at arms, and then went in quest of Mercer, whose fleet, superior in force, and flushed with victory, he engaged and totally defeated; taking not only his ships with all the booty on board them, but also fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden, which a little before had joined Mercer, besides all the prizes he had carried from Scarborough. For this glorious act, alderman Philpot was called before the council, and questioned for thus manning a squadron without legal authority; but he answered the earl of Stafford so wisely, and justified himself so fully, that the lords were content

to dismiss, with thanks, a man whose virtues were more illustrious than their titles.

But, as there could be no dependence on these extraordinary remedies, the parliament provided in some measure for the security of navigation by the imposition of certain duties. The very learned Sir Robert Cotton says, these impositions were by strength of prerogative only, the contrary of which appears clearly by the record, which is still extant. But, before we speak of these, which in their own nature are the strongest proofs of our sovereignty at sea, it will be necessary to observe what former kings had done in this respect.

In King John's time, as we find it recited upon record in subsequent reigns, the town of Winchelsea was enjoined, in the sixteenth year of his reign, to provide ten good and large ships for the king's service in Poictou; at another time twenty; Dunwich and Ipswich being to find five each, and other ports in proportion, all at their own expence. Edward I. had from the merchants a twentieth, and afterwards a seventh, of their commodities: he imposed a custom of a noble upon every sack of wool, which in his son's time was doubled. In Edward II.'s time, we find, that the sea-ports were for twelve years charged to set out ships, provided with ammunition and provision, sometimes for one month, sometimes for four, the number of ships more or less, according as occasion required. Edward III. heightened the subsidy upon wool to six and forty shillings and four pence a sack, being seven times the first imposition. As for ships, he enjoined the sea-ports frequently to attend him with all their strength. In the thirteenth year of his reign, he obliged the cinque ports to set out thirty ships, half at his cost, and half at theirs, the out-ports furnishing fourscore ships, and the traders of London being commanded to furnish ships of war at their own expence. Complaint being made, on account of these hardships to parliament, no other

answer could be had, than that the king would not permit things to be otherwise than they were before his time; that is, would not permit his prerogative to be diminished. By these methods he raised his customs in the port of London to a thousand marks per month. These were certainly hardships, and hardships that would not have been borne under any other pretence.

But now, under the minority of King Richard II. when things could not be carried with so high a hand, and yet the necessity of maintaining a constant squadron at sea for the security of the coasts was apparent, a new order was taken, equally agreeable to justice and reason, for imposing certain duties on all ships sailing in the north seas, that is, from the mouth of the river Thames northwards. These duties were to be levied not only on merchants, but on fishermen, and on those belonging to foreign nations, as well as of English subjects. It consisted in paying sixpence per ton; and such vessels only were excused as were bound from Flanders to London with merchandise, or from London to Calais with wool and hides. Fishermen, particularly such as were employed in the herring-fishery, were to pay sixpence per ton every week; other fishermen a like duty every three weeks; ships employed in the coal-trade to Newcastle, once in three months; merchantmen sailing to Prussia, Norway, or Sweden, a like duty; and, for the collecting these impositions, six armed vessels were to be employed.

As for the authority by which this was done, it will best appear by the title of the record, which runs thus: "This is the ordinance and grant by advice of the merchants of London, and of other merchants to the north, by the assent of all the commons in parliament, the earl of Northumberland, and the mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the sea-coasts under the jurisdiction of the admiral of the north seas," &c. This is the clearest proof, that

our sovereignty of the sea in those days was admitted by all nations, otherwise this ordinance would not have been submitted to; about which, it appears, there was no kind of scruple or apprehension, since so small a force was appointed to collect it.

In 1384 the French fitted out several squadrons to infest the English coast, in which they were but too successful, while intestine divisions hindered us from taking that due care of our affairs, which our great strength at sea enabled us to have done: yet the inhabitants of Portsmouth, to shew that the martial spirit of this nation was not quite extinguished, fitted out a squadron at their own expence, which engaging the French with equal force, took every ship, and slew all, but nine persons, on board them, performing also other gallant exploits before they returned into port. So very apparent it is, that, if our affairs go wrong, this ought to be ascribed to the rulers, and not to the people, who are naturally jealous of our national glory, and ever ready enough to sacrifice, as is indeed their duty, both their persons and properties for its defence.

The French king, Charles VI. was, in the year 1385, persuaded to revive his father's project of invading England, in order to compel the English to abandon the few places they still held in France. With this view, he, at a prodigious expence, purchased ships in different parts of Europe, and, by degrees, drew together a very great number; an author of credit, who lived in those times, says, twelve hundred and eighty-seven sail; insomuch that, if it had been necessary, they might have made a bridge from Calais to Dover. On the other hand, king Richard prepared a numerous army, and also drew together a powerful navy; yet, after all, there was no great matter done; for the French king's uncles, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, fell at variance upon this head; and the design was so long protracted, that, at last, they were obliged to lay it aside for that year.

Mezeray seems to attribute this to the Duke of Burgundy; but Father Daniel ascribes it to the Duke of Berry; however, it was not entirely given over, but rather deferred till the succeeding spring, when the French sailed a second time; partly through the treachery of the Duke of Bretagne, and partly through the cowardice of Admiral de Vienne. This man had been sent with a fleet of sixty ships to Scotland, in order to excite and enable the inhabitants of that kingdom to make a diversion; but he behaved there very indifferently: for he declined fighting the English, when they destroyed all the country before them; and entered into an amour with a princess of the royal blood; which, says Mezeray, the barbarous Scots, being strangers to French gallantry, took amiss, and shewed their resentment in such a manner, as obliged him to leave their country very abruptly. On his return he reported the English army to consist of ten thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot, which struck the French with terror. As for the Duke of Bretagne, on some private distaste, he clapped up the constable of France in prison, who was to have commanded the forces that were to be transported in this mighty fleet, which new disappointment frustrated the whole design.

Father Daniel is just enough to acknowledge, that it is doubtful whether the duke, by this act of treachery, did the English or the French most service; since, if this design had miscarried, the greatest part of the nobility of France, who were embarked therein, must have necessarily perished. As it was, a great number of ships belonging to this huge fleet, in sailing from the haven of Sluys, were driven on the English coast and taken; and the year before, the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, with the English fleet, had attacked a great number of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchantmen; and, having beat their convoy, took upwards of a hundred sail. Thus this wild scheme ended in the destruction of the naval

power of France, and during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI. as also during that of Charles VII. which takes in upwards of half a century, the French attempted little or nothing by sea, and not much in the succeeding fifty years.

The expedition of the Duke of Lancaster into Spain deserves to be mentioned in a work of this nature; for though it be true, that it did not concern the kingdom of England, yet as the whole naval strength of the nation was employed therein, and as the reputation of the English arms was spread thereby over all Europe, it would be unpardonable wholly to omit it.

About midsummer, 1386, he embarked with twenty thousand men, and the flower of the English nobility, himself commanding the army, and Sir Thomas Piercy the fleet. The first exploit they performed was the relieving Brest, at that time besieged by the French, by which the duke gained great reputation; after this, embarking again with fresh provisions, and some recruits, they arrived at the port of Corunna, on August 9, and there safely landed their forces. The king of Portugal behaved like a good ally, and many of the Spanish nobility acknowledged the duke for their king; yet the war, at the beginning, was not attended with much success, great sickness wasting the English army; and, through the precautions of John king of Castile, the country was so destroyed that a famine ensued, which proved of still worse consequence to the duke's affairs. By degrees, however, the soldiers recovered their health, and the duke, who had himself endured a sharp fever, resumed his spirits, and continued the war with fresh vigour, and with better fortune. John, king of Castile, seeing his dominions destroyed, and the French, who had promised him great succours, very slow in performing, wisely entered into a negociation, which quickly ended in a peace.

By this treaty King John paid the duke about se-

venty thousand pounds for the expences of the war, and assigned him and his duchess an annuity of ten thousand pounds.

In 1394 an insurrection in Ireland obliged the king to pass over thither, being attended by the Duke of Gloucester, the earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland. In this expedition he had better fortune than in any other part of his life; reducing most of the petty princes to such straits, that they were glad to do him homage, and give him hostages: but, at the request of the clergy, he returned too hastily, in order to prosecute heretics, when he might have subdued his rebels, and settled that kingdom. This mistake in his conduct proved afterwards fatal to his crown and life. The disputes he had with his nobility at home, inclined the king to put an end to all differences abroad; and, therefore, after a long treaty, it was agreed, that King Richard should espouse the French princess Isabella, though but a child between seven and eight years old.

On this occasion he passed over to Calais, where he had an interview with the French king; and having espoused this young princess on October 31, he soon after brought her home, and caused her to be crowned, but very little to the people's satisfaction, who fancied there was something ominous in the loss of part of her portion, in the short passage between Calais and Dover, in a sudden storm. Some time after, he was drawn into a much more unpopular act, by giving up the fortress of Cherburgh to the king of Navarre, and the town of Brest to the duke of Brittany: and the disturbances which followed these measures in England, encouraged the Irish to rebel. In the first fury of these people they cut off Roger Mortimer, earl of March, governor of Ireland for King Richard, and presumptive heir of the crown. The news of this so much provoked the king, that he determined to pass over into that island, in order to chastise the authors of so black a deed. With this

view, he drew together a considerable army, and a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he safely arrived at Waterford, in the spring of the year 1399.

The king had some success; but it was quickly interrupted by the mortifying news of his cousin Henry of Lancaster's being landed in England, and in open rebellion. This young nobleman, styled in his father's lifetime first earl of Derby, and then duke of Hereford, had ever been of a martial disposition, and had attained to great military skill by serving in Prussia under the Teutonic knights. He had been very indifferently treated by King Richard, yet had no thoughts of pretending to the crown, when he first returned home: but finding the people universally disaffected, the king in Ireland, and himself surrounded by a number of active young noblemen, he grew bolder in his designs, though he still acted with much caution. The king on the first advice of this rebellion, returned into England, where he no sooner arrived, than all his spirits failed him, insomuch, that the first request he made to the earl of Northumberland was, that he might have leave to resign his kingdom. The precedent of his grandfather Edward II. was too recent to leave the rebels any scruple of making use of the king's pusillanimous temper; they therefore brought him up prisoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower; and shortly after, by authority of parliament, deposed, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and was in the thirty-third year of his age.

After this, his life was of no long continuance; for, being carried from place to place, he at length ended his days at Pomfret-castle, in the year 1401; but how, or under what circumstances, is not clearly known to posterity. Some say, that hearing of the misfortunes which attended his friends, who endeavoured to restore him, and had miserably lost their lives in the attempt, he refused sustenance, and starved himself; others, with greater probability, affirm, that

with hunger and cold, and other unheard-of torments; his cruel enemies removed him out of their way; and to this opinion Camden inclined, who, in speaking of Pomfret-castle, says, it is a place *principum cædæ & sanguine infamis*.

THE history of our commerce within this period of time, would be equally curious and useful, if carefully and impartially collected from our records and histories. What I have to offer on this head, is only the fruit of my own reflections upon some remarkable passages, that, in the composition of this history; appeared of too great importance, in reference to the subjects under my consideration, to be passed by without notice, amongst a long train of common events. Such observations, I conceive, may be of more use, because, generally speaking, our writers upon political arithmetic, have very rarely carried their researches so high as these times, from a notion, very probably, that there was not much in them to their purpose: in which, however, I must confess myself of a very different sentiment, being fully satisfied, that many points of the greatest consequence might be very much enlightened, if due attention were paid to such occurrences, in these times, as any way regard our foreign and domestic trade, the scarcity and plenty of coin, and the different state of the finances of our several monarchs; for all which, though there may not be sufficient materials to compose a complete history, yet there are more than enough to convince us, that the vulgar opinion of the poverty of our ancestors, in past times, is very far from being founded in truth, but is rather the consequence of an ill-grounded complaisance for our own age.

Henry I. left behind him a very large sum of money at his decease; his grandson Henry II. reigned about the same space of time. Their tempers were much alike with respect to economy; that is to say, both of them were inclined to collect and leave behind them

as much wealth as they could: the former for the sake of establishing his family; the latter that he might make a provision for the expedition into the Holy Land, which he certainly had very much at heart. But Henry II. at his demise, left in gold and silver, exclusive of jewels and other curiosities, the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds; which would be a thing altogether incredible, if we had not as good authority for this as for any historical fact whatever.* It is indeed true, that some writers have represented him as an avaricious, and even rapacious prince; but the facts which they assign to prove this, are such as will scarce satisfy an impartial reader. He levied, from time to time, considerable sums upon the Jews, who were the monied people of those days: he had considerable aids from his nobility; and he kept bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices in his hands for several years together. His predecessors, however, had done as much without acquiring any such treasure: and, therefore, we may conclude from this fact, that the nation was become much richer.

It is said, and very truly said, that coin or ready money is the PULSE of a state. If it beats high and even, there is no reason to question the health of the body politic: but if it grows low, and intermits, even wise men may be allowed to doubt as to the public safety. We may, therefore, safely collect, that the trade of this kingdom was very much increased during the course of this reign, though we had no other argument to prove it; since in the same space of time, and without having recourse to any extraordinary methods, this monarch was able to leave, after bestowing very considerable sums in ready money for the holy war, a treasure nine times as great as that

* The words of Matthew Paris, my author, are these: "Inventa sunt plura quam nongenta millia librarum in auro et argento, præter utensilia, et jocalia et lapides pretiosos." The will of this great monarch is preserved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, published by Hearne; but in this we find none but charitable legacies.

of his grandfather, though he was looked upon as the richest prince of his time.

The beginning of King Richard's reign was very fatal to the estates and revenues of the crown, as the latter end of it was excessively burdensome upon his people: yet those, who, from the difficulty of paying his ransom, would infer, that this kingdom was grown wretchedly poor, and that the wealth of the nation was nothing then to what it is now; are far from being so much in the right as they may imagine, as will appear from hence; that Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, when he desired the king's leave to withdraw from the administration, gave this as his reason; *viz.* that there had been levied upon the subjects, in the year 1195 and 1196, the sum of one million one hundred thousand marks; which I have the authority of an ingenious and judicious writer, Dr. Davenant, to bear me out in affirming, was equal to eleven millions in our times. So that it was not the poverty of the kingdom which made the impositions of those days seem insupportably hard, but the impositions themselves were so excessive, and so often repeated, that at last they really made the nation poor.

Another thing to be observed, in regard to this reign, is the tax, or rather subsidy given in wool, which is the first time any thing of that nature occurs in history; though, without all doubt, wool was long before one of the principle staple commodities of this country. If we look into this affair carefully, we shall find something very different in it from what is commonly understood: for it was not a tax imposed upon wool for leave to export it, a thing frequent in succeeding times, and which, for any thing we know, might not have been altogether new, even then; it was not a grant to the crown of a certain quantity of wool, which was the land-tax of those times, and very commonly granted to his successors; but it was a loan taken from the Cistercian monks, who then exported the wool of this island to Flanders, and

other countries, the produce of which, for that year, was received to the king's use, in order to complete his ransom, and was to be repaid: and, perhaps, the different accounts we have of the sum to which that amounted, might be owing, in some measure, to this manner of raising it. But, however these things may stand, there is nothing clearer than that the vast sums raised in this reign, must have been brought into the island by foreign trade; that is, by the produce of our commodities and manufactures.

In the reign of King John, if we may believe most of our historians, there was nothing but oppression and taxes; and immense sums of money, from time to time, levied upon the nation; which, however, is a proof that there was money in the nation; as the great number of seamen he had constantly in employment shews there must have been trade. The Cistercian monks were still the exporters of wool, and that this was no inconsiderable thing, may appear from hence; that they charge the king with taking from them by violence, in the space of a few years, sixty-six thousand pounds.

It has been hinted, that our manufactures were not quite so low at this time as they are generally represented: and it looks like a proof of this, that in the nineteenth year of Henry III. there passed a law for regulating some branches of the weaving business; and it appears from this very law, that the branches regulated thereby were different kinds of broad cloth. This does not indeed shew when we began to make cloth; for, without doubt, it could not be then a new manufacture; but it plainly shews, that we had it in a good degree of perfection, above a hundred years before most of our histories speak of its introduction into England*. In this king's reign arose

* Some circumstances relative to this manufacture, are mentioned in the reign of Henry II, nor does it then appear to be a new thing, but rather the contrary. It was in this reign, if not sooner, introduced into Scotland, which put the government on contriving

the first complaints about clipping of money, which not only produced a standard *, but also a new regulation; which, though it proved a remedy for the evil, was accounted almost as great an evil as that which it was intended to cure. In short, the taking money by tale, as is the custom now, and which first began to grow into a custom then, was prohibited, and people were directed to pay and receive by weight.

In the glorious reign of Edward I. we find many things worth observing; and, first, as to the coin; for though the fineness thereof had been established in the reign of his grandfather, and various regulations made in his father's long administration, yet in his time it was that the matter was entirely settled, and put into such a condition, as that in succeeding reigns the manner only has been susceptible of change. This was done in the seventh year of his reign, when he fixed the weight of his round silver penny at the twentieth part of an ounce Troy, whence our denomination of a penny-weight: as to the fineness, it remained the same as before; that is, there were eleven ounces two penny-weights of fine silver,

methods to prevent wool being carried thither from any of the northern counties, but with very little success.

* There is some diversity in our old historians, and much more amongst our modern critics, about this matter; we will give the truth as near, and in as few words, as we can. King John is by some reckoned the author of our standard; but this must be with regard to fineness especially; the sterling, or esterling, which was the name of a penny made of good silver, being introduced in his reign. As to weight, Thomas Rudborn tells us, William the Conqueror ordained, A. D. 1083, that a penny should weigh thirty-two grains of wheat out of the midst of the ear; and the statute 53d H. III. says the very same thing; but, however, there was a distinction, though not a difference. It was found by experience, that grains of wheat differed in weight; that those kept for the king's balance were affected by the weather, and that no certainty could arise while this method was continued. It was agreed, therefore, that twenty-four pieces of brass, equal in weight to the thirty-two grains of wheat, should be substituted, as an easy number to divide; and thenceforward the penny-weight was said to contain twenty-four grains.

and eighteen penny-weights alloy*, in a pound of silver, which was coined into 240 pence. However, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, he reduced his penny somewhat; and this was the first variation of its kind from the Saxon times. It was the weight and purity of his coin that tempted the Jews over hither, in greater numbers than ever, to exercise their *laudable* trades of usury and clipping, for the last of these offences he hanged two hundred and eighty of them at once; and having in vain endeavoured to moderate the rigour of their extortions, he, at length, banished them out of his dominions, to the number of 15,000, to prevent their preying upon the industry of his subjects, having exhorted them more than once by proclamation, to apply themselves to honest labour, or to the exercise of lawful trades, and to forbear flaying his people. In 1299, the king settled as a dowry, upon Margaret, daughter to the king of France, 18,000 livres *per annum*, which amounted to 4500 pounds sterling: so that four French livres were then worth an English pound; which is a point of great consequence towards understanding the transactions of those times.

In this king's reign there were certain silver mines wrought in Devonshire, to considerable profit; in the twenty-second year of his reign they produced, from the twelfth of August to the last of October, 370 pounds weight of silver; the next year, 521 pounds and a half; in the twenty-fourth year, 704 pounds: they yielded afterwards more, but how much more is not said; nor have we any account when they were

* It is now hardly to be expected, that any clear account should be gained of the motives on which this change was made: but, by the smallness of it, there is good reason to conclude, that it was rather for the service of the state, than to serve a turn. But it is time to shew what this change was. The pound of silver, hitherto accounted equal to twenty shillings, was now raised to twenty and three pence; the shilling (or rather twelve pence) weighed 264, instead of 288 grains; and, in short, silver was by this means raised from twenty pence to twenty pence farthing an ounce.

worn out. In reference to the wealth of private men, there is a particular fact recorded that gives us some light. The judges were found to have been guilty of corruption, and were fined amongst them 100,000 marks, of which Sir Edward Stratton paid 34,000. There was in his reign a great clamour against foreign merchants, who now began to keep houses and warehouses of their own in the city of London, whereas before, they lodged in some citizen's house, who was their broker: and to this the citizens would very willingly have reduced things again, but the king and his council held, that it was for the public benefit they should remain as they were; and with this they were forced to be satisfied.

In the reign of Edward II. we meet with very little to our purpose, unless it should be thought so, that, upon the deposing of this unhappy monarch, the allowance settled for his maintenance in prison was 100 marks a-month, or 800 pounds a-year: yet this monarch had given to the Lady Theophania, a French woman, who was nurse to his Queen Isabella, an estate of 500 pounds a-year. The taxes in his reign were very inconsiderable.

In the reign of Edward III. *anno Domini* 1331, the king granted a protection to one John Kent, a cloth-weaver, who came over from Flanders, and, at the same time, invited over fullers and dyers*; from whence it has been supposed, that clothing was then introduced into this kingdom, which is directly contrary to truth, that trade having been here long before, indeed so long before, that there is no record extant to shew when it was introduced. As King Edward was a very martial prince in his temper, and his reign almost a continued series of wars, there were

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iv. p. 496. There is very little room to doubt, that the true reasons of these encouragements were, first of all, instructing our own people to the utmost perfection in this capital art; and next, drawing over the workmen here, that, as we rose in that manufacture, our neighbours might also gradually decline.

successive impositions levied upon his subjects, and these amounting to such vast sums as very clearly prove, that, at the beginning of his reign, England was far richer than in the times of any of his predecessors.

Some attempts have been made, by the help of the taxes in this reign, the manner in which they were levied, and the produce of them, to settle the value of our wool. In the year 1338, the laity granted him one half of their wool, and the clergy nine marks a-sack upon their best wool. We know not what number of sacks the king received; but it is said, that he sent over 10,000 sacks into Brabant, which produced him 400,000 pounds, that is, at the rate of forty pounds a-sack one with another; and from this, some writers think themselves warranted to compute the produce of our wool in foreign markets at least at forty pounds a-sack; and, by the help of this calculation, they estimate our annual exportations at a very large sum. We will shew, first, what this is, and then consider whether it be right, or whether the price should not be reduced.

When it is said, that we know not what quantity of wool the king received by that grant, it is to be understood, that we know it not from the historians who mentioned this grant; but it appears from the records, that it amounted to 20,000 sacks*. Those who made the computation, of which we have been speaking, compute the exportation of wool that year at 40,000 sacks, which amounts to 1,600,000 pounds; and the aid to the king comes to half that money, which they say is amazing and prodigious; and, indeed, well they might. But, when a grant was afterwards made to the king of 30,000 sacks of wool, we find it estimated far lower, *viz.* at six pounds a-sack the very best; the second sort, at five; and the worst, at four pounds a-sack, which, however, was

* By this method of receiving taxes in kind, the king became in some measure a merchant, and that to his great profit.

exclusive of the king's duty or custom. This computation was certainly very fair; and this grant to the king was in the nature of a land-tax, which is the reason that the produce of it was computed at the rate wool sold here, though there is no manner of doubt, that, by exporting and selling it abroad, the king made much more of it. We will try, however, if it be not practicable to extract something more certain out of the facts mentioned by ancient authors, because, if it could be done, it would be very satisfactory.

A certain writer has preserved the state or balance of the English trade, as found upon record in the exchequer, in the twenty-eighth year of this monarch; and there is no reason to suspect its authenticity.* In this, the export of wool is set down at 31,651 sacks and a half, valued at six pounds a sack; but then the duty is excluded. It appears also from this account, that a considerable quantity of cloth, both fine and coarse, and of worsted also, was exported. We cannot, therefore, doubt, that when the Commons granted King Edward 30,000 sacks of wool, it was at least as much as giving him 150,000 pounds in money out of their pockets. But, if we are inclined to know what it brought the king, we may perhaps find the means of discovering it. In the last year of his reign the citizens of York complained, that a German lord had seized thirty-six surples of their wool, which they valued at 1900 pounds, for a debt due from the king, and, according to this reckoning, wool was worth in that country thirteen pounds a sack, and something more: so that the aid granted to the king could not produce much less than 400,000

* This account was published in a treatise intitled, 'The Circle of Commerce,' p. 119, 120, written by Mr. Edward Misselden, and printed in 1633. After drawing from it the remarks mentioned in the text, I thought it would be for the conveniency of the reader, and render my observations more perspicuous, if a place was allowed this curious paper in the notes:

pounds, which was a very large sum for those days.*

The balance of the English trade in the 28th year of Edward III. as said to be found upon record in the exchequer.

EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One and thirty thousand six hundred fifty-one sacks and a half of wool, at six pounds value each sack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three thousand six hundred sixty-five fells, at forty shillings value each hundred at six score, amount to	6,073	1	8
Whereof the custom amounts to	81,624	1	1
Fourteen last, seventeen dicker, and five hides of leather, after six pounds value the last	89	5	0
Whereof the custom amounts to	6	17	6
Four thousand seven hundred seventy-four cloths and a half, after forty shillings value the cloth, is	9,549	0	0
Eight thousand and sixty-one pieces and a half of worsted, after 6s. 8d. value the piece, is	6,717	18	4
Whereof the custom amounts to	215	13	7
	<hr/>		
Exports	294,184	17	2

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One thousand eight hundred thirty-two cloths, after six pounds value the cloth	10,992	0	0
Whereof the custom amounts to	91	12	0
Three hundred ninety-seven quintals and three quarters of wax, after the value of 40s. the hundred or quintal	759	10	0
Whereof the custom is	19	17	0
One thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine tuns and a half of wine, after 40s. value per tun	3,659	0	0
Whereof the custom is	182	0	0
Linen cloth, mercery, and grocery wares, and all other manner of merchandise	22,943	6	10
Whereof the custom is	285	18	8
	<hr/>		
Imports	38,970	3	6
	<hr/>		
Balance	255,214	13	8

N. B. The totals do not answer the particulars exactly; but, at this distance of time, it is impossible to aim at correcting them with any degree of certainty.

* The German lord referred to, had served the king in his wars, and pretended so much money was due to him; he had also ships in our ports, with goods on board, which the citizens, thus injured, desired might be seized.

But we must not part with this account, without drawing from it some other observations. We find the whole imports of that year computed at something less than 39,000 pounds, whereas the exports amount-

ed to above 294,000 pounds; so that the clear balance, in favour of this nation, was above 255,000 pounds. Yet this is not all: we must consider, that in this account there is no notice taken of lead and tin, probably because the accounts relating to them might not be brought into the exchequer, that is, not into the exchequer at Westminster; which will raise the account very considerably; insomuch, that there seems very good reason to believe, the intrinsic value of the coin in those days, being compared with ours, the whole balance of trade fell very little, if at all, short of 900,000 pounds, as our money is now reckoned; which is indeed a very large sum, and much beyond what those, who had never looked into these matters, could possibly have imagined. Yet the probability at least, if not the truth, of this computation, might be shewn in another way, that is, from the consideration of the immense sums that were consumed by this monarch in foreign wars and alliances, which it is impossible this nation could ever have furnished, if the balance of trade had fallen any thing short of what it appears to be from the foregoing computation.

King Edward III. was the first of our princes who coined grosses or groats, so called from their being the grossest or greatest of all money, the silver penny having been till then the largest coin in use. The purity of the standard he never debased; but, in the twentieth year of his reign, he saw reason to make it lighter; so that, instead of twenty shillings, the pound of silver was raised to the value of twenty-two shillings and sixpence, and, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, the value of a pound of silver was raised to twenty-five shillings. The reader will observe, that the shilling was imaginary then, as the pound is still, or rather it was a denomination of money, and not a coin. He also first coined the noble, half-noble, and quarter-noble, in gold; for, before his time, none of our kings had stamped any

gold. He likewise called in all clipped money, and prohibited base coin, which shews, that what he did in altering the weight of his coin was for the conveniency and benefit of his subjects, who, by the increase of their trade, stood in need both of gold coin and of larger pieces of silver, and not with any intention to enrich himself at their expense. There was also some variation in the value of gold in his time, a pound of that metal coined going sometimes for fifteen, then for little more than thirteen, afterwards for fourteen pounds of their money; but at length the king raised it again to its old price of fifteen pounds, which, all things considered, is pretty near the proportion that it now holds, only King Edward's gold was somewhat finer than our coin is at present.

In the reign of Richard II. we find a great many laws relating to trade; and it appears to have been a great controversy then, whether foreign merchants should, or should not, be allowed to vend their commodities freely in London and other corporations. The sense of the legislature, as appears from their laws, was in favour of the foreign merchants; but the clamour still continued, and parliaments were seldom held without petitions for the redress of this, which was called a grievance. It was also desired, that the staple of wool might be removed from Calais to some town in England; and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, a nobleman esteemed to be very knowing in points of this kind, declared publicly in parliament, that the king's subsidy on wools yielded a thousand marks a-year more, when the staple was in England, than when it was fixed at Calais, which is a proof that the exportation was greater.

As to the coinage in this reign, it remained in a great measure, at least, upon the same footing as in the former, and, therefore, there is no need of dwelling upon it: one thing, however, deserves to be insisted upon, which is this; the great luxury of these times

had so visibly increased the importation of foreign commodities, that it was taken notice of in parliament; and in the last year of King Richard's reign, a law passed, by which it was provided, that every merchant should bring into the Tower of London an ounce of foreign gold coin for every sack of wool exported, or pay thirteen shillings and four-pence for his default, and to give security for the performance of this, before he was allowed to export the wool into foreign parts. There was also a law made in this reign, allowing every person to make cloth of what length and breadth he would: so that in those days they thought it very practicable to encourage the clothing manufactory, without restraining the subject from transporting wool, and this upon the plain principle of doing nothing that might sink the price of this staple commodity, which brought in continually such vast supplies of bullion, and which it is likely they knew not how to obtain, in case the exportation of wool had been put under any severe restriction.

These observations on a period of so great extent, in which it may be easily conceived, that matters of this nature must have suffered many changes and alterations, cannot but be acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the illustration of the principal points with which our history is concerned; for our naval force, and the sovereignty of the sea, being the result of extensive commerce, whatever contributes to explain the rise and progress of that must shew how these are to be kept, as well as demonstrate in what manner they have been obtained.

Within this period there happened, or at least there are said to have happened, some extraordinary discoveries, of which, therefore, we ought to say a few words. First then it is affirmed, that America was discovered by the Welch about the year 1170. The story is thus told, that on the death of Owen Guyneth, dissensions arose among his sons; one of them,

whose name was Madock, resolved to trust the safety of himself, and such as were with him, rather to the mercy of the seas, than to the uncertain issue of a civil war; and, therefore, embarking with his followers on board a few ships well victualled, he put to sea in search of new countries. Accordingly he sailed due west, till such time as he left Ireland to the north, and then continued his voyage till he came to a large, fruitful, and pleasant country. After some time spent therein, he returned home, and reported the happy effects of his voyage, and the large possessions which every man might acquire who would go with him. He at length prevailed with as many of both sexes as filled ten ships; and with these he returned to his new plantation: but neither he, nor his people, were heard of more.

Some reports there are concerning great discoveries in the north, made by a friar of Oxford, one Nicholas de Linna. Of this man, the famous John Dee, who was both a great antiquary and a skilful mathematician, informs us, that, in the year 1360, being the thirty-fourth of Edward III. he sailed, in company with several of his countrymen, to the northern islands, and there leaving his associates, he travelled alone, and drew up an exact description of all the northern countries, with their surrounding seas; which book he intitled, "*Inventio Fortunata*; or, A Discovery of the northern parts, from the latitude of fifty-four degrees, to the pole:" and presented it at his return to King Edward. However, for the better settling these discoveries, he returned no less than five times into those northern regions. To render this odd story somewhat more probable, Mr. Dee remarks, that, from the haven of Lynn, in Norfolk, of which this friar was both a native and an inhabitant, to Iceland, was not above a fortnight's sail, and in those days a common thing; as appears particularly by a charter granted to the town of Blakeney in Norfolk,

by King Edward III. exempting the fishermen of that port from attending his service, on account of their trade to Iceland. This is, in some measure, confirmed by the testimony of that famous geographer Gerard Mercator, who confesses that he borrowed his description of the northern countries from one who owned his having them from this friar of Oxford, whom he well describes, though he does not name him. Yet it must be acknowledged, that Leland speaks very largely of this Nicholas of Lynn, who, according to his account, was a Carmelite, and a great astrologer: but in all his eulogium, there is not a syllable concerning his travels, though he concludes with saying, that his works sufficiently praised him. John Bale transcribes this account of Leland's exactly, but gives us a much more copious detail of the friar's writings; and yet, even in his list, we meet with nothing as to this *Inventio Fortunata*; though on the other hand we must allow, that Bale says he wrote other things which he had not seen.

The discovery of the island of Madeira is likewise attributed to one Macham, an Englishman; which is thus reported by several of the Portuguese writers: They say that this man, having stolen a lady with whom he was in love, intended to have carried her into Spain; but being by a storm driven out to sea, after much tossing and danger of his life, was forced into this island, in which the harbour where he lay at anchor is to this time called Machico. On his going ashore with the lady and some of his servants, the ship's crew took the opportunity of sailing, and got safe into some Spanish port. In a very short time after, the lady, who was extremely sea-sick, and not a little fatigued by what she was forced to undergo on shore, died; and her disconsolate lover, having first erected and consecrated a little chapel to the Holy Jesus, buried her therein. After pay-

ing this duty to the lady, whose love for him cost her the loss of life, Macham addressed himself to the contriving his escape, which he effected by hollowing a large tree, and making thereof a canoe; in which himself, and those that were with him, passed over to the opposite shore of Africa; where, being taken prisoners by the Moors, they were sent by way of present to the king of Castile. This accident is, by some, placed in the year 1344; but by others, somewhat later.

CHAP. VI.

The Naval History of England, during the Reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. of the House of Lancaster:

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 60 YEARS.

HENRY IV. called sometimes Henry of Bolingbroke, from the place of his birth, and sometimes Henry of Lancaster, from his father's dukedom, was crowned on the thirteenth of October, 1399, and his title generally acknowledged.

In 1403, the king, who was then a widower, married Joan, the daughter of Charles, king of Navarre, and very lately widow to John Montford, Duke of Brittany, which proved the cause of great disasters to this kingdom: for the inhabitants of that duchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at sea, suddenly landed in the west, and burnt Plymouth, at a time when the king's hands were full, through the conspiracy of the Earl of Northumberland, and other great lords. This, however, did not remain long unrevenged, for the inhabitants of Plymouth having fitted out a squadron, under the command of William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas, he seized forty ships laden with iron, oil, soap, and wine, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, reducing the towns of Penmarch and St. Matthew, and wasting, with fire and sword, a great part of the coast of Brittany. Admiral de Castel, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time, attempted to land in the Isle of Wight; but failing of success there, he steered for Devonshire, where actually landing, he briskly attacked Dartmouth, but was

defeated by the country militia, with the loss of four hundred men, and two hundred taken ; among whom, were himself, and two other persons of distinction ; yet his squadron, and the Flemings, still infested the coast, took many ships, and to shew their inveterate hatred to the English nation, most inhumanly hanged all the seamen who fell into their hands. In the mean time the French, without any regard to the treaty subsisting between the two crowns, invaded the duchy of Guyenne, and sent an army of twelve thousand men, with a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, to the assistance of Owen Glendour : these forces they safely debarked in Milford haven : but the Lord Berkley and Henry Pay, who commanded the squadron of the cinque-ports, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of the French vessels, which so frightened those on board the rest, that soon after they fled home.

About the same time, the Earl of Kent sailed, with a considerable fleet, to the coast of Flanders, where he cruized for some time upon the enemy, the Flemings being then subject to a prince of the house of France ; at last entering the port of Sluys, they found four ships lying at anchor, took three Genoese merchant-men, of a very large size, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant resistance ; after which they searched all the ports on the Norman coast, and making descents into several places, burnt at least six and thirty towns ; and then, with an immense booty, returned in triumph to Rye. Some mariners, belonging to the port of Cley in Norfolk, sailing on the north coast in a stout bark, took, near Flamborough-head, a Scots ship, having on board Prince James, duke of Rothesay, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards succeeded by the name of James I. Him, with his attendants, an earl, and a bishop, they sent to King Henry at Windsor, who kept him there as a prisoner indeed ; but, during his captivity, used him in all

respects as a prince. In support of Owen Glendour, the Welsh malcontent, the French court sent another squadron on the coast of Wales, of which only thirty arrived, the rest being taken by the English ; and a short time after, the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the cinque ports, surprised the Rochelle fleet, consisting of 120 sail of merchantmen, richly laden, and took them all. These exploits, in vessels belonging to merchants, shew, that, beyond all contradiction, trade in those days was not altogether so inconsiderable a thing as by most of our modern writers we are taught to believe.

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

HENRY V. styled, from his birth-place, Henry of Monmouth, succeeded his father in 1412, and, in the beginning of his reign, shewed a laudable inclination to do all that could be expected from him for his people's good. It happened, that the wealth and state, as well as the pride and ambition of the clergy, had raised a strong spirit of resentment against them

throughout the nation ; to divert which it is generally believed, that the Archbishop of Canterbury inspired the king with an eager desire of subduing France, to which it was no difficult matter to persuade him that he had a clear right. Indeed the condition that kingdom was in, might seem to invite such an attempt. The king was oftener out than in his senses. The whole nation was divided in two factions ; the Duke of Burgundy at the head of one, and the Duke of Orleans at the other ; two dauphins died, one soon after the other, by poison ; and the third was but a child. However, King Henry concealed his design for some time, and even treated of a marriage between himself and the Princess Catharine, daughter to King Charles VI. In 1415, the French King sent his ambassadors hither, with very advantageous proposals, who had their final audience of the king on July 6, when Henry would have been content to have concluded a truce for fifty years ; but the archbishop of Bourges insisted absolutely on a definite peace, and so these negotiations were broken, and thenceforward, war, though not actually begun, was looked upon as declared on both sides.

King Henry acted with greater caution, and with more military prudence than most of his predecessors. The design he had formed, was not that of ravaging the country, or seizing some of the provinces of France, but making an entire and absolute conquest of the whole realm ; which he knew was not to be undertaken without a numerous army, a very great fleet, and these constantly supported by competent supplies of money. He, therefore, drew together six thousand men at arms, twenty-four thousand archers, the rest of his infantry completing the army to at least fifty thousand men. That these might be transported with the greater conveniency, he hired from Holland and Zealand abundance of large ships, which, with those belonging to his own subjects, met in the month of August, at Southampton, where the whole

fleet appeared to consist of no less than sixteen hundred sail. As to supplies, his parliament being wrought, more especially by the arts of the clergy, into a high opinion of this expedition, furnished him liberally ; so that with all the advantages he could desire, the king embarked his mighty army, which he landed safely in Normandy, without meeting with any resistance. He was attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his uncle the duke of York, and most of the nobility of England.

The first enterprize of importance undertaken by the king, was the siege of Harfleur, a sea port town of great consequence at that juncture, well fortified, and in which the French had a numerous garrison. It was invested both by land and sea ; and though it was defended with great resolution, it was at last taken for want of relief. The French, however, succeeded in their policy thus far, that by this siege the English army was exceedingly wasted ; insomuch that by the time the place was taken, one half of it was absolutely destroyed. On due consideration of this, it was resolved, in a council of war, to leave a garrison of English at Harfleur, and to march through Picardy to Calais, with the rest of the army. This passage appeared extremely dangerous, since the French army was by this time not only in the field, but also at their heels. The English forces according to the French writers, consisted of two thousand men at arms, and eleven thousand archers. Our authors say, there were but nine thousand in the whole ; whereas the French were at least three, if not five times their number. To prevent the needless effusion of blood, King Henry was contented to have made peace on very reasonable terms ; but this was refused by the French, who flattered themselves, that they should be able to make him and all his army prisoners. In consequence of this obstinacy of theirs, a decisive battle was fought on October 25, A. D. 1415, in the plains of Agincourt, wherein the French were entirely de-

feated by the English. There fell in the field seven princes of the blood, and five were made prisoners; the flower of the nobility of France, no less than eight thousand gentlemen, and about ten thousand common men; about fourteen thousand being taken prisoners. The English lost, as our writers allege, about four, the French say sixteen hundred; and among them were the duke of York and the earl of Oxford. A French manuscript* of that time mentions a circumstance, no where else so particularly recorded; *viz.* that King Henry lost his baggage, even to his crown and jewels; a great body of peasants having forced the English camp, during the heat of the engagement. After this victory, the king continued his march to Calais, and in a short time passed into England with the chief of his prisoners: the next year the French had leisure to recover themselves a little, notwithstanding a new misfortune that befel them, little inferior to that of the loss of this battle; for the duke of Burgundy pushed his resentment so far, as to make a treaty with King Henry, and to acknowledge him for king of France: as appears by his letters and treaties, which are preserved in Mr. Rymer's most valuable collection.

The first attempt of the French, for the repair of their late dishonour was, their besieging Harfleur by land and sea. The place was gallantly defended by the Earl of Dorset, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at last he was brought to such straits, that without relief it was evident the town must have been lost. King Henry directed, therefore, an army of twenty thousand men to be drawn together, and having embarked them on board a fleet of

* This MS. is of those times, and is in the library of the Abbe Baluse. It seems to be a kind of factum for the seigneur de Gaucourt, against the seigneur d'Etouteville. The former of these gentlemen was taken in Harfleur; and, to procure his liberty, traced out the effects belonging to the king, so that most of them were recovered.

four hundred sail, sent them under his brother John, duke of Bedford, to attack the French navy. This service he performed with courage and conduct ; for having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the French with such vigour, that after a long and bloody dispute he entirely defeated them ; taking or sinking five hundred sail. Not long after, the French army retired from before Harfleur, and the earl of Dorset with his garrison, which was now reinforced, made excursions through Normandy. In 1417, the earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and size of their ships ; taking the bastard of Bourbon, who was the French admiral, prisoner, with four large Genoese ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy ; so great in those days, and so well directed, too, was the English power at sea.

War was still continued, till Henry reduced the greater part of France to his obedience, and, at length, forced the unfortunate monarch, Charles VI. to beg a peace almost upon any terms ; a thing that none of his ancestors had been able to accomplish, and which this king chiefly performed by awing his enemies with fleets on their coasts, at the same time that he invaded their countries by land ; as appears in the larger histories of his life, and in the English collections from them, published by Godwin in his history of the life and reign of this victorious king.

By this treaty, dated May 21, 1420, King Henry's title to the crown of France was acknowledged by general consent ; and, on account of his espousing the Princess Catharine, daughter to Charles VI. it was stipulated, that he should be declared heir of France, after the decease of King Charles, and, on account of his weakness and infirmity of mind, should govern the kingdom during his life-time, with the

title of Regent. As for the dauphin, he was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown, and afterwards, on a civil prosecution, was attainted and convicted for the murder of the duke of Burgundy (upon the precedent set in attainting King John), rendered incapable of all successions, particularly that of the kingdom of France, and was also adjudged to perpetual banishment. The two kings, Henry and Charles, with their two queens and a splendid court, continued, for some time after these regulations were made, at Paris: from thence King Henry went into Normandy, where he held an assembly of the states; and then passing through Picardy to Calais, he came to Dover, with his new queen, on Feb. 2, 1421. The intent of this journey is very truly stated by the French historians, who say, that it was purely to obtain a fresh supply of treasure and men, his wars having already exhausted all that before this time had been transported thither: a circumstance worthy of attention!

As soon as the king's design was answered, and he had obtained, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the kingdom, a very large sum of money, he immediately recruited his army, and, having ordered a considerable fleet to be drawn together, passed over into France, leaving queen Catharine in a state of pregnancy. The Dauphin Charles, had still a considerable party, many strong towns, as well as some large provinces, under his obedience, and during King Henry's stay in England, had acquired both power and reputation, by defeating a great part of the English army, killing the duke of Clarence, and several other persons of great distinction, on the spot; which moved King Henry at his return, to use his utmost diligence in the prosecution of the war, that the kingdom might be entirely reduced, and the dauphin compelled to withdraw, for his personal safety into Italy. While he was thus employed, the queen, who remained at Windsor, brought him a son, and as soon

as she was able to travel, followed him into France, where she had an interview with her father at Paris, in which city, both courts continued for some time : but the king, ever vigilant and active, in the month of June took the field, in order to raise the siege of Cosne on the Loire, before which the dauphin lay. In this expedition, he harassed himself so much, that he found a great alteration in his health, and a fever followed, which proved fatal to him at Vincennes, on the twenty-eighth, or, the last day of August, 1422. He was sensible to the very last, and died with as much glory as he lived, employing his latest breath in giving such directions as were necessary for the safety of both his kingdoms; and experience shewed, that if his rules had been strictly and steadily pursued, his family might have been as much indebted for the preservation of France to his wisdom, as they were for the possession thereof to his courage and conduct. He was indisputably one of the best and greatest, as well as bravest princes that ever sat on the English throne, and would, in all probability, have provided effectually for the peace and prosperity of his English subjects if he had lived to finish his wars. As it was, he performed a great deal in so short a reign as nine years and a half, considering also that he was but in the thirty-fourth year of his age when he died.

It may be supposed, that the dominion of the sea was fully maintained under so enterprising a prince, and one who was so remarkably jealous of his rights; I say, this might have been well supposed, though there had been no express evidence of it; which, however, is far from being wanting. He took occasion to have his title and authority in this respect mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament; he maintained strong squadrons at sea and on the coasts, humbled all the maritime powers of Europe in his time on account of the succours they gave the French, and thereby drew great advantages to his subjects, espe-

cially from the trade of Flanders, which by a close alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he, in a manner, absolutely secured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was excessively distressed, as well through the interruption of foreign commerce, as by the immense taxes levied for the support of his wars; insomuch that, in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament, the feebleness and poverty of the people, and besought him to apply the only remedy which could preserve them from ruin, a speedy peace, which the king promised; and indeed, he could not but be sensible of the truth of what the chancellor said, since he had been obliged to pawn his own imperial crown of gold to Henry, bishop of Winchester, for what in these days would be thought a very inconsiderable sum of money. All this he did to obtain his French dominions, which in his son's time, the wisest men in England thought more expedient to lose than keep, time and experience having always justified this fundamental maxim of English policy, that the subjects wealth can have no other source than trade, and the majesty of the crown no better support than a firm trust in the people's love; and in consequence of their extensive commerce, a constant as well as a superior power at sea.

HENRY VI. from the place of his birth, styled Henry of Windsor, succeeded his father before he was a year old, under the tuition of his uncles, all men of great experience and abilities. Of these, Humphrey duke of Gloucester was protector of England, Thomas duke of Exeter had the custody of the king's person, and John duke of Bedford was regent of France. It was not long before Henry became king of France as well as of England; for the French king Charles VI. dying on October 21, 1422, he was proclaimed at Paris, though the French immediately owned the dauphin, who was now called Charles VII. In the beginning of this reign, things went on better than

could well have been expected under an infant prince, but they did not long continue in the same prosperous state, and for want of proper management, Paris, in 1436, fell into the hands of the French. After this, the duke of Burgundy laid siege to the town of Calais with very great forces, which obliged the Lord Protector to think of relieving it from England: accordingly he raised a potent army, which he embarked on board a fleet of 500 sail, and, landing near Calais, marched directly to fight the enemy. The Flemings, however, raised the siege precipitately, and retired into their own territories, whither the regent pursued them with his army; and, after living in the country at discretion for some time, he returned again into England. Towards the latter end of the year 1437, the earl of Warwick was sent regent into France, in the room of the duke of York and, which is very remarkable, was shipped and unshipped seven times, before he made his voyage: he dying shortly after, the duke of York was sent again in his place, where, notwithstanding these supplies, the English affairs continually declined; so that in 1445, a peace was concluded, and King Henry was content, on very mean conditions, to marry a French princess, whose name was Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Anjou, much to the displeasure of the nation, and which was attended with the worst consequences imaginable. A lingering war, and an insidious peace, had deprived the English of all their conquests in France, except Calais, and a very few other places; and, though the nation was sensible of the mighty expense which attended the keeping them, yet they saw with grief the loss of cities and provinces purchased, and so dearly! with the blood and the treasure also, of their ancestors.

The French were not content with this; but, having still in view the reduction of the English power, they meditated a descent upon this kingdom, which they afterwards executed. As this is a matter chiefly

respecting the naval history of England, I think myself obliged to set it in the clearest light. The reigning French king, Charles VII. was, without question, one of the wisest men, and one of the ablest princes of his age : he saw with terror the English power at sea, and with shame his own incapacity to dispute it. To remedy this, he made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Christian I. king of Denmark, by virtue of which that prince was obliged to furnish him, on certain conditions, with at least forty good ships, and between six and seven thousand men, to be employed against England : yet, by another article in this treaty, this, for which alone it was made, was entirely defeated. The French king had engaged, that the then king of Scots should give satisfaction to the Danes, with whom he had long had a difference ; and not being able to bring this to bear, the Danes refused to furnish any auxiliaries. In the mean time, the queen of England had entered into a secret negotiation with the king of Scots, and, finding that he was like to be too hard pressed by the English, she thought a French invasion might at once serve her purposes, and save her friends. With this view she applied herself to her relations in France, who easily prevailed upon the court to enter into this measure. A fleet, accordingly, was fitted out in Normandy, and in the month of August, 1457, they made a descent on the coast of Kent, and debarked 1800 men about two leagues from Sandwich, to which place they had orders to march by land, while the fleet attacked it by sea. We have a very circumstantial relation of this whole affair in Father Daniel's history, from which we learn, that the English, notwithstanding their being surprised, defended themselves with incomparable valour, and that, though the town was burnt and pillaged at last, yet it cost a great deal of blood, which might perhaps balance the booty acquired by it. " Thus," says the author, " a prince whom the English thirty years before called in contempt

king of Bourges, was now powerful enough to insult them in their own island, and to menace their country with the same mischiefs which they had heretofore brought upon France."

The French made also some other attempts upon the coast, and the Scots entered and plundered the borders: but these accidents, far from producing the effects which the queen and her partizans expected, served only to heighten that general disaffection which now began to discover itself, and from whence it was but too visible, that the councils of this French queen would undo the pious, innocent, well meaning prince her husband. The favourers of the house of York had with infinite pains cultivated an interest with the sea-faring people, and among the inhabitants of Ireland. The former they persuaded that all attention to the coasts was neglected, and into the latter they infused the strongest resentment of their present oppressions and apprehensions of final destruction. The famous Earl of Warwick, of whom we shall presently speak more at large, the then great support of the house of York, had procured himself to be made admiral; and to shew his diligence in that office, and his concern for the English honour, caused several squadrons to put to sea, to the officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. One of these squadrons, on Trinity Sunday, 1458, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and after a long and sharp dispute took six of their ships, laden with iron and other merchandise, and either sunk or drove on shore twenty-six more. This exploit, many of our historians confound with that which follows, and which was subsequent thereto in point of time. Though we cannot exactly fix its date, yet, by a certain circumstance, it, unquestionably, appears they were distinct enterprises, the former being performed only by ships of the Earl of Warwick, whereas the latter was by him achieved in person.

This great nobleman had, by authority of parlia-

ment, been appointed captain of Calais ; but the queen having, with much artifice and flattery, drawn him to court, thought to have prevented his going back to his charge, by procuring him to be suddenly murdered. An attempt of this sort was actually made in the palace, from which the earl narrowly escaped, and flying immediately to a little vessel he had in the river, he therein transported himself to Calais, where he had a very strong squadron of stout ships. With fourteen sail of these, he shortly after put to sea, in order to scour the coasts, and to hinder the queen from receiving any succours from France, as also to aid, if occasion should so require, the Duke of York and his party. In sailing through the channel, he met with five very large ships, richly laden ; three of these were Genoese, and two Spanish : he attacked them, though they were exceedingly well provided both with men and ammunition, as appeared by their defending themselves two days ; at length, however, they were beaten, two escaping by flight, and the other three falling into his hands were carried into Calais, where their cargoes, valued at upwards of ten thousand pounds, were converted into money, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. In this engagement the earl lost about fifty men, and the enemy nearly a thousand.

From this time, there were scarcely any measures kept ; the duke of York retired into Ireland, and many of the principal nobility to Calais, where the earl of Warwick still kept a great fleet, and had besides such an interest with all the sea-faring people of England, that the king found it impossible to make use even of the little naval power that remained, against this formidable lord. The queen, however, sent down the Lord Rivers to Sandwich, with directions to equip as strong a squadron as he possibly could, in order to deprive the earl of Warwick of his government of Calais : but when these ships were almost ready, the earl sent Sir John Dineham, an officer of his, who

surprised this squadron in port, and not only carried away all their ships, but also their commander, Richard Lord Rivers, and Anthony Woodville his son, who long remained prisoners at Calais. After this, Sir Baldwin Fulford undertook to burn the earl's fleet in the haven of Calais, which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprise. At last, the duke of Exeter being made admiral, and having information that the earl of Warwick had sailed with his fleet into Ireland, stood to sea with the royal navy to intercept him : but when the earl of Warwick's fleet appeared, the sailors on board the king's ships shewed so much coldness, that it was not judged safe to fight : and the earl of Warwick, on the other hand, being tender of the lives of his countrymen, passed by without doing them any injury. But, afterwards, on an invitation from the Kentish men, he resolved to make a descent in their country. Sir Simon Mountford, then warden of the cinque-ports, commanded a very strong squadron at Sandwich, to oppose his landing ; these the earl attacked, defeated, and destroyed the greatest part of them ; and among the rest Sir Simon himself perished. After this, little remarkable happened, in naval affairs, during the remainder of this long, but unfortunate reign, which ended strangely ; for, when the duke of York had been defeated and killed in battle, his son Edward, earl of March, by the assistance of the earl of Warwick, made himself master of the city of London, where, by the general consent of the nation, he was acknowledged for their lawful prince, and King Henry deposed, having held, though very unsteadily, the English crown near thirty-nine years.

LET us now proceed, as we did at the close of the last chapter, to some commercial observations on events that happened within this period. Upon the great revolution in the government, made by deposing King Richard, and setting up his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, the parliament desired that the new

king would resume whatever had been profusely thrown away; either in the dotage of Edward III. or by King Richard II. in the wantonness of his youth, and this with a view that the king might be the better able to live upon his own, without having recourse continually to impositions upon his subjects. This good, as well as reasonable advice, however, had not such an effect as was expected; for Henry IV. received frequent supplies from parliament, and, in the eighth year of his reign, such a tax was imposed, as to prevent the knowledge of it, or rather of the manner of raising it from coming to posterity, the house of commons desired, that after the accounts of such as had received it were once examined, they should be destroyed, that what they had been moved to by their zeal for once, might not pass into a precedent for succeeding times. The great exportation of wool, upon which, from time to time, he had considerable subsidies given him, must have made a very large addition to his revenue; and in this respect, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, he very much favoured the Italians, allowing them to export wool, paying no higher a tax than his own subjects.

The coin in his time received no alteration whatever; but in the second year of his reign, the king was obliged to prohibit a kind of base coin, which had gained a currency through his dominions, to the great prejudice of his subjects. These were brought from abroad, chiefly on board the Genoese gallies, and were from thence called Galley-halfpence. About two years afterwards, he directed new money to be coined, but precisely after the old standard, in respect as well to fineness as weight.

After all the care and pains used to settle the revenue in the former reign, by which, no doubt, it was much improved, King Henry V. found his income but very limited, even with the assistance of his customs, the revenue of Wales and Cornwall, and the casual profits arising to the crown: for in the third

year of his reign, it did not amount to quite fifty-seven thousand pounds *per annum*; and therefore to augment this, upon the petition of the Commons, he took ten thousand pounds a-year out of the pensions that were then subsisting.

This monarch found it necessary, in the ninth year of his reign, to raise the value of silver from two shillings and a penny, to two shillings and sixpence per ounce; but it does not appear that he debased the coin: on the contrary, he prohibited the currency of suskins and doitkins, which had been brought in by foreigners. This king, after his victory at Agincourt, and peace with France, ordered a silver coin to be struck, with this style or inscription, *Rev Angliæ, regens et hæres Franciæ; i. e.* King of England, regent and heir of France. A gold coin, called a *salus* or salute, of the alloy of sterling, value twenty-two shillings, with the angel saluting the Virgin Mary on one side, the one holding the arms of England, and the other the arms of France, with the king's titles, and *Christus vincit, Christus signat, Christus imperat*, on the reverse. But in the next reign, this silver coin, which was called a blanch, or white money, to distinguish it from the *salus*, or yellow money, coined at the same time in France, being found not to be so fine as it ought to have been, that is, not of the alloy of sterling; was also prohibited by order of the parliament in 1423.

The reign of Henry VI. was a continued series of profusion and mismanagement: so that when he had sat upon the throne twenty-eight years, his ordinary revenue was sunk to five thousand pounds *per annum*, and he owed at that time, three hundred seventy-two thousand pounds. This occasioned a resumption at the request of the commons, and the same remedy for the same causes was repeated over and over again, but without any great effect. He mortgaged the customs of London and Southampton, to the Cardinal of Winchester, and engaged, by an indenture for better-

ing his security, to turn the trade chiefly to those ports. In the thirty-first year of his reign, he seized all the tin at Southampton, and sold it for his own use; he granted licenses to foreign merchants to transport wool, notwithstanding the statutes; he raised the price of silver to three shillings and three halfpence an ounce; but it does not appear that he debased the coin, unless the making of brass money in Ireland can be so called, which he certainly did.

It appears, from our records, that, while the house of Lancaster possessed the throne, extraordinary favour was shewn to the Hanse-towns, the inhabitants of which had great privileges granted to them here, and were thereby enabled to engross, or, as they styled it, to manage a good part of our trade: the rest was in a manner absorbed by Florentines, and other Italians; which was partly owing to the necessities of Henry V. during his French wars, and partly also, to the weak administration under his son, especially in the latter part of his reign, when, through the influence of the queen, the interest of foreigners, a fit interest for an intriguing busy woman to support, was constantly promoted. This occasioned frequent tumults in the city of London, and was one great cause of that strange revolution in favour of the house of York, who, as we before observed, made their court to the people, by shewing a strong aversion to strangers, and by cherishing the seamen, of whom little care had been taken in this last reign. How things instantly changed after King Henry's deposition, and how the English resumed again the sovereignty of the sea, will be shewn in the next chapter.

CHAP. VII.

The Naval History of England, during the Reigns of Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III. of the House of York: including Historical Memoirs of the Earl of Warwick and Lord Rivers.

CONTAINING THE SPACE OF ABOUT 25 YEARS.

EDWARD IV. son to Richard duke of York, and by his grandmother heir to Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward III. and, consequently, prior in title to the line of Lancaster, whose ancestor was John of Gaunt, fourth son to the same King Edward; assumed the crown on March 4, 1460-61, being then about twenty years of age. He was compelled to fight for his crown, before he had well put it on: and though in the battle of Towton, which was fought on Palm-Sunday after his accession, he totally defeated King Henry, who was constrained to fly into Scotland; yet his queen passing over into France, procured assistance, under the command of the famous Peter de Brese, who, in the former reign, had taken Sandwich: but, through the affection which all the inhabitants of the sea-coast bore to the house of York, she was disappointed in her purpose, and forced, after entering Tinmouth bay, to put again to sea, and retire that way into Scotland. About this time the earl of Kent, who was abroad with a stout navy, scoured all the coast; and, landing in Bretagne with ten thousand men, took and burnt the town of Conquet, ravaged the island of Rhe, and carried off a great booty.

This early care of the sea, shews the temper and genius of this prince, and how fit he was to sway the English sceptre: yet he treated his predecessor Henry

but indifferently; causing him to be brought prisoner to the Tower, and there kept very strictly, though he was of a blameless life, and generally revered as a kind of saint by the people. The defection of the earl of Warwick, whose power had greatly contributed to gain him the crown, was very near taking it from Edward again.

The cause of his quitting the king was, his immeasurable ambition, and the apprehension he was under, that the new queen's kindred would supplant him and his friends; and this, notwithstanding the great offices of which he was possessed, and which brought him twenty thousand marks *per annum*. The means he used to distress the king was, drawing off his brother the duke of Clarence, whom he married to his own daughter, and then retired with him to Calais. On this occasion, the fleet stuck to the earl against the king, having been long under his command. This circumstance enabled him to return speedily into England, where he and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, soon raised a powerful army, and marching to Warwick, surprised the king's forces, beat them and took him prisoner.

Edward, however, escaped shortly after, and drove the earl and duke to such distresses, that they were forced to join their party to that of the deposed King Henry; and even this helped them very little, for, after several disputes, in which the king had the better, the duke retired into France, and the earl went on board his fleet, with which he sailed to Calais; and being there refused entrance, put into several harbours in Normandy, where he met with all the favour and assistance he could desire, from the French king. While an army was providing to be, by the earl of Warwick, transported into England, part of his fleet cruised upon the Flemings, and took many of their ships, because the duke of Burgundy, their sovereign, sided with King Edward whose sister he had married. The duke, to revenge this ill usage, drew together a

great fleet ; and therewith sailing to the mouth of the Seine, blocked up the earl of Warwick's ships in their harbour. Towards the beginning of the month of September, 1471, the French king furnished the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and Queen Margaret, all now of one party, with great succours, not only of men, but of ships, which enabled them to force their passage: so that landing on the thirteenth of September, some at Plymouth, others at Dartmouth, they quickly drew together so great a strength, and withal brought so many of the king's court to desert him, that Edward, fearing his person might be betrayed, fled with such of his friends as he could best trust, to Lynn in Norfolk ; and in getting thither ran very great hazards. There, on the third of October, he embarked on board an English ship, and his friends on board two Dutch hulks, intending to have passed over into Flanders; but some ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, attacked him : nor was it without great difficulty that his small squadron got clear, and at last landed him safe in Zealand. His queen, whom he left pregnant, and in the utmost distress, took shelter in the sanctuary at Westminster, where she brought forth her eldest son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V.

As soon as the king's flight was known, Henry VI. was released from his imprisonment, and again seated on the throne ; Edward proclaimed an usurper, and many of his favourites put to death as traitors ; his own brother the duke of Clarence concurring in all these measures ; for which the crown was entailed upon him and his heirs, in case the male-line of King Henry should fail. Edward, however, still kept up his spirits, and though he found himself disappointed in the only friend to whom he trusted, his brother-in-law, Charles duke of Burgundy, who durst not provoke both England and France by openly assisting him ; yet he resolved to venture, with the small train he had about him, and in a few ships which were lent him, to return into his own country.

This was certainly acting like an English king ; who ought rather to die in the field asserting his right, than disgrace himself and his subjects, by living long as an exile in foreign parts.

His whole force consisted but in four ships of war, and fourteen transports, on board of which were embarked about two thousand men. He intended to have landed in Norfolk, but a storm prevented him, and obliged him, after some days tossing at sea, to run with a small squadron into the port of Ravenspur in Yorkshire, from whence he marched directly towards York, declaring, at this time, as the first monarch of the Lancastrian line had done in the like case, that he sought no more than his inheritance as duke of York, and that he was content King Henry should wear the crown ; but, as soon as he found himself at the head of a considerable army, he laid aside this pretence, resumed his royal title, and, in the famous battle of Barnet, defeated and killed the potent and ambitious earl of Warwick. Shortly after, he defeated Queen Margaret and her son the prince of Wales, at Tewksbury, where the latter lost his life.

In the mean time, the fleet was still in very bad hands. The Bastard Fauconbridge, who commanded under the earl of Warwick, held it in the name of King Henry, but in reality for his own use. His first project was, the taking and plundering of the city of London in the king's absence ; in order to which, he brought his ships into the mouth of the river Thames, and landed himself with seventeen thousand men, with whom he boldly attacked the place, and was as gallantly received ; the citizens defending themselves with such resolution, that he was forced to retreat with great loss. Soon after, he gave up the fleet, and submitted himself to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral ; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy ; for entering into some new intrigues, he was detected, and lost, very deservedly, his head.

King Edward had no sooner settled affairs at home, and restored the peace and naval power of England, than he thought of revenging himself on the French for the trouble they had given him ; for which a fair occasion offered, by the breaking out of a war between Louis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy. To the assistance of the latter he passed over with a mighty army, attended by a fleet of five hundred sail, with which, in the month of July 1475, he entered the road of Calais, where he debarked his forces. This sufficiently shews the great maritime strength of England in these times ; when the king, after such an unsettled state, and so many revolutions as had lately happened, was able, in a year's space, to undertake such an expedition as this, and that too with so great a force.

When he came to take the field, however, he did not find that assistance from his allies which he expected ; and, therefore, though at the beginning, he pretended to no less than the entire conquest of France, yet, on King Lewis's desiring to treat of peace, he was content to enter into a negociation, which ended much to his satisfaction ; and, all things considered, to the honour of the English nation ; for the French king gave very large sums by way of present to the English soldiers ; and discovered by various other acts, such a terror at the English name, as might serve instead of many victories. This peace is generally styled the peace of Amiens, from the place where it was treated ; and the curious reader may find it at large in Rymer's collection, as well as some remarkable circumstances relating thereto, in Philip de Comines, and in the most authentic of the French writers.

In consequence of this treaty, the king received an annual pension from France, of fifty thousand crowns, which he looked upon as a kind of tribute, and applied a great part of it to the repair of his navy, for which he always shewed a great concern ; and by

keeping squadrons continually at sea, held the timorous Lewis XI. in continual terror; who, to secure his own quiet, distributed annually vast sums amongst the privy council of England. A war with Scotland, gave the king an opportunity of displaying his force, by sending a great army, under the command of his brother the duke of Gloucester, into that country, and a powerful fleet upon its coasts, which so terrified the Scots that they obliged their prince to accept of such proposals as were made to him. After the coming back again of the duke of Gloucester, the king's affairs began to take a less fortunate turn, and the cares and anxieties to which he was exposed, threw him into a sudden illness, when his fleet and army were almost ready for an expedition against France, which brought him unexpectedly to his end on the ninth of April, 1483, after he had reigned somewhat more than twenty-two, and had lived very little above forty-one years. Mezeray very honestly owns, that his death was a great deliverance to France, and freed her from the terror of beholding again an English army, under a victorious king, at the gates of Paris.

He was, though too much addicted to his pleasures, a very wise, as well as a very fortunate prince; had true notions of naval power, and of the consequences of an extensive commerce. The former he maintained throughout his whole reign, and the latter he encouraged, as much as his domestic troubles gave him leave to do. He made several treaties with foreign powers, Denmark, Burgundy, the Hanse-towns, very serviceable to the merchants; and one with Henry King of Castile, A. D. 1466, and another in A. D. 1467, which proved beneficial to his people. He reformed many abuses that had crept in during the civil wars. He prevailed on the several companies to be at the expense of rebuilding London wall; and the emulation of finishing the parts assigned them, in the speediest and strongest manner,

caused the whole to be very quickly finished. At this time, Bishopsgate was sumptuously rebuilt by the Esterlings. Indeed his principal maxim was maintaining a good correspondence with the city of London, to which he constantly adhered, and of which he found the good effects in his adversity, as well as prosperity, as is well observed by Philip de Comines, who attributes to this, his restoration, after the potent earl of Warwick had driven him out of his dominions.

RICHARD NEVIL, EARL OF WARWICK.

THIS celebrated nobleman having been so frequently referred to in the last two reigns, has a claim to a distinct notice, particularly on account of the distinguished rank which he held as a naval commander.

Richard Nevil, eldest son of Richard Nevil, earl of Salisbury, was born in the beginning of the reign of King Henry VI. He was very early distinguished for his valour and personal accomplishments. In 1448, he accompanied his father the earl of Salisbury; who, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, entered Scotland with a body of troops, and burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries; and lord Richard Nevil acquired much reputation for his bravery in this affair. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. That nobleman, who died in 1439, was succeeded by his son Henry, afterwards created duke of Warwick; but he dying also, in 1445, and leaving only an infant daughter as his heiress, who died in January 1449, in the sixth year of her age, Lord Richard Nevil, in right of his wife, succeeded to all the great estates of the Warwick family, and had also the title of Earl of Warwick confirmed to him by patent, July 23, 1449, with all the pre-eminencies enjoyed by any of his

wife's ancestors, before her brother Henry was created duke of Warwick.

This was a very great accession of fortune, as well as of honour; for it appears that the annual income of the lands possessed by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in the twelfth year of King Henry VI. which all now devolved upon our earl, amounted to no less than eight thousand six hundred and six marks, which Dugdale computes to have been equal to at least six times that sum in his time. And our Richard, earl of Warwick, with Anne his countess, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI. entailed the castle of Warwick, with a great number of fine lordships, in that and sixteen other counties, upon the issue of their bodies, lawfully begotten. So that, on account of his great estates, family connections, and personal influence, the earl of Warwick was justly considered as one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and was early engaged in the York interest.

But it should seem, that the court was not sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the earl and his father, the earl of Salisbury, to the interests of the duke of York. For these noblemen now both attended King Henry's army; and when a party was agreed upon between the king and the duke of York, they received a commission from Henry, in conjunction with the bishops of Winchester and Ely, to discourse with the duke of York, in order to know the reason of his taking arms, and upon what terms he would lay them down. The duke assumed a great appearance of moderation; and declared himself willing to lay down his arms, whenever the purpose for which he took them up was answered; that is, the wicked council, with which the king was beset, removed. It was at length agreed, that the duke of York should dismiss his army immediately; and that the duke of Somerset should be put under arrest, till he should be brought before the justice of the ensuing

parliament. This was accordingly pretended to be done; and York was then prevailed upon to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and on repeating his charge against Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer not only to vindicate his own innocence, but to charge him with treasonable practices and designs. The duke of York now perceived that he was betrayed, and in the hands of his enemies: however, they did not think it prudent to attempt any violence against him: he retired, therefore, to his seat at Wigmore, on the borders of Wales. But he previously took an oath of allegiance to Henry before a number of the nobility, among whom were the earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

It is said, that Warwick's attachment to the York interest was increased by a quarrel which happened between him and the duke of Somerset, and in which the queen espoused the cause of the latter. However, the duke of York's influence continued very much to increase; and in 1454, King Henry being afflicted with an illness, which rendered him unable to preserve even the appearance of royalty, the duke of York was appointed protector of the kingdom; before which he had procured Warwick's father, the earl of Salisbury, who was a nobleman of great ability, to be appointed lord chancellor of England, and soon after the duke of Somerset was arrested, and sent to the Tower.

As to the earl of Warwick, his influence and popularity every day increased; and that to such a degree, that it is said he was more universally beloved and esteemed, than any other man of that age. He was the richest nobleman in England; and in the magnificence of his living, and his unbounded hospitality, he excelled all his contemporaries. Whether he resided in town, or in the country, he always kept open house. At his house in London, we are told, six oxen were generally eaten daily for breakfast. Every soldier

might come into his kitchen, and take away whatever meat he could carry off upon the point of his dagger; which is not a stronger proof, it has been observed, of the hospitality of Warwick, than of the plain and simple manners of the age in which he lived. And it is even said by some writers, that no less than thirty thousand persons daily lived at his board, in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. But he acquired popularity, not only by his magnificence and hospitality, but by the affability of his manners, and a certain frankness and openness of behaviour, which charmed all who saw him; and to these qualifications were added an excellent understanding, and a bold and intrepid spirit. A nobleman of such a character, could not but give great weight to whatever cause he should espouse; for, (as Mr. Guthrie observes) "without being in the government, he seemed the dictator of the people; and, howsoever power was vested, authority remained with him and his father."

King Henry being so far recovered from a late distemper, as to be able once more to assume the appearance of royalty, he was pressed by Queen Margaret, and her party, to resume his authority, to annul the regency of the duke of York, and to release the duke of Somerset from his imprisonment in the Tower. Accordingly Somerset was set at liberty, and declared a faithful subject; and the government of Calais, which had been given to the duke of York, was now taken from him, and given to Somerset. In consequence of these proceedings, the duke of York once more took up arms.

Both armies were soon after drawn out in order of battle, and the vanguard of the Yorkists were commanded by the earl of Warwick, who without waiting for the duke of York's orders, attacked the royal army with such irresistible fury, that it was speedily thrown into confusion. And York, advancing in the mean time, attacked them in flank with great

courage and success; so that the king's army was totally defeated, with the loss, as it is said, of five thousand men. "This was the first blood (says Mr. Hume) spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England." The duke of Somerset, and several other noblemen of distinction, fell in this action; and the king himself (who seems not to have been deficient in personal courage, though from principles of conscience he was averse to fighting) was wounded in the neck with an arrow, but was nevertheless the last to retire from the field, and then took refuge in an adjacent hut.

About this time, as we have seen, the earl of Warwick was made governor of Calais. This seems to have been considered as the most considerable military post then under the English government; it had been lately held by the dukes of York and Somerset. He was also appointed high-admiral of England. And it appears that the earl of Salisbury, in conjunction with his son the earl of Warwick, had a grant of 9083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*, out of the customs. But towards the beginning of the year 1456, the parliament being assembled, the king was prevailed upon, by Queen Margaret and some of his ministers, to appear in it, and declare his intention of resuming the administration of government; at the same time he pronounced the duke of York's commission as protector to be vacated; to which the parliament agreed, and the duke soon after received a writ, notifying his suspension from the protectorship.

The duke, however, quietly acquiesced in this; and soon after, the queen's party contrived to remove the court to Coventry, under the pretence of recovering the king's health, and of amusing him with rural di-

versions; and at this place the duke of York, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, were invited to attend the king's person. Accordingly they all set out for Coventry; but received certain information on the road, that their enemies had a design to arrest them on their arrival. Upon this they immediately separated; the duke of York withdrew to his castle of Wigmore, on the marches of Wales; the earl of Salisbury to the castle of Middleham, in Yorkshire; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais.

As it was generally apprehended in the nation, that this rupture would be of very dangerous consequences, many persons of distinction, and in particular the Archbishop of Canterbury, exerted their endeavours to reconcile the contending parties. In consequence of which, it was agreed that the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. Accordingly the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury arrived in London with numerous retinues; and the earl of Warwick came over from Calais, with a splendid retinue of six hundred men, who were all clothed in red coats, with white ragged staves embroidered before and behind, which was Warwick's badge. He took up his residence in Blackfriars. The different parties came at length to several articles of accommodation; it was agreed that there should be a general pardon for those who had been concerned in the late disturbances, and that all animosities should be buried in oblivion; and, among other things, it was agreed, that the duke of York, with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, should settle forty pounds a year upon the abbey of St. Alban's, in order that masses might be said for the souls of those who had been slain near that place; and a pecuniary satisfaction was to be made to some of their heirs, particularly the earl of Warwick agreed to pay two thousand marks for the benefit of the younger brethren of the lord Clifford. After the terms of agreement were adjusted, in order to notify

the accommodation to the people, a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in which the duke of York led Queen Margaret, and the other leaders of the different parties walked hand in hand, in token of friendship; particularly the duke of Somerset, the son of whom was killed at St. Alban's, walked with the earl of Salisbury, and the duke of Exeter with the earl of Warwick.

We have already taken notice of the earl of Warwick's being appointed high-admiral. He soon evidenced his diligence in that office, and his regard for his country's honour, by fitting out several squadrons for the public service, to the principal officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. But soon after the accommodation between the Yorkists and their opponents, he had an opportunity of signalizing himself upon the sea in person. Returning to his government of Calais, with thirteen ships under his command, he fell in with a large fleet belonging, as it is said by the historians, to different powers, and particularly the Spaniards, who had, before this, commenced hostilities against the English. Their lading was very rich, but their convoy much stronger than the force which the earl had with him. Notwithstanding this, he fought them for almost two days, took six of their largest ships, laden with wines and other commodities, to the value of upwards of ten thousand pounds, killed a thousand of their men, and destroyed, or run a-shore, about twenty-six of their ships besides.

The Lubeckers, who then made a great figure in European commerce, happening to have a large share in this fleet, entered a complaint at the court of England against the earl of Warwick for this action; and on the thirty-first of July, 1458, King Henry appointed commissioners to examine into the affair. Warwick had disposed of the ships and cargoes at Calais, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. And it is conjectured, that the French and

Spaniards were really the owners of the fleet, but that they agreed with the Lubeckers, who were a neutral power, to demand satisfaction of the English admiral. This action, however, was far from being disagreeable to the nation; but the more popular it made Warwick, the more the queen and her party were displeased with it; for the late seeming reconciliation was merely external, and by no means real. The earl of Warwick, therefore, finding the matter likely to end in a prosecution, came over into England, where he found things in great confusion; for the Genoese, who pretended likewise to be great sufferers in the late sea-fight, had made reprisals upon many English ships, and particularly upon a very rich Turkeyman, belonging to one Sturmine, a Bristol merchant. Sturmine complained to the English court, and the effects of all the Genoese about London were immediately seized; nor were they released till Sturmine had compensation for his damages. The queen, however, caused the enquiry to be carried on against Warwick with the greatest rigour; while he, on the other hand, complained of her insincerity, and the little regard she had to the glory of the nation.

The public now began greatly to interest themselves in this affair. People formed themselves into parties about it, and that with such warmth, as to occasion frequent tumults in the streets of London. Matters even went so far, that the queen's attorney-general was killed in one of the frays. But these disturbances did not stop here. One of the queen's servants insulted a domestic belonging to the earl of Warwick: their companions on each side took part in the quarrel: a desperate battle ensued: some of Warwick's followers were killed upon the spot; and the earl's own life was in such imminent danger, as he was coming from the council, and passing through Westminster, that it was with difficulty he escaped to his barge. He found reason to believe, that this was in consequence of a design which the queen had

formed to cause him to be assassinated. And it also appeared that King Henry had issued orders for arresting him, and committing him prisoner to the Tower of London. But the earl of Warwick was so extremely popular in the city of London, that the rumour of an attempt upon his person, occasioned an universal outcry against the court, and the loudest reproaches against the queen for her perfidy and dissimulation. However, the earl set out for Yorkshire, where he had an interview with his father and the duke of York; and they resolved again to appeal to arms, for satisfaction, on account of the violation of the late agreement; after which, Warwick repaired to his government of Calais; this was a very great advantage to the York interest at this crisis. It was a post of great importance, and gave Warwick the command of the only regular military force now maintained by England. Philip de Comines, who was contemporary with the earl of Warwick, says that Calais was "the chiefest jewel belonging to the crown of England, the best government in the world, or at least in christendom; and this (he adds) I know, for I was several times there, and was told by the chief officer of the staple for cloth, that he would farm the government of that town at fifteen thousand crowns *per annum*; for the captain of Calais received all profits on that side of the sea, has the benefit of convoys, and orders the garrison as he pleases."

Warwick was now become absolute master of the sea; and what added to his power was, the prodigious reputation he had acquired among all the seamen, and the inhabitants of the coasts. This appeared plainly soon after the surprisal of lord Rivers, at Sandwich; for Warwick thinking there was now a fair opportunity of making a fresh attempt in favour of the duke of York, had sailed to Ireland, in order to concert how to bring it about. After this interview was over, the earl, upon his return, was met by the duke of Exeter, who was now appointed admiral,

and having information that Warwick was sailed with his fleet into Ireland, stood to sea with the royal navy, in order to intercept him; but when Warwick's fleet appeared, the sailors on board the king's fleet absolutely refused to fight against their beloved Warwick. The earl, however, did not think proper to attack the duke of Exeter's fleet, but, passing by it, proceeded directly to Calais. And Warwick was so universally beloved in the nation, and particularly by the military people, that great numbers of volunteers daily repaired to him, and he soon found himself at the head of a strong body of forces.

It being now suspected by the court, that the earl of Warwick had a design to make a diversion in the kingdom in favour of the duke of York, the earl of Wiltshire was sent down with a commission to secure the sea-coast, in case of an invasion. This commission, which is said to have extended to a kind of judicial power to try and imprison all whom they suspected to be of the duke of York's party, alarmed the inhabitants of Hampshire and Kent, and they sent over a direct invitation for the earl of Warwick to come to their relief. As this was too favourable an incident to be neglected, the earl set sail with a squadron, in order to sound the inclinations of the people, and make himself better acquainted with the situation of affairs in England. But Sir Simon Mountford, warden of the cinque ports, lay with a very strong squadron at Sandwich, in order to oppose his landing. Warwick, however, attacked, defeated, and destroyed the greatest part of the royal fleets; and among those who perished, was Sir Simon himself. Warwick afterwards landed at Sandwich, and having there taken the proper measures to strengthen his interest in that part of the country, he returned again to Calais.

Shortly after, in 1460, Warwick having left Calais in a good posture of defence, landed again in Kent, accompanied by his father the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche. Before this, they had caused a

manifesto to be dispersed over the kingdom, representing the grievances of the nation, and affirming that there had been treacherous designs against the lives of the duke of York, and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury; for no other cause, it was said, but for the true heart they had ever borne to the king's prosperity and that of the realm; and it concluded with a solemn declaration of their loyalty and attachment to King Henry. A copy of this manifesto had been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and this, together with the great unpopularity of the administration, operated so strongly in favour of Warwick's design, that he had scarce landed before he was met by lord Cobham with four thousand men, together with Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, and many other persons of distinction. The archbishop had permitted the Yorkists manifesto to be affixed to the doors of his cathedral, and also engaged several other prelates in the same cause.

Warwick proceeded immediately from Sandwich towards London; and was joined by so many on his march, that, before he reached the capital, he was forty thousand strong. He entered the city on the second of July, 1460, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, no opposition being made to his entrance; but, on the contrary, he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Next day there was a meeting of the chief clergy, with the principal citizens, in St. Paul's Cathedral; and, in this Assembly, the earl of Warwick gave a detail why he, and the lords confederated with him, took up arms; and afterwards, with all the lords of his party, he took an oath, that he had ever borne true allegiance to Henry, and that he meant so to do. The queen was at this time at Coventry, where the royal army rendezvoused, and King Henry at Northampton.

The earl of Warwick, having reinforced his army with some Londoners, determined to march against the royal army, which was hastening from Coventry

to attack him. The two armies came in sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Northampton, and immediately made preparations for an engagement. However, before they came to action, the bishop of Hereford was sent from the confederate lords to the royal army, with proposals of preliminaries for a treaty of accommodation. But as this came to nothing, the royal party rejecting all offers of submission and reconciliation, the attack began. Victory decided for the earl, and the king fell into his hands.

The duke of York had never yet openly avowed any claim to the crown. He had only complained of the iniquity and misconduct of the ministers, and demanded a redress of the public grievances: but he now formally declared to the parliament his pretensions to the throne, and referred the justice of his claim to their consideration. Accordingly, the matter was debated in the parliament for several days together; and they at length came to this determination, that Henry should enjoy the crown for his natural life, and the duke of York be declared his successor. As soon as the acts of parliament relative to this settlement were passed, King Henry, with the crown upon his head; the duke of York; his two sons, and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, went in solemn procession, and heard divine service at St. Paul's, by way of thanksgiving for this happy accommodation; and King Henry appeared perfectly well satisfied with the whole transaction. This reconciliation did not last long: early in the following year, another battle was fought at Wakefield, and one at St. Alban's, in which the royal troops were the conquerors. The Yorkists, however, rallied, and the earl of Warwick soon after drew out the army in St. John's Fields, near Clerkenwell, where a prodigious number of the citizens of London, with the inhabitants in the vicinity, attended. The earl rode into the midst of the crowd, and read aloud the agreement between King Henry and the duke of York, and which had been ratified by parliament.

Warwick then told the people, that as the king had notoriously infringed this convention, he had of course forfeited his right to the crown, which now belonged to Edward Plantagenet, the true heir and representative of the House of Mortimer. He next raised his voice, and asked, if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king? The whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal, but when he demanded, whether they would acknowledge Edward for their sovereign, they expressed their approbation with loud acclamations. A great number of prelates, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were then assembled at Baynard's Castle, who ratified the election of the new king; who was next day proclaimed in the city of London, and the neighbourhood, under the name of Edward IV.

Queen Margaret, who, with Henry, was now in the northern counties, had, however, found means by her address, and the affability which she assumed, to collect an army of sixty thousand men, warmly attached to the interest of the Lancaster family. The young King Edward, who was now only in his twentieth year, was no sooner informed of the queen's progress, than he set out from London, together with the earl of Warwick, and an army of forty thousand men, in order to oppose her. When they arrived at Pontefract, they detached a body of troops, under the command of the Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge, over the river Aire, which ran between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter executed the order with diligence and success, and took post on the north side of the river.

Queen Margaret, King Henry, and the Prince of Wales, being now in prospect of a battle, retired to York in expectation of the event, committing the command of their army to the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford. The surprise of Ferrybridge by Edward's troops, greatly disconcerted Henry's generals. However, Lord Clif-

ford, setting out with a party in the night-time, attacked the enemy's detachment at Ferrybridge so unexpectedly, that they recovered the pass, the Yorkists being driven to the other side of the river with great slaughter, and Lord Fitzwalter himself was killed in the action.

This loss might have proved fatal to Edward, had it not been for the great courage and presence of mind of the earl of Warwick. He was alarmed at the news of this disaster, and dreaded the consequences with which it might be attended, at a time when a general battle was every moment expected. He, therefore, galloped up to King Edward, who was posted at the head of his army, which was drawn out; and immediately dismounting, stabbed his horse in the presence of all the troops. Warwick then addressed himself to the king:—"God have mercy, Sir, (said he), upon their souls, who, for love of you in the beginning of your enterprise, have lost their lives. Yet let them fly that will fly; for, by this cross (kissing the hilt of his sword), I will stand by him who will stand by me."

The earl of Warwick's gallant and resolute behaviour, animated not only King Edward, but his whole army. And, to inspire the troops with the greater courage, a proclamation was issued, giving to every one who pleased, full liberty to retire; but threatening the severest punishments to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle.

The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody: victory, however, at length declared for the Yorkists; for Henry's army was totally defeated, and with great slaughter. In this fatal action, upwards of thirty-six thousand Englishmen fell by the sword! Henry and Margaret, who had continued at York during the battle, when they were informed of the defeat of their army, fled into Scotland with great precipitation.

Edward, having gained this signal victory, marched

back to London, where he was soon after crowned. And on the 20th of March, 1462, the earl of Warwick was made keeper of the Narrow seas, a post different from that of high-admiral of England, which was given to the earl of Warwick's uncle, the earl of Kent; but, in consideration of Warwick's great and important services, he was afterwards also appointed governor of Calais and the Rysebanck, lieutenant of the marches, and governor of the castle of Guisnes; general warden of the west marches of Scotland, lord great chamberlain of England for life, constable of Dover castle, and lord high steward of England. So that besides his private inheritance, his revenues were valued at eighty thousand crowns per annum.

In 1466, he was named as the first in all the commissions on record, and acting even as prime minister. And on the 6th of May, 1467, commissioners being appointed to treat with the admiral of France, who was come over on an embassy from Louis XI. the earl of Warwick was placed at the head of them. He was also employed, together with the lord Hastings, to treat of a marriage between Charles of Burgundy, earl of Charolois, and the king's sister. But the influence of the queen's relations increased, and they began to engross all places of power and profit. The earl of Rivers was made high-treasurer, as well as high-constable of England; and the great seal was taken from the earl of Warwick's brother, George Nevil, archbishop of York, and given to the bishop of Bath and Wells, a dependent of the queen's.

At the beginning of the year 1468, a truce which had been made with France being very nearly expired, and no measures taken for the renewal of it, preparations were made on both sides for a renewal of hostilities. This gave the earl of Warwick a very plausible pretext for repairing to his government of Calais; though the true reason of his going there, appears to have been in order to have an inter-

view with the king of France, which is said to have been before projected between Lewis and him. The former no sooner heard of Warwick's arrival in France, than he came to Rouen, and even met the earl on the road to that place. Had Warwick been king of England, he could not have been more caressed by Lewis, nor could greater honours have been shewn him. The king and the earl dined together at the same table; they lodged in the same house; a private communication was opened between their apartments; and we are told, that they continued, with very little interruption, in close conference together for eight days. This intercourse was of too private a nature, for the subject of their conferences to be known; but they are supposed to have turned upon the means of restoring the house of Lancaster, and the measures which the earl of Warwick some time after put in execution. However, they parted extremely well satisfied with each other; and Lewis empowered the earl of Warwick to hold a noble fee in France.

After Warwick's return to England, he took every method of strengthening and increasing his popularity. And king Edward, who seemed desirous of being upon good terms with Warwick, about the beginning of the year 1469, named him in a commission of inquest, concerning some lands in Picardy; and on the 7th of August, the same year, he was made chief justiciary of South Wales, and constable of Cardigan castle; and had also some other offices conferred upon him. But the earl of Warwick's resentment was now too deeply rooted, to be easily removed; and an opportunity soon offered, which he readily embraced, of making the king prisoner.

Warwick had now in his power the two rival kings of England, and was the arbiter of both their fates. However, he did not take sufficient precautions for securing the person of Edward. That prince having found out the weak side of his keeper, arch-

bishop Nevil, who was fond of flattery, so cajoled him, that he indulged Edward with a liberty of hunting within the places adjacent to Middleham castle. And the king improving this indulgence to his own advantage, found means to acquaint two neighbouring gentlemen, Sir William Stanley, and Sir Thomas Burgh, of his intention to make his escape, and desired them to favour it, by lying in wait, upon the road with some followers. Accordingly Edward succeeded in his design, and escaped to York, into which city he was readily admitted by the inhabitants. He continued there for two days, and then went to join the Lord Hastings, who was raising forces for him in Lancashire, from whence he passed to London, where he was extremely well received.

The escape of King Edward put the earl of Warwick and his associates into the utmost consternation. For they thought themselves so secure, while the king was their prisoner, that, it is said, they had even disbanded their troops. However, Warwick assembled his adherents as expeditiously as he could; and, after various events, he, in October, 1470, released King Henry from that state of confinement, in which he had now continued near nine years. Warwick, who had before been the principal author of the unfortunate king's confinement, was now the instrument of his release. Henry was led from his prison to his palace; while King Edward's queen took sanctuary in the abbey of Westminster, where she was delivered of a son, named Edward.

In consequence of this extraordinary revolution, which had been accomplished in the space of eleven days, by which the earl of Warwick was become master of the kingdom; all the judges, sheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom, were removed from their places. On the 26th of November the parliament assembled, in which Edward was declared a tyrant and usurper, his estates and effects confiscated, and all statutes enacted by his authority were annulled;

the crown was settled upon Henry, and the male issue of his body; and, in default thereof, on the duke of Clarence and his descendants; and this prince and the earl of Warwick were appointed regents of the kingdom during the minority of King Henry's son Edward. It was also enacted, that all the adherents of the late king Edward, who did not immediately surrender themselves, should be put to death. But the earl of Warwick and his party were, notwithstanding, more moderate in their executions, than was usual after a revolution in those turbulent times; for the only person of distinction who suffered death on this occasion, was the earl of Worcester.

On the 2d of January, 1471, the earl of Warwick was appointed by King Henry admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence was replaced in the government of Ireland, and had an appointment in lands granted him by Henry. Warwick's brother, the marquis of Montague, had the post of warden of the east marches of Scotland given him, and likewise a grant of large estates; as had also his other brother, the archbishop of York. And Warwick, who had in fact the sole administration of the public affairs, endeavoured to conclude an alliance between King Henry, and his old friend, Lewis XI. of France. But as a peace could not be concluded, on account of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France, a long truce was resolved upon. There seems something singular in the treaty made upon this occasion; for it was agreed, according to Rapin, that the truce should last till one of the two parties had a mind to break it; in which case he was to give the other notice five years before hand.

The earl of Warwick had now been in possession of the government of England about six months, when King Edward, having received some assistance, though privately, from his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, set sail for England, and landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with about two thousand

men. When Edward found that the new magistrates, who had been placed in authority by the earl of Warwick, prevented the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he did not come to claim the crown, but only the inheritance of the House of York, which of right belonged to him, and that he had no design to raise a civil war in the kingdom. This moderate claim brought many over to his standard, who before were opponents to him; great numbers joined him, and he was admitted into the city of York; where, it is said, he even swore allegiance to King Henry; however, his adherents were soon so numerous, that he was enabled to avow his real intentions, and to resume his royal title.

The earl of Warwick having received information of Edward's landing, had given the duke of Clarence a commission in Henry's name, to raise troops to oppose the progress of Edward; and both Warwick and Clarence leaving London, took different routes for the same purpose, after agreeing to join together as soon as their levies were completed. The duke, however, with all his troops, which amounted to twelve thousand, deserted to King Edward. This was a fatal stroke to Warwick; but notwithstanding so unexpected a misfortune, "which", says Rapin, "would have disheartened any man but him, he could not stoop to hearken to any proposals of an accommodation, though the duke of Clarence offered him his mediation." He rejected, with disdain, all the overtures of peace; and to the duke of Clarence's messengers made this reply: "Go tell your duke," said he, "that I had rather be an earl, and always like myself, than a false and perjured duke; and that ere my oath shall be falsified, as his apparently is, I will lay down my life at my enemies feet; but which, I doubt not, shall be bought dearly."

Notwithstanding the junction of King Edward's forces, and those of his brother Clarence, and Warwick's rejection of the offer of an accommodation,

they did not think proper to attack him, but marched towards London. As soon as the news had arrived that the two brothers had joined, and were approaching, the earl of Warwick was given over for lost. This belief filled the people with apprehensions, which Edward's friends took care to foment, of the danger to which the city would be exposed, in consequence of Edward's indignation, unless he was appeased by a sudden submission. But notwithstanding this, it is doubtful whether Edward's attempt upon London would have proved successful, had not the archbishop of York, to whose care the person of Henry, and the defence of the city, was entrusted, betrayed the interest of his brother Warwick. This Prelate had lately made his peace with Edward, who, by his connivance, was received into the city on the 11th of April; and the unfortunate King Henry was thereupon seized in the palace of the bishop of London, and sent again to the Tower, from whence he had been taken seven months before, to re-ascend the Throne.

The two armies met at Barnet; and the battle began early on Easter-day, the 14th of April, 1471. Just before the charge, the earl of Warwick dismounted, and sent away his horse, to intimate that it was his determined resolution either to conquer, or to fall in battle. He then solemnly embraced each General officer, conjuring them to remember for whom, and against whom they fought. The battle began with incredible fury on both sides. The earl of Warwick's troops fought with such impetuosity, that Edward's first line was forced to give way, but in all other parts the battle was so equal, that, for six hours, no advantage could be discerned on either side. At last, Lord Hastings drove the duke of Exeter's division from their ground, but the active earl of Warwick sending in speedy reinforcements, the battle was renewed with still greater fury. Edward, upon this, brought up a body of reserve, with

which he attacked the flower of Warwick's army under the duke of Somerset. Here the earl of Warwick posted himself to encourage his men, telling them, "That this was the last resource of the enemy, and that, if they stood this one charge, the field was their own."

At length, the earl, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the most consummate general, and the most undaunted hero, and disdaining life when victory was gone, rushed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell in the midst of his enemies, covered with wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, met with the same fate. The earl of Warwick's death completed the defeat of his army, and King Edward remained master of the field.

Such was the end of Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, who appears to have been the greatest man of his time; and in fortune, power, and influence, was the most considerable subject who ever appeared in England. "He was," says Mr. Hume, "the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who, formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government." The earl of Warwick was sometimes called The King-Maker, because he placed Edward IV. upon the Throne, and afterwards, dethroning him again, restored Henry VI. It is observed by Rapin, that since the beginning of the quarrel between the Houses of Lancaster and York, the earl of Warwick had made so great a figure, as no subject had ever done the like before him. In a word, he had made and unmade kings just as he pleased. "This (adds the historian) is the most glorious thing that could be said of a private man, if true glory consisted in excess of power." Indeed, it must be acknowledged, that little can be said in defence of the earl of Warwick's moral character. For it evidently appears, that he sacrificed every thing to his ambition; and that to

indulge his own passions, and private resentments, he made no scruple of involving his country in all the horrors and calamities of civil war.

The bodies of the earl of Warwick and his brother Montague were conveyed to London after the battle, and exposed to public view in two coffins in St. Paul's Cathedral, for three days together, and afterwards King Edward allowed them to be decently buried in the priory of Bisham, in Berkshire, among their ancestors. It appears that the earl of Warwick had a grant from the crown, of pre-eminence above all English earls; he was also a knight of the garter; and had, on account of his greatness, a peculiar officer called Warwick Herald.

SIR ANTHONY WIDVILLE, EARL RIVERS.

ANTHONY WIDVILLE, or WOODVILLE, son of Sir Richard, was born 1442. When about seventeen years of age he accompanied his father, who was at this period created Lord Rivers, to Sandwich, and sent to that port to equip a strong squadron, in order to deprive the earl of Warwick of his government of Calais. The earl apprized of his intentions sent Sir John Dineham against the hostile fleet, and carried it away, with the commander, and his son Anthony, where they were some time detained as prisoners. Hence it appears, that Anthony Widville, with his father, was early engaged in the interest of the House of Lancaster. Circumstances, however, soon led them over to the opposite party, and when the Lancastrians excited an insurrection in Northumberland, and King Edward went into those parts, Anthony Widville attended him, was a principal commander at the siege of Alnwick castle, and was soon after elected into the noble order of the Garter. In 1465 he was married to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress to Lord Scales, and in her right succeeded to the estate of

that family. He had the title of Lord Scales conferred upon him, and in the sixth year of King Edward's reign, Lord Scales had a grant from his majesty of the Isle of Wight. In 1467, he was sent ambassador to negotiate a marriage between lady Margaret, sister to King Edward, and Charles, duke of Burgundy; and this marriage being agreed upon, Anthony, called the bastard of Burgundy, natural son of duke Philip the Good, had a safe conduct to come into England, to try feats of arms with the king's brother-in-law, lord Scales, who was the challenger. In this, lord Scales acquired a considerable reputation, and was sent with lady Margaret to Sluys, where the nuptials were consummated. King Edward having engaged to send three thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Brittany, lord Scales received a commission to command these succours. In 1469 he succeeded to the title of the earl of Rivers, in consequence of the tragical death of his father, who was beheaded, probably, at the instigation of the earl of Warwick. In the following year earl Rivers was sent to sea with a strong squadron to oppose any attempt, which might be made by the Lancastrians, and he prevented the adherents of the earl of Warwick from seizing a great ship called the Trinity, belonging to Southampton. When King Edward, in the course of the same year, was obliged to take refuge in a foreign country, earl Rivers attended him to Holland; with several other persons of high rank. After this he accompanied him in his return, had a great share in his victories, and was constituted governor of Calais, and of the castle of Guisnes, and lieutenant of the marches for seven years, and also captain-general of the king's forces by sea and land. In the year 1472, earl Rivers was appointed one of the ambassadors from King Edward to the duke of Brittany, and in this character concluded a treaty with that prince. When King Edward's eldest son was created prince of Wales, earl Rivers was appointed governor to the

young prince, obtained other distinguished offices, and was sent with his pupil to reside in Wales, it being supposed that the presence of the young prince might contribute to conciliate the affections of the Welch, and to restore the tranquillity of that country. The person of the prince had been committed to the care of his uncle the earl, not only on account of his affinity, but because he was one of the most accomplished noblemen in England, having united an uncommon taste in literature, to great abilities in business and valour as a warrior by sea and by land.

On the death of the king the earl was desired to bring his charge to London: he had proceeded as far as Northampton, when he was seized by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and put into confinement. The young king, with tears, and the most earnest entreaties, interceded for the liberation of his guardian and protector, but it was in vain, they had determined upon his destruction, and he was with others conducted by a strong guard to Pontefract castle, where he was shortly after beheaded without even the form of a trial. Earl Rivers published three translations from the French, the first of which, supposed to be the second book ever printed in England, was printed at Westminster in 1477, by Caxton, the first English printer; it is entitled "The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophers, translated out of the French, by Antone, erle of Ryvyers, lord Scales of the Isle of Wight, defendour and directour of the siege Apostolique, for our Holy Fader the Pope, in this Royame of England, uncle and governor of my lord the prynce of Wales, &c." According to Hume, the earl of Rivers, first introduced the noble art of printing into England, but this does not appear to have been the fact: though, no doubt, he countenanced and employed Caxton, and introduced him to king Edward the Fourth: but the printer had practised his art in England before he was employed by lord Rivers.

EDWARD V. succeeded, or rather seemed to succeed, his father; for he never had any thing more than the shadow of royalty; and even this did not continue above the space of ten weeks, through the ambition of his uncle Richard duke of Gloucester, who, immediately after the death of Edward IV. assumed the office of protector, and caused the young prince to be proclaimed; after which, on various pretences, he cut off several great persons, who were the principal friends of his deceased brother's queen; and, having thus paved the way for his own promotion, he next infused into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late monarch's administration, and some doubts as to the legitimacy of his children, which, by the help of the duke of Buckingham's management of the lord-mayor and citizens of London, was improved into a popular demand, that the young prince should be laid aside, and Richard, instead of protector, declared king; which at first he refused, but was quickly prevailed upon to change his mind, and accept.

RICHARD III. was proclaimed the twenty-second of June, 1483, and crowned upon the sixth of July following, together with Anne his queen, and his title effectually confirmed by a parliament called in January following. This act is perhaps the best drawn piece, considering the design it was to cover, that is extant in any language; and many of our modern historians might have avoided the gross mistakes into which they have fallen about this prince, if they had carefully considered it. But Sir Thomas Moore's rhetoric had so much warned them, that, generally speaking, they confound the duke of Clarence's treason with the duke of Gloucester's pretensions, which, though they might be as bad, yet certainly they were not the same. Clarence, in framing his title to the crown, was obliged to set aside that of his elder brother King Edward, which put him upon alleging, that the king was not in reality the son of Richard

duke of York : but as Richard duke of Gloucester was under no necessity of doing this, so he was much too wise a man to attack his mother's honour without cause.

We find, therefore, nothing of this in the before-mentioned act of parliament, but a title of quite another kind. The right of King Edward is clearly acknowledged, but his marriage with Queen Elizabeth is declared to be null, in consequence of which all his posterity were illegitimate. Then, again, as to the posterity of the duke of Clarence, which were still in Richard's way, they were set aside on account of their father's attainder, which could not have been alleged, if Richard had questioned King Edward's right. The case, then, in few words, stood thus :—The crown of England had been entailed by parliament on the posterity of the duke of York in the reign of King Henry VI. : this duke left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard : Edward, by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but (as this act says) left no lawful issue ; George, in the life-time of his brother Edward, had been attainted of treason, by which his family became incapable of succeeding ; and, therefore, Richard, duke of Gloucester, was called to the throne, as the next heir in the parliamentary entail.

An indifferent title he had at best ; but this did not hinder his making a good king, I mean in a political sense ;—for he made wise laws, governed the people gently, and took all imaginable care to promote trade, and to preserve the superiority of the sea. In all probability, these were the effects of his refined policy for the strengthening of himself and his family ; but be that as it will, the nation was undoubtedly the better for it : yet all his wisdom did not preserve him, because he suffered himself to be deceived by appearances, and to quit the prudent care which, at the beginning of his reign, he had taken for the guard of the English coasts at that very juncture when it became most necessary : and, as this is a point of great

consequence to the subject I am upon, it will be necessary to enter into a distinct detail of the earl of Richmond's expedition.

We have already shewn, how the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster began by Henry IV.'s assuming the crown, on the deposition of King Richard II. Henry, earl of Richmond, was, by his mother's side, held a descendant of the house of Lancaster, and had been, in the battle of Tewksbury, with Queen Margaret and Prince Edward: after that signal defeat he retired into Bretagne, where he was well received by Francis II. then duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of Edward IV. notwithstanding all the intrigues of that crafty prince to get him into his hands. Richard III. sent his agents to the duke, promising vast sums, if he would deliver up Earl Henry, but to no purpose; which arose from this secret reason, that there was a scheme set on foot for placing him on the throne, and uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster, by marrying the said earl to the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Edward IV.

As soon, therefore, as Francis was informed that the designs of the duke of Buckingham, who was engaged in this scheme, were ripe for execution, he furnished the earl of Richmond with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board which were embarked about 5000 men; but King Richard, having early intelligence of the duke of Buckingham's project, and of his negotiations with the earl of Richmond, took effectual care to disappoint both. The duke's forces he defeated by surprise, made himself master of his person, and beheaded him: and he prevented the earl's landing by keeping a strong squadron at sea, and guards on all the coasts; so that when the earl with his little fleet approached the Welch shore, he saw it was impracticable to land, and, therefore, bore away to Dieppe, where he safely arrived, and from thence went by land into Bretagne. Thus we see of what consequence such

precautions are in times of danger, and how very possible it is for an English prince to hinder invaders from setting foot in his dominions : but if his measures, on this occasion, demonstrated the wisdom of King Richard, his subsequent behaviour was of a quite different kind ; for immediately upon the earl's retreat he dismissed his forces, laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if, after escaping so great a danger, he meant to invite a greater ; at least so it proved, and might have been easily foreseen. The earl of Richmond found things on his coming back much altered in the court of Bretagne ; and Peter Landois, minister to Francis, who had been his warmest friend, was now become his bitterest enemy ; for, perceiving that the earl's designs were frustrated, the duke of Buckingham dead, the countess of Richmond confined, and England quietly submitting to Richard, he suddenly changed his politics ; and since he could not reduce the confederate lords by the help of an English king of his own making, he resolved to have recourse to an English king then reigning, and, therefore, entered into a treaty with Richard, for putting the earl of Richmond into his hands ; but he fortunately escaped to France, and was well received by the French king, Charles VIII. who promised him his protection and assistance : nor had he been long at this court before the earl of Oxford, who was a prisoner at Calais, prevailed upon the governor of that strong place, to embrace his interest, and to go with him into France, in order to concert measures for a new invasion of England. Some of the French historians say positively, that King Charles furnished Henry of Richmond with four thousand men : Father Daniel says, they were choice troops ; but our English writers speak of no more than two thousand, and insist, that these were hired with money, which the earl borrowed. With this insignificant force, embarked on board a very ill equipped fleet, the earl ventured to put to sea, on the first of August 1485, from the port of Havre de Grace, and

landed at Milford-haven on the 8th of the same month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the Welch, and passing the Severn at Shrewsbury, met with many of his English friends, and then marched directly into Leicestershire, where he knew King Richard lay with his army. Upon this followed a decisive battle, fought near the town of Bosworth, on the twenty-second of August, in which King Richard, fighting gallantly, was slain with his sword in his hand, after a short reign of two years and two months; but in this he shewed himself a better king than most of our historians are willing to represent him. An exemplary instance of this was, his suffering his nephew Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son and heir to his brother, George duke of Clarence, to live quietly and freely in Yorkshire, though one of the first acts of his successor was, to shut up this unhappy youth in the Tower, where he was, afterwards, beheaded, for no greater crime than desiring freedom.

IN the reign of these monarchs of the house of York, there were no grievous taxes drawn from the subject: when Edward IV. wanted money, he had recourse to an expedient, which, whatever it might be in law, was certainly not amiss in politics, of sending for persons in easy circumstances, and having opened to them his occasions for money, and his reasons for supposing they could supply him, desired they would give what they pleased; by which he raised money without aid of parliament, by a new kind of prerogative; styling such a voluntary contribution BENEVOLENCE. This method, odd as it was, brought him in very considerable supplies. Amongst others that, in this manner, he once summoned, was a gentlewoman of London, esteemed rich in those times, to whom, having stated his case in a free and familiar manner, he asked her what she would give him? "My liege," answered she, "for the sake of

that sweet and comely face, you shall have twenty pounds." The king being extremely well pleased with this testimony of her good will, gave her a kiss; which royal favour procured him another twenty pounds. He is likewise said to have made use of the personal affections of his subjects, in borrowing considerable sums; which, however, was attended with no small dislike, and was, therefore, laid aside by one of his successors.

This king directed, that all the bullion received for staple commodities at Calais should be coined in the mint there: but it was of the same weight and fineness with that of his predecessors. Sir Robert Cotton says much in praise of King Edward, for restoring the state of our coin, which had been greatly injured in the preceding reign; and, for saying this, he is censured by Bishop Fleetwood, who shews, that the money coined by Edward IV. was not either better or worse than that of Henry VI. But, notwithstanding this is certainly very true, yet the former observation might be true likewise.

We have seen, that in the reign of King Henry, there was great indulgence shewn to strangers, and more especially to Italians; and we have likewise seen, that it was by these people that great sums of base money were brought into and circulated through the kingdom: and as there is no doubt that this was publicly prohibited, and effectually restrained by Edward IV. so we may very reasonably conclude, that for this, and for the coining great sums, as well in silver as in gold, of due weight and fineness, by which the occasion and necessity of using these adulterated coins was taken away, he afforded just ground for Sir Robert Cotton's remark. In his reign, Lord Hastings was appointed master of the king's mints in England, Ireland, and France; and he coined largely in the several mints of all the three kingdoms. Sir John Davis assures us, that it was Edward IV. who first introduced a difference between the English and

the Irish coin, so that the former was worth a fourth part more than the latter. Upon whatever motives he did this, and whether the doing it was laudable, or otherwise, we dare not decide; but, however, there is no doubt at all, that the custom was pursued by his successors; so that in succeeding times, an Irish shilling was worth no more than ninepence in England, and the same proportion held in all their other coins.

In the short reign of King Richard III. there was but one parliament called, and but one tax granted, which was a tenth upon the clergy. At the same time the king, of his own accord, gave life, as one of our antiquaries expresses it, to another law, by which the subject was for ever freed from BENEVOLENCES.

As to the history of our trade during this period, it is better preserved than in any other, because, perhaps, it now began to grow more considerable. A great variety of laws we have relating thereto, and a long charter preserved in Hakluyt, whereby King Edward IV. grants large privileges to the English merchants settled in the Netherlands. Some of our historians, it is true, blame that prince for suffering certain sheep, out of Herefordshire, to be transported into Spain; whence they would have us believe, arose that plenty of fine wool, for which that country hath been since renowned. But it is certain that the Spanish wool was, long before, in some request; so that, in the thirty-first year of Henry II. the weavers of London had it granted to them, upon their petition, that wherever they could discover cloth entirely fabricated of Spanish wool, or even with a mixture of Spanish wool, they were authorized to carry it before the Mayor of London, who was to cause it to be burnt. At this time, however, the prevailing notion was here, that without our wool the best cloths could not be made; and, indeed, if there had been no ex-

cellence in their fleece, a few of our sheep had been no fit present for one king to make, or the other to receive.

The history I mention is contained in a little treatise, preserved in Hakluyt, intituled, '*De politia conservativa maris*,' written in verse, and, as it seems from his preface, never before printed, though written copies were pretty common. We know not by whom, or exactly when, it was composed, and yet we may come pretty near the time, for it is said, in the close, to have been examined and approved by the wise baron of Hungerford; which nobleman lost his head at Salisbury, in 1466, being the sixth of Edward IV.: consequently this book must have been written some time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. There is a particular title to every chapter; that to the general introduction runs thus:

“ Here beginneth the prologue of the processe of the libel of ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENGLAND to keep the SEA, and namely the NARROWE SEA: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to ENGLAND, and to all ENGLISHMEN.”

In this introduction, the author shews both the utility and the necessity of England's preserving the dominion of the sea; and tells us, that the Emperor Sigismund, who came over hither in 1416, and went into France with Henry V. advised him to keep the two towns of Dover and Calais, as carefully as he would his two eyes. Dr. Campbell having described the contents of this work, and the several subjects treated on, says, it likewise shews that the reasons and grounds of our naval dominion were then as thoroughly understood, and as clearly and plainly asserted, as ever they have been since; which is the reason that Mr. Selden cites this book as a remarkable authority, both in point of argument and antiquity. But we are now coming into brighter times,

wherein that spirit of commerce, which this author so earnestly wished for, began really to appear; and when there seemed to be a contest between private men, and those in the administration, who should serve the public most; a spirit to which we owe our present correspondence with all parts of the world, our potent and stately fleet, and, above all, our numerous plantations, the chief support of our maritime strength, as well as the most considerable branch of our trade still remaining.

CHAP. VIII.

The Naval History of England, under the Reign of Henry VII. including the Memoirs of such eminent Seamen as flourished in his time.

HENRY VII. was crowned king on the field of battle, the diadem of King Richard being found among the spoils.* By what title he held the regal dignity, is difficult to determine. In his own days he would not suffer it to be drawn into question; and posterity have not much considered it since. As to descent, he could scarcely be accounted of the royal family; for his father was of Wales, his mother of the house of Beaufort, descended indeed from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but so as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an express exception in that very act, as to the crown. By conquest he could not be king; for no people conquer themselves; and his army at Bosworth were Englishmen, as well as King Richard's.

His clearest, and, therefore, his best title then must be marriage, which he had not till some time after: for though he was solemnly crowned on the thirtieth of October, 1485, yet he did not marry the princess Elizabeth till the eighteenth of January following. He was generally esteemed the wisest monarch of his time, and was, without all doubt, an accomplished prince; to

* It was placed upon his head by Sir William Stanley, afterwards Lord Chamberlain of his household, and brother of Thomas Lord Stanley, created by this monarch earl of Derby, in regard to the near relation in which he stood to the king; being married to his Majesty's mother.

which the difficulties he went through in his youth, must have contributed not a little; for he was an exile before he was a man, and at the head of his party by that time he was at years of discretion. He had great obstacles to surmount, even after his accession to the throne; for the common people were generally fond of the house of York, and the duchess of Burgundy took care to furnish them with variety of pretenders of that line: yet such was the care King Henry took of his coasts, and so wisely did he provide for the security of the sea, that his enemies could scarcely ever set foot directly in this kingdom; which was the reason that Simnel went first to Ireland, and Perkin Warbeck into Scotland, where having procured assistance, he thence invaded England. :

Another strain of his policy was, his keeping up a martial spirit among his own subjects, at the expence of his neighbours; repaying thereby the French in their own coin. Thus he privately assisted the duke of Bretagne with a considerable body of troops, under the command of the Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen; and when the French king expostulated on this head, he excused himself by saying, that lord transported forces into Bretagne without his consent or permission. Soon after, he openly assisted the Bretons against the French, because he saw that these expeditions were pleasing to his own people, and served his purposes at the same time. On the same principles he threatened an open rupture with France, for which he provided a very formidable army, and a numerous fleet; and yet his real view was not so much attacking the French king, as drawing aids from his own parliament; which, on this expectation, and upon this only they were inclined to give. He transported, however, his forces to Calais, took the field, and having terrified the French, made such a peace as satisfied him, and so returned home; keeping however his squadrons at sea: for though he loved peace, yet it was his fixed maxim, that he might

keep it, to be in constant readiness for war; which was the reason that during his reign, the marine was in better condition than under any of his predecessors. The cares of government took up his whole time, and left no room either for thoughts or expences of pleasure.

It was the policy of Henry VII. to divert the spirits of his subjects from war to trade, which he both understood and encouraged. His long residence in Bretagne had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater skill in maritime affairs than most of his predecessors; and this was so well known, that eminent seamen, even in foreign countries, frequently on that account, addressed themselves to him for his favour and protection. Amongst the rest, the famous Christopher Columbus, who rendered his name immortal by the discovery of America, and who sent his brother Bartholomew hither, in order to have prosecuted that glorious expedition for the benefit of this nation; nor was it any fault in this wise king that he did not; though some modern writers, not only without, but against all authority, assert that King Henry rejected his proposals. I shall here give a concise account of that affair of which I shall have occasion to speak again in the memoirs of John Cabot; who, though he did not undertake to make discoveries till after the return of Columbus, yet saw the continent of the new world earlier than he; as will be fully proved in its proper place.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by birth a Genoese, but of what family is very uncertain, had a head excellently turned for such enterprises: by nature he was sagacious, penetrating, and resolute; he derived from education such knowledge, as enabled him to make the best use of his experience; and his ardent passion for the science of navigation had inspired him, from his early youth, with a desire of engaging in distant and dangerous voyages. Abundance of

lucky circumstances concurred in giving him still greater advantages than any of his contemporaries. It is by no means clear, though we have a life of him written by his son, and collected partly from his own writings, when he first entertained thoughts of finding out countries hitherto undiscovered. It seems, however, to have been pretty early in his life; because it appears, from notes of his own, that he had undertaken several voyages with a view of fixing, from the lights of experience, his speculative notions on this subject.

When he had thoroughly methodized his scheme, and rendered it, as he thought, probable and practicable, he first propounded it to the state of Genoa in the year 1482; but it was not accepted, because they were then engaged in such an extensive commerce, as they scarce knew how to manage, and were therefore afraid of launching out into new projects. Columbus offered it next to the king of Portugal, who was much too wise a prince not to discern the benefits which might arise from such a discovery, or the strength of those reasons which were urged by Columbus, to shew that the design was feasible: he therefore appointed commissioners to treat with him about this undertaking, who dealt with that worthy man very basely: for having, as they thought, drawn out of him his whole secret, they advised the king; while they entertained Columbus with objections, to fit out a ship, which, under colour of going to the Cape de Verd islands, might attempt the execution of what he had proposed: but the issue of this contrivance was as unlucky, as it was in itself dishonourable. For the fraud coming to the ears of Columbus; he was so disgusted thereby, that he determined to quit Portugal, and to seek protection in some more generous court.

It was towards the close of the year 1484, that he came to a resolution of going himself into Spain; and it was the next year, that, after meeting with some

difficulties there, he sent his brother Bartholomew into England, where Henry VII. had but just ascended the throne. A man could scarcely be more unfortunate than Bartholomew Columbus was in this voyage. He was first taken by pirates, who stripped him to the skin, and obliged him for sometime to earn a sorry living, by labouring at the oar. When he had made his escape from them, he found means to get into England, and to come to London; but in so poor a condition, and so worn by a lingering ague, that he wanted both opportunity and spirits to pursue the design he came about.

As soon as he had recovered a little, he applied himself to the making maps and globes, and discovering thereby a more than ordinary skill in cosmography, he came to be known: so that at last he brought his design to bear, and was actually introduced to the king; to whom, on the thirteenth day of February, 1488, he presented a map of the world of his own projecting, and, afterwards, entered into a negociation on the behalf of his brother. The king liked the scheme so well, that they came sooner to an agreement than Christopher had brought things to a point in Spain; though, by a new series of cross accidents, Bartholomew was not able to carry any accounts of this to his brother before he had actually discovered the American islands in the service, and for the benefit of the crown of Spain, which he did in 1492.

As we have these facts from the son of Christopher Columbus, and the nephew of Bartholomew, who published his father's life in Spain, I think the authority cannot be doubted, according to all the rules of evidence laid down, either by lawyers or critics. Add to this, that the map made by Bartholomew Columbus was actually in being in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; which is such a corroborative proof, as puts the matter out of dispute, and shews that we have at least as good a title as the Spaniards, from our agree-

ment with the first discoverer of a passage to this new world.

The great care the king had of maritime affairs induced him to make, in the eleventh year of his reign, a treaty with the king of Denmark, whereby he secured to his subjects, and particularly to the inhabitants of Bristol, the trade to Iceland, which they long before enjoyed, but in which they had of late suffered some disturbance. By the stipulations in this league it was agreed, that the English were to furnish the inhabitants of that island with all kinds of provision, with coarse cloth and other commodities, without an hindrance from the king of Denmark. This was a special privilege granted to no other nation, and, it is very probable, would not have been granted to us, if the Danish commerce had not been in a declining state, of which we have an authentic account in the work of a very ancient writer. The care of these affairs brought to the king's notice that celebrated Venetian Sir John Cabot, who in his service first discovered the continent of America, and that country which is now called Newfoundland: of him; therefore, we will give a more particular account at the close of this reign.

While Sir John Cabot was employed in the prosecution of the expedition before-mentioned, Bartholomew Columbus had passed from Spain to the West Indies, where he acquainted his brother with the disposition of the English court, and the reason there was to apprehend, that it would not be long before other adventurers would endeavour to interfere in his discoveries. This quickened the admiral; and, on his returning into Spain, he gave such hints to that court and ministry, as induced them to take all imaginable pains to secure the great seamen of every nation in their service, which in some respects, answered their purpose, since Magellan who discovered the passage into the South Seas, which has been of such infinite service to the Spaniards, was, by this policy,

detached from his duty to his king and country for the sake of pay; and this was likewise the case of Sebastian Cabot and others. In so short a time as four years after John Cabot's first voyage, we find, that King Henry granted his letters-patent to Hugh Elliott and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, and others, for settling colonies in the newly-discovered countries; which grant bears date the ninth of December 1502, and is another proof of this monarch's assiduity in promoting commerce: he never, indeed, suffered any opportunity of that sort to escape him.

Philip of Austria, who succeeded to the kingdom of Castile, sailed from the Low Countries into Spain, together with his queen, in 1506; but meeting unhappily with a storm, they were driven on the English coast, and, being exceedingly fatigued, they would, contrary to the advice of the wisest persons about them, land at Weymouth; of which the king having notice, he sent, under colour of respect, the earl of Arundel, with three hundred horse, to attend them, who brought the royal guests from thence by torch-light, and conducted them to his own house. They were detained some months by the extraordinary civilities paid them; and after their departure it appeared, how great use a wise prince may make even of the slightest accidents. In this short space the king did a great deal for himself, and not a little for his subjects: he prevailed upon King Philip to put into his hands Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nearly related by his mother to the royal line, and he likewise concluded a very advantageous treaty of commerce between the crowns of England and Castile, which proved afterwards of great importance,

As to the remaining part of his reign, it was spent in peace, and in cares of a nature which by no means recommend them to notice in such a work as this, nevertheless in some things the king shewed a magnificent spirit, particularly in building that noble chapel at

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

As to the concern which this prudent monarch shewed for trade, some hints of it have been already given; and to these, upon the review of our work, a few farther instances may be added. In the year 1487 the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was also lord high chancellor of England, opened the parliament with a speech, in which, amongst other things, he told them, that the king recommended, to their serious consideration, trade and manufactures. Accordingly several wise laws were made in that respect; and, in the treaties that were concluded with foreign princes, he was remarkably careful to make such provisions as turned highly to the benefit of the nation. There is the less wonder to be made at this, because the king himself was not only very well acquainted with the advantages arising from foreign traffic speculatively as a statesman, but knew them experimentally likewise, being a very extensive trader himself, and that in more ways than one.

As he found it requisite for him to have a certain number of ships of his own, so, when these were not employed, or likely to be employed, he was content to let them out to merchants for hire. He was very ready, on the same principle, to assist with considerable sums of money such as undertook any new trade, or set

up any new manufacture, provided he had a share in the profit proportionable to the risk he run. He also sold licenses for dealing in prohibited commodities either by importing or exporting; for the managing of which extraordinary and newly-devised branches of his revenue his principal instrument was Edmund Dudley, Esq. a man of quick parts, and whose genius was wonderfully extensive. He was nobly descended; a lawyer, no doubt, and a sergeant at law; but no judge, as some of our historians make him. He was of the king's privy council, and speaker of the house of commons in this king's last parliament; which shews his general interest was great, as well as his power. He suffered, in the next reign, as the king's adviser and instrument, which was hard, for the king governed by his own lights, and saw not with others' eyes. Ministers he had, and very able ministers too, who served him well; and he never disgraced them; but still they were his ministers, and not his masters.

Whatever distaste might be taken to some of these practices, it is very certain that the king ingratiated himself by others, and that till within the four last years of his reign, he was very popular in London; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that he not only accepted the freedom of the merchant-taylors company, but dined also publicly in their hall; wearing the dress, taking the seat, and doing the honours of the table, as if he had been their master. This condescension was acceptable to numbers: and the laws he passed from time to time, for promoting manufactures, encouraging manufacturers, giving ease to mechanics, prohibiting the importation of foreign goods for luxury, exciting merchants of all nations to frequent England, and purchase its commodities, with his complaisance and fair language, abated the sense of his strictness in other respects. Besides, it was his manner to intermix smiles with his severities, and to reward oftener, and with more alacrity than he punished. Thus he knighted many of

the citizens in the field, received them kindly at court, and communicated all good news to them with much familiarity and confidence.

In respect to the taxes imposed in his reign, they were not very large or burdensome. It is true, that having repealed the laws of his predecessor, he thought himself at liberty to demand an aid of his subjects, by way of BENEVOLENCE; for which he assigned this reason, that it would be a means of exempting the poorer sort of people from feeling the weight of a burden they were least able to bear. It is not at all improbable, that he was induced to take this step from that experience which he learned in the beginning of his reign, that nothing so soon disposed the populace to insurrections, as the levying new taxes, how moderate soever. But his new method, likewise, had its inconveniencies, though he was far enough from pushing it to a degree of oppression; since the money which was raised under this title in the whole city of London, did not amount to quite ten thousand pounds.

In one thing he shewed his mercantile principle extremely. He demanded a loan of the city of London for a certain time, and with some difficulty obtained six thousand pounds; but paying it very exactly, when he had occasion for a greater sum, it was raised with ease; and this, too, being punctually paid, he there rested his credit, reserving the confidence he had established for any real necessity that might require it, the former loans being rather out of policy than for relief. The wealth of the nation certainly increased extremely during his pacific reign; it was the large estates of the merchants that exposed them to be pillaged by his instruments of iniquity; and as for the nobility, he was not without some reason jealous of their great power, and their great fortunes. When he seized upon Sir William Stanley's effects, who was younger brother only to the earl of Derby, he found they amounted to forty thousand marks in

ready money and jewels, besides an estate in land of three thousand pounds a year.

At the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the infanta Catherine, all who assisted at it were most magnificently dressed; Sir Thomas Brandon, an officer of the king's household, wearing a gold chain of the value of fifteen hundred pounds: yet the fortune he gave the Princess Margaret, his daughter, when she married the king of Scots, was no more than thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds: and the allowance stipulated for the Lady Anne, his wife's sister, when she married Lord Thomas Howard, did not much exceed one hundred and twenty pounds a year.

He was the first of our monarchs who coined shillings; and they were very large and fair, there being but forty in a pound weight of silver. His coin in general, both gold and silver, was of due weight and fineness; but when he made his expedition to Boulogne, he either coined, or tolerated a base kind of money, called dandiprats, which, perhaps, was a right piece of policy; but it proved a bad precedent, and afforded his son a colour for sinking the value of his money beyond all example.

The treasure left by this prince in his coffers, at the time of his decease, not only exceeded what had ever been amassed by his predecessors, but surpassed beyond comparison what any of his successors have ever seen in their exchequers: for the Lord Chief Justice Coke tells us, it amounted to five millions three hundred thousand pounds, most in foreign coin, and too much of it acquired by methods unworthy of a king, and more especially so wise a king as he was. The judicious and curious Lord Bacon, who wrote this monarch's life with much care, and had great opportunities of being informed, reduces this sum to much less: for he says, there was a tradition of his leaving eighteen hundred thousand pounds hidden in secret places, under his own lock and key, in his palace

at Richmond, where he died; and this he accounts and very justly, to be (for those times especially) a vast wealth. But we can settle this point with more certainty, and on still better authority. The great and accurate antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, asserts, he left behind him four millions and a half in bullion, exclusive of wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture. These sums are not set down in figures, from which mistakes often arise, but in words at length: and as Sir Robert affirms nothing without a voucher; so, in respect to this, he has given the best that could be desired, *viz.* the book of accounts kept between the king and Dudley. It is possible this wide difference may be, with probability, reconciled, by supposing eight hundred thousand pounds to stand on Sir Richard Empsom's account, as Sir Robert Cotton speaks only of Dudley; and then the sum will agree with the record cited by Sir Edward Coke. The fixing this fact is very material; as it shews how much more wealthy the nation then was, than it has been ever esteemed to be.

Our historians tell us, that King Henry intended to have made a thorough change in his measures, and to have relieved his people from all the grievances of which they complained, when he was taken off by death on the twenty-second of April, 1509, in the twenty-third year of his reign. He was allowed, by his contemporaries, to have been one of the wisest princes of the age in which he lived; and his memory hath been commended to the reverence of posterity, by the inimitable pen of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon; who, in doing justice to this king's abilities, has shewn his own; as by freely censuring his errors, he has set a noble example to English historians, to be more solicitous about truth, than the reputation of themselves as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record.

SIR JOHN CABOT.

THE Venetians, throughout this whole century, and indeed for some ages before, were, by far, the most general traders in Europe; and had their factories in most of the northern kingdoms and states, for the better managing their affairs. In England, especially, many of them settled, at London and Bristol particularly; and in this last place dwelt John Gabota, Gabot, or as our writers usually call him, John Cabot, of whom we are to speak. He had been long in England, since his son Sebastian, who was born at Bristol, was old enough to accompany him in his first voyage: he was, it seems a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished seaman, or a general trader; and having heard much of Columbus's expedition, he addressed himself to the king, with proposals for making like discoveries, in case he met with due encouragement. His offer was readily accepted; and the king by letters patent, dated March the fifth, in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, leave to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them, with many privileges; reserving only to himself one-fifth part of the neat profits: and with this single restraint, that the ships they fitted out should be obliged to return to the port of Bristol. Though these letters patent were granted in 1495, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to set out any ships; and then John Cabot had a permission from the king, to take six English ships in any haven of the realm, of the burden of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as should be willing to go with him.

In consequence of this license, the king at his own expence caused a ship to be equipped at Bristol: to

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

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

This was a very important discovery; since, in truth, it was the first time the continent of America had been seen; Columbus being unacquainted there-

with till his last voyage, which was the year following, when he coasted along a part of the isthmus of Darien. It is somewhat strange, that our English writers have delivered these matters so confusedly, especially such as lived under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and K. James I. and, consequently, in and near the time of his son; yet, so inaccurate are their relations, that some have been induced from thence to doubt, whether John Cabot made any discoveries at all. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Purchas, to whose labours the world is so much indebted, discovers a good deal of distaste that America should be so called, from Americus Vesputius; and asserts, that it ought rather to be called Cabotiana, or Sebastiana: because, says he, Sebastian Cabot discovered more of it than Americus, or Columbus himself. In Stowe, and Speed, we find this very discovery ascribed wholly to Sebastian without any mention of his father; and yet in Fabian's Chronicle, who lived in those days, we have these two remarkable passages:

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

Under the fourteenth year of the same king's reign,

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

Thus it appears, from the best authority that can be desired, that of a contemporary writer, this discovery was made by Sir John Cabot, the father of Sebastian; and indeed so much we might have gathered if we had wanted this authority: for Sebastian Cabot being, as we shall see hereafter, alive in 1557, it is plain, that, at the time this voyage was made, he could not be above twenty years old; when, though he might accompany his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. It is probable that John Cabot died in England; but when or where is uncertain.

CHAP. IX.

The Naval History of the Reign of Henry VIII. including the Memoirs of such eminent Sea-officers as flourished therein.

THERE never was in any period, a prince who ascended the English throne, of whom his subjects formed greater hopes, than those that were entertained of Henry VIII. at his accession. He was then about eighteen years old, of strong natural parts, heightened by an excellent education: and though he afterwards discovered a good deal of obstinacy in his temper, yet in the dawn of his reign, he shewed himself very inclinable to listen to good advice; and his father left him as able counsellors as perhaps any monarch had about him. His first acts were conformable to his subjects hopes: he delivered such persons as his father unjustly kept in confinement, and, in their stead, Empson, Dudley, and their creatures, were imprisoned. Yet even these were not destroyed, as some have suggested, by a hasty and rigorous prosecution, but were left to the ordinary course, and after that, as they deserved, to the due severity of the law, their great knowledge in which, they had so flagrantly abused to the ruin of others. Dudley, during his confinement in the Tower, composed a very extraordinary book, intitled 'The Tree of the Commonwealth,' wherein he shewed a prodigious capacity as a statesman, and from which, many pestiferous schemes have taken their rise, his family having held the reins of government there for near half a century. In other respects the king shewed himself a very gracious prince, having a like sense of his own dignity, and of his duty towards his people.

In the year 1511 the king of Arragon and Castile demanded assistance against the Moors ; whereupon King Henry, who was desirous of maintaining, to the utmost, the glory of the English nation, sent him 1500 archers under the command of Sir Thomas Darcy, with whom went abundance of gentlemen, of the best families of the kingdom, volunteers. They sailed from Plymouth, escorted by a squadron of four royal ships, and landed happily on the first of June in the south of Spain : but the politic king, who wanted nothing more than their appearance to bring his enemies to terms, instead of employing, dismissed them with a few presents, and so they returned into England, without encountering any other hazards than those of the sea. The same year the king sent a like aid to the duchess of Burgundy under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, which met with better success ; for, after having answered effectually the ends for which they were sent, they returned with small loss, and much honour, to their native country.

- Notwithstanding what had so lately happened in Spain, the artful Ferdinand, by the assistance of the Pope, who cajoled King Henry with fair words and fine promises, drew him to make war in France, in hopes of recovering the dominions of his ancestors. In August, the same year, there happened a bloody engagement between the English and French fleets, of which we shall give the reader, hereafter, a distinct account ; and the Sovereign, the largest ship in the English navy, being burnt therein, the king built another of still greater burden, called Henry Grace de Dieu. In the month of March 1513, another royal fleet put to sea, which engaging the French on the twenty-fifth of April, the admiral was killed ; which loss was soon repaired, and the French driven to take shelter in their ports. In August the king went in person with a great army into France, where he made some conquests, while his admiral spoiled the French coasts, as he also did the next year ; so that

the French king was glad to obtain peace ; upon the conclusion of which he married Mary, who was sister to our King Henry, but did not long outlive his marriage.

Francis I. succeeded him, between whom and the Emperor Maximilian, King Henry kept as even as he could, sometimes assisting the emperor, and sometimes seeming to favour the French king, who prevailed on him in 1520, to pass over to Calais, in order to have an interview with him ; and it followed, accordingly, between the towns of Ardres and Guines. Our historians give us long descriptions of the pomp and splendour which accompanied this meeting ; but a short passage in a French writer seems to me better worth transcribing than any thing they have said. He tells us, that at this interview King Henry caused an English archer to be embroidered on his tent, with this sentence under him ; *Cui adhæreo præest ; i. e.* " He shall prevail, with whom I side ;" which, says the judicious historian, was not only his motto, but his practice, as long as he lived. In 1522 there arose new differences between this monarch and the French king, which were not a little heightened by the coming of the Emperor Charles V. who paid great court to Henry, and persuaded him to send over a numerous army into France. During this war, the emperor's fleet acted in conjunction with the English, whereby the French were driven to great distress, and the Scots, being engaged in their interest, suffered also very severely : but when the king evidently saw, that, by his assistance, the Emperor Charles was become too powerful, and affected to manage all the affairs of Europe at his will, he wisely withdrew his auxiliaries, and pursued such a conduct as seemed most likely to restore the balance of power.

In 1526 a peace was concluded with the French king upon very advantageous terms, and soon after, Cardinal Wolsey went over into France, and had a conference with that prince. Thenceforward the

king's thoughts were much taken up with his domestic affairs, and with alterations in religion; so that, except some disputes with Scotland, wherein their king received such a check as broke his heart, there happened nothing material till the year 1544, when King Henry joined once more with the emperor against the French; whereupon Sir John Wallop was sent into France, and a considerable force marched into Scotland under the earl of Hertford, Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, wasting the coasts in the mean time with a great fleet. In the midst of the summer, the duke of Suffolk entered the French dominions with a great army, and laid siege to Boulogne, which was also blocked up at sea by the admiral Viscount Lisle, who, after the place was taken, was constituted the governor, the king and his forces passing from thence into England. The next year the French fleet made several attempts on the English coast with indifferent success; to revenge which, the Viscount Lisle landed in Normandy, and burnt all the adjacent country.

In 1546 the French made an unsuccessful attempt upon Boulogne, the earl of Hertford, and Viscount Lisle, having obliged them either to come to a battle, or to raise the siege: they chose the latter; and after some other attempts at sea, which were unsuccessful, a peace ensued, which lasted as long as the king lived, he dying in the January following, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, exceedingly regretted by the bulk of his subjects, many of whom celebrated his praises, afterwards, in their learned writings; such as our famous antiquary John Leland, Sir Richard Morrison, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Bacon in his preface to his Policy of war, Udal in his preface to Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, and many others. Neither are foreigners wanting in paying a proper tribute of respect to the memory of this prince.

The principal events only of this monarch's admi-

nistration, and those, too, but very succinctly, have been touched here, to avoid repeating again the same things, in the memoirs of those eminent sea-officers who flourished in his reign; but before we come to these, it may not be amiss to speak somewhat as to the merit of this prince, in having a special and very commendable regard to the grandeur, security and prosperity of his dominions; his attention to merchants, discoverers, and others, who aimed at public utility, in different manners; as also, to make some short remarks upon those acts of his government, for which he has been both generally and severely censured.

It was to this great monarch we owed the deliverance of this realm, from the temporal as well as spiritual dominion of the papal see, which, at this time, drew half a million *per annum* from hence. He added the titles of Defender of the Faith, and King of Ireland, to the crown, which he made supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Scotland he humbled to the dust, and built the strong citadel of Carlisle, to keep the Scots in awe. Other kings had possessed Wales; he reduced it into order, civilized the people, and with the appellation gave them all the privileges of English subjects. He improved on the act which his father obtained, for giving a sanction to the Star-chamber, by causing its decrees to be inserted into statutes. He, by authority of parliament, framed a court of wards, and a court of augmentations. He reduced into a consistent regularity almost every branch of our domestic policy. By an act of parliament the pay and punishment of soldiers were settled, which in effect was the first act against mutiny and desertion. By his prerogative, and at his own expence, he laid the foundation and settled the constitution of the present royal navy.

The laws made in his time, for the facilitating and support of inland navigation, clearly demonstrate, that the importance of large rivers began to be

understood, and esteemed more than during the civil wars, when public welfare gave way to private interest. The Thames, the Ouse, the Ex, the rivers of Southampton, the Severn, &c. were freed from wears, and other obstructions: on the same principle an act passed for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls, and other oppressive duties on the Severn, were suppressed, that the great communication, by that noble river, might be as free as possible. The making of cables, and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal stay of Bridport in Dorsetshire, was secured to that place, by statute. More than one law was passed to prevent the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured and choaked up by the stream-works of the tin-mines. An act was also passed in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in a manner spoiled, the king expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds, out of his own coffers, in building a new pier, and other necessary works. But not to dwell upon subjects that might employ a volume, let us barely mention his founding the two royal yards of Woolwich and Deptford, the cradles of Britain's naval power; and his founding at the latter his noble marine guild, or fraternity, of the Trinity.

Henry was very solicitous in providing for the security of his dominions, that, whatever share he thought fit to take in the affairs of the continent, his crown might be at all times safe, and the public tranquillity in no danger. His militia and his navy were always ready for service; but to give them leisure to arrive he covered all his havens with fortresses. Guines, for the protection of Calais, he rendered impregnable, and made Boulogne strong enough to resist all the force of France. He constructed a strong castle on the isle of Portland, and built another at Hurst, to guard Southampton and the adjacent coasts,

the two forts called Cowes for the guard of the Isle of Wight; Camber castle to defend Winchelsea and Rye, as South-sea castle was erected to secure Portsmouth; Sandgate, Walmer, Deal, and Sandown castles; were all raised by him to preserve the cinque-ports; as was that of Queenborough to cover the other side of Kent. Nor did he overlook or neglect the more distant parts of this island, as the strong and costly castles of Pendennis and St. Maws in Cornwall clearly witness. We may think the less of these fortifications, by seeing most of them sinking into ruins, being suffered, through neglect, to moulder and decay; but they were once works of wonder, cost Henry immense sums, and in his own days were both useful and honourable. Omitting many other acts of this prince, we may observe that he was a lover of learned men, and an encourager of learned professions. He founded the royal college of physicians, granted them extensive privileges by charter, which was supported by a statute; and he, in like manner, exempted surgeons from being on juries, or serving offices, as being, in its consequences, detrimental to society. He invited over Hans Holbein, and other ingenious foreigners, rewarded them liberally, and encouraged all new inventions.

Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, in the year 1527, addressed himself to the king by a letter, wherein he represented what great advantages the emperor and the king of Portugal drew from their colonies, and; in a very pathetic strain, exhorted him to undertake discoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, supported by very plausible reasons. The king understanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, yielded to his request, and ordered two ships to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. Thorne himself had the direction. The issue, however, of this voyage, is very uncertainly recorded: all we know of it is, that

one of the ships employed therein was lost, and that the other returned home without discovering any north-west passage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in such as were concerned. Mr. Thorne, the principal undertaker, lived to be afterwards mayor of Bristol, and dying in a good old age, with a very fair reputation, lies buried in the Temple church.

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

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

They sailed from Gravesend on the thirtieth of April, 1536, and without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coast of Newfoundland, where, while they were intent on discoveries, they were reduced to such distress for want of food, that some of them

when on shore killed and ate their companions. At last, when they were on the point of being all starved, a French ship arrived, well furnished with provisions, of which they made themselves masters, and returned therein to England, but in such a miserable condition, though they were not out above seven months, that Sir William Butts and his lady did not know their own son, who was one of the company, but by an extraordinary wart on his knee. Some months after, arrived the Frenchmen whom they had spoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received; into which King Henry having made a strict inquiry, he was so much moved at the miseries that these brave men had suffered, that he generously repaid the French to their satisfaction out of the treasury, and promoted several of those who returned from this disastrous voyage; amongst the rest Mr. Armigal Wade, who was many years after clerk of the council to himself and his son Edward VI. One thing more I must remark before I quit this subject, and that is, that the Reverend Mr. Hakluyt, from whom we have these particulars, rode two hundred miles, in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. Butts, the only surviving person of those who had made this voyage.

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

That immense treasure his father left behind him was quickly consumed in the great expeditions he undertook, in the transporting vast armies to the continent, the maintaining them in the field, and in garrisons, and the high subsidies granted to his allies, while he was fighting all the time in other men's quarrels, and got little or nothing, at least that was

worth keeping, for himself. When all that mass of money was gone, he demanded and received such assistance from his parliament as none of his predecessors had obtained. To all this they added that prodigious grant of the estates of all the religious houses in this realm, which at that time amounted to 150,000 pounds *per annum*, and which were vested in the crown for ever. Besides these legal impositions, this king acquired no small sum by methods which had no better support than the stretch of his prerogative; to mention only a few:

In the fourteenth year of his reign, he had a loan of ten *per cent.* out of the personal estate of such of his subjects as were worth from twenty to 300 pounds, and twenty marks from such as were worth more. This, indeed, was only borrowed, and they had privy seals for their money; but the parliament *kindly* interposed four years after, and released his Majesty from the obligation of paying so much as a farthing of those debts. Neither must it be forgotten, that, in collecting this loan, the value of every man's estate was put upon his oath; so that every subject was in jeopardy either of poverty or perjury.

In the seventeenth year of his reign he had another great loan, in which an oath of secrecy was administered to the commissioners, and they were empowered to tender the like oath to such as came before them: though this was styled an amicable grant, yet the commissioners, to quicken them in their offers, threatened them with imprisonment of their persons, and confiscation of their estates. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he demanded and received a loan of eightpence in the pound of such persons as were worth from forty shillings to twenty pounds, and one shilling in the pound from such as were worth more. By which it appears, that as he fell early into necessity, notwithstanding the rich exchequer that he came to, so he was not long out of necessity, after that prodigious

gious accession to the royal revenue made by the confiscation before-mentioned, of the abbey-lands.

The worst of all was, that, when he found himself pressed for money, he took the most detrimental way of raising it, which was, that of practising upon his coin. The first stroke of this bad policy was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he not only divided the pound into forty-eight shillings, by which, if the coin had remained in its former purity, silver would have been raised to four shillings an ounce, but added also two ounces of base metal in the pound, instead of eighteen pennyweights, which raised it nine-pence halfpenny an ounce more. Not contented with this, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he coined money that was but half silver; and though some of the Chronicles of those times say, that by this he raised it to four shillings an ounce, yet, in fact, he brought it up to eight shillings. In the next year he gave the finishing stroke, by coining money that had but four ounces of silver in the pound weight; so that silver was then at twelve shillings an ounce; the consequence of which was, that, after his death, his shilling fell to nine-pence, and afterwards to six-pence; that is, people would take them for no more.

It is inconceivable what strange, as well as what bad effects this debasement of the coin produced, and which, as the common people, for want of discernment, were unable to ascribe to its proper cause, they were led from thence into a variety of errors, which naturally rendered them desirous of very improper measures, which they vainly hoped would prove remedies. All things of a sudden grew extravagantly dear; as, indeed, how should it be otherwise? for, let a prince be ever so powerful, he cannot change the nature, or even the value of things, nor will his debasing his coin sink the worth of the commodities or manufactures that are to be purchased with it.

At first, such alterations will create great confusion, which cannot but be detrimental to private property, yet

by degrees men will be taught to set up their natural rights against the regal prerogative, and when they find money of less value than it should be, they will insist upon having more money. But, notwithstanding experience points them to this remedy in their private dealings, yet, as all men are buyers as well as sellers, it is easy to perceive, that, in such a situation of things, a general clamour will arise about the dearness of necessary commodities, which may be, as it then was, attributed to false causes, that occasioned not only ineffectual remedies to be applied, but such as were also injurious, heightening old, and being also productive of fresh inconveniencies.

To this may be ascribed many of the complaints that are to be met with in the historians of those times, and many of the laws too, that were founded on popular conceit, and which, though they were enacted to give public satisfaction, were repealed again in succeeding reigns, when they were felt to be public grievances.

But it is time to pass from these matters to the glorious seamen, to whose memories we have undertaken to do right, and of whom several flourished in this martial reign, that are but very slightly mentioned in those histories where we might reasonably have expected the best accounts of them. As far as the narrowness of our limits will permit, we will endeavour to supply that defect here, beginning with

SIR EDWARD HOWARD,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, AND KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

IF the advantage of an illustrious descent adds, as we commonly suppose it does, to the reputation of great achievements, then the memory of this very gallant and worthy man will have a double right to our respect. He was a second son of the most noble House of Norfolk, and derived, from the example of

his father, those qualities which most adorn the highest titles, untainted loyalty, and invincible courage: He began early to testify his inclination to the sea-service, since we find him employed in the Flanders expedition in 1492, when King Henry VII. thought fit to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects;—of which we shall now give some account.

The Flemings, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, grew uneasy under the yoke of the house of Austria, and under the command of the Baron de Ravenstein, began to throw it off. In order to this, they seized the town and harbour of Sluys, from whence they fitted out abundance of vessels, of pretty considerable force, and, under colour of pursuing their enemies, took and plundered vessels of all nations, without distinction; and as the English-trade to Flanders was then very extensive, their ships suffered at least as much as any other; which was the true reason why King Henry, upon the first application of the duke of Burgundy, sent a squadron of twelve sail, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, with whom, then a very young man, Sir Edward Howard went out, to learn the art of war. The duke of Saxony, in consequence of his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, marched with an army into Flanders, and besieged Sluys by land: and Sir Edward Poynings blocked it up with his fleet by sea.

The port was defended by two strong castles, which the Flemings, who had nothing to trust to but force, defended with unparalleled obstinacy; insomuch, that though Poynings attacked them constantly every day, for twenty days successively, yet he made no great impression; till, at last, through accident, the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the castles was preserved, took fire: whereupon the besieged were glad to surrender their city to the duke of Saxony, and their port and castles to the English. In this expedition Sir Edward was made a knight, for

his extraordinary bravery, of which he gave frequent instances during that long reign; and so thoroughly established his reputation, that King Henry VIII. on his succession, made choice of him for his standard-bearer, which, in those days, was considered not only as a mark of particular favour, but as a testimony also of the highest confidence and greatest respect.

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

Whatever his name was, or whatever the force of his fleet might be, which our writers say consisted of thirty-nine, and the French only of twenty sail, he was certainly a very brave man. The ship he commanded was called the Cordelier, which was so large, as to be able to carry twelve hundred fighting men,

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

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

was, to put the bravest of his sailors on board two gallies, which were in his fleet, and with these to venture in, and try what might be done against all six.

This being resolved on, he went himself, attended by Sir Thomas Cheyne, and Sir John Wallop, on board one of them; and sent Lord Ferrers, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Sidney, on board the other; and having a brisk gale of wind, sailed directly into the bay; where, with his own galley, he attacked the French admiral. As soon as they were grappled, Sir Edward Howard, followed by seventeen of the bravest of his sailors, boarded the enemy, and were very gallantly received; but it so happened, that in the midst of the engagement the gallies sheered asunder; and the French, taking that advantage, forced all the English upon their decks overboard, except one seaman, from whom they quickly learned, that the admiral was of that number. Lord Ferrars, in the other galley, did all that was possible for a very brave man to do; but having spent all his shot, and perceiving, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewise made the best of his way out of the harbour.

We have, in a certain noble writer's accurate history, some very singular circumstances relating to this unlucky adventure. He says, that Sir Edward Howard having considered the posture of the French fleet in the haven of Brest, and the consequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be present at so glorious an action; desiring rather that the king should have the honour of destroying the French naval force than himself: a loyal, and generous proposition: supposing the honour, not the danger, too great for a subject; and measuring his master's courage by his own; the only standard men of his rank and temper of mind ever use.

But his letter being laid before the council, they were altogether of another opinion; conceiving it was much too great a hazard for his majesty to expose

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

There never, certainly, was a braver man of his, or consequently of any family, than this Sir Edward Howard; and yet we are assured, that he was very far from being either a mere soldier, or a mere seaman, though so eminent in both characters: but he was what it became an English gentleman of so high quality to be; an able statesman, a faithful counsellor, and a free speaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels; and yet he was against her quarrelling on every slight occasion, or against her interests. He particularly dissuaded a breach with the Flemings, for these wise and strong reasons: that such a war was prejudicial to commerce abroad; that it diminished the customs, while it increased the public expences; that it served the French, by constraining the inhabitants of Flanders to deal with them against their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourse with those by whom they were principally improved.

Thus qualified, we need not wonder he attained such high honours, though he died in the flower of his age. Henry gratified his ardour with titles, and such like rewards; making him Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain, for life; and causing him to be chosen knight of the garter: believing that he should thereby command, as indeed he did, not only the utmost service Sir Edward could do, but also all the force and interest of his potent family: which, however, that prince ill requited, as we shall see in the next life. Sir Edward Howard married Alice, widow to Sir William Parker, Knt. and daughter of William Lovel, Lord Morley; by whom he had no issue. He was, as soon as the news of his unfortunate death reached the ears of his royal master, succeeded in his high office by his elder brother,

SIR THOMAS HOWARD,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF SURREY, AND DUKE OF NORFOLK, &c.

IF we spoke first of the younger brother, it was in respect to his dignity, and to its date; for though the junior son, he was the elder admiral: in point of merit they were equal. Thomas, earl of Surrey, restored afterwards to the title of duke of Norfolk, treasurer to Henry VIII. and the father of both these brave men, spared not either himself, or his sons, when the service of the crown and his country required it. In the third year of this king's reign, a Scots seaman, Sir Andrew Breton, or Barton, with two stout vessels, one named the Lion, the other Jenny Perwin, ranged on the English coasts, and interrupted all navigation. His pretence was, letters of reprisals granted him against the Portuguese, by James III. late king of Scots. (whom his rebellious subjects murdered); and under colour of this, he took ships of all nations, alleging they had Portuguese goods on board. On complaint of these grievances to the privy-council of

England, the father of our admiral, then earl of Surrey, said, "The narrow seas should not be so infested, while he had estate enough to furnish a ship, or a son capable of commanding it."

Upon this, two ships were immediately fitted out by the two brothers, probably, at their own, or at their father's expence, but with the knowledge and consent of the king, though not by his special commission, or immediate authority; as will quickly appear.

The lords having been some days at sea, were separated by a storm, which gave Sir Thomas Howard an opportunity of coming up with Sir Andrew Barton in the *Lion*, whom he immediately engaged. The fight was long and doubtful; for Barton, who was an experienced seaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a most desperate defence; himself chearing them with a boatswain's whistle to his last breath. The loss of their captain was the only thing that could induce them to submit, which at last they did; and were received to quarter and fair usage. In the mean time Sir Edward fought, and took the consort of the *Lion*, which was likewise a strong vessel, and exceedingly well manned. Both these ships, with as many men as were left alive, being in number one hundred and fifty, they brought, the second of August, 1511, into the river Thames as trophies of their victory. The men were sent to the archbishop of York's palace, now called Whitehall; where for some time they remained prisoners, but afterwards were dismissed, and sent into Scotland.

King James IV. who then governed the Scots, exceedingly resented this action, and instantly sent ambassadors to Henry, to demand satisfaction; on which the king gave this memorable answer: "That punishing pirates was never held a breach of peace among princes." King James, however, remained still dissatisfied; and from that time to his unfortunate death, was never thoroughly reconciled to the king or English nation.

Sir Thomas Howard accompanied the marquis of Dorset in his expedition against Guyenne, which ended in King Ferdinand's conquering Navarre; and the commander in chief falling sick, Sir Thomas succeeded him, and managed with great prudence, in bringing home the remains of the English army. He was scarcely returned before the ill news arrived of his brother the lord admiral's death; whereupon the king instantly appointed him his successor. Sir Thomas returned his master sincere thanks, as well for this mark of his confidence, as for affording him an opportunity of revenging his brother's death. The French ships were at that time hovering over the English coasts, but Sir Thomas quickly scoured the seas so, that not a bark of that nation durst appear; and on the first of July, 1513, landing in Whitsand-bay, he pillaged the country adjacent, and burnt a considerable town. The king was then engaged in Picardy, having the emperor in his service; and this induced James IV. to invade England with a mighty army, supposing he should find it in a manner defenceless; but Thomas earl of Surrey quickly convinced him of his mistake, marching towards him with a powerful army, which strengthened as it moved. Sir Thomas Howard returning, on the news of this invasion, landed five thousand veterans, and made haste to join his father. The earl of Surrey dispatching a herald to bid the Scots king battle, the lord admiral sent him word, at the same time, that he was come in person to answer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton; which evidently shews how far that was a personal affair. This defiance produced the famous battle of Flodden-field, which was fought the eighth of September, 1513, wherein Sir Thomas Howard commanded the van-guard, and by his courage and conduct contributed not a little to that glorious victory in which King James fell, with the flower of his army, though not without the slaughter of abundance of English.

King Henry thought himself so much obliged at that time to the Howards, for this and other services, that at a parliament held the next year, he restored Thomas earl of Surrey to the title of Norfolk, and created the lord admiral earl of Surrey, who took his seat in the House of Peers, not as a duke's son, but according to his creation. These favours were from the king; for as to the cardinal minister, he made the duke of Norfolk so uneasy, as high treasurer, that in the course of a very few years he was glad to resign that high charge to his son.

The war being ended with France, the admiral's martial talent lay some time unemployed; but certain disturbances in Ireland calling for redress, the active earl of Surrey was sent thither, with a commission, as lord deputy, where he suppressed Desmond's rebellion, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and without affecting severity or popularity, brought all things into good order, leaving, when he quitted the island, peace and a parliament behind him, and carrying with him the affections of the people, though he performed not all he intended, the cardinal grudging the honour he had already acquired, and resolving to hinder, at all events, his gaining more.

The pretence for recalling him was, the breaking out again of a French war. Before, it was declared the French ships of war interrupted the English trade, so that we suffered as their enemies, while their ambassadors here treated us as friends. The lord admiral, on his arrival, remedied this inconvenience; he immediately fitted out a small squadron of ships, under a vigilant commander, who soon drove the French privateers from their station. In the spring, Sir William Fitz-Williams, as vice-admiral, put to sea, with a fleet of twenty-eight men of war, to guard the narrow seas; and it being apprehended, that the Scots might add to the number of the king's enemies by sea as well as land, a small squadron of seven frigates sailed up the Frith of Forth, and burned

all such vessels as lay there, and were in a condition of going to sea. In the mean time the admiral prepared a royal navy, with which that of the Emperor Charles V. was to join; and as it was evident that many inconveniences might arise from the fleets having several commanders in chief, the earl of Surrey, by special commission from Henry VIII. received the emperor's commission to be admiral also of the navy, which consisted of one hundred and eighty tall ships. This commission is dated at London, June 8, 1522, in the third year of his reign over the Romans, and seventh over the rest of his dominions, and is very ample.

With the united fleets, the admiral sailed over to the coast of Normandy, and landing some forces near Cherburg, wasted and destroyed the country; after which they returned. This seems to have been a feint; for in a few days the admiral landed again on the coast of Bretagne a very large body of troops, with which he took and plundered the town of Morlaix, and having gained an immense booty, and opened a passage for the English forces into Champagne and Picardy, he first detached Sir William Fitz-Williams with a strong squadron to scour the seas, and to protect the merchants, and then returned to Southampton, where the emperor embarked on board his ship, and was safely convoyed to the port of St. Andero in Biscay. In the fourteenth of King Henry's reign, the good old duke his father, being quite tired out with cares, resigned his high office of lord treasurer, and the king thereupon conferred it on his son, the earl of Surrey. He was also entrusted by the king with the army raised to invade Scotland, and in the station of general did good service against the duke of Albany, whereby all the deep designs of the French were frustrated. On the death of his father he was once more appointed to command an army against the Scots, of which affair he acquitted himself with as much honour, justice, and bravery as any man ever did.

He afterwards attended the king into France, and was sent principal ambassador to the French king, at such time as that monarch was proceeding to an interview with the Pope. In the twenty-eighth of King Henry, he assisted the earl of Shæwsbury in suppressing a formidable rebellion, covered with the specious title of the Pilgrimage of grace, and throughout his whole life approved himself an honest and active servant to the crown, in all capacities; yet in the close of his reign the king was wrought into a persuasion, that this duke of Norfolk, and his son Henry earl of Surrey were in a plot to seize upon his person, and to engross the government into their own hands, with many other things devised by their enemies, but altogether destitute of proof. For these supposed crimes he and his son were imprisoned, and, as was but too frequent in that reign, attainted almost on suspicion. Henry earl of Surrey, the most accomplished nobleman of his time, lost his head in his father's presence; nor would the duke have survived him long (a warrant being once granted for his execution) if the king had not died at that critical juncture, and thereby opened a door of hope and liberty.

After all these sufferings he survived King Edward VI. and died in the first year of Queen Mary, when his attainder was repealed, and the act thereof taken from amongst the records. He was unquestionably as able an admiral, as great a statesman, as fortunate a general, and as true a patriot as any in that age. But it is now time to come to his successor in the command of the navy,

SIR WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, AND KNIGHT OF
THE GARTER.

HE was descended, not only of an ancient and honourable, but also of a famous and noble family; his ancestors having been summoned to parliament,

as barons, to the time of Edward III. Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams, the father of our admiral, married Lucia, daughter and co-heir to John Nevil, Marquis Montacute, by whom he had two sons, Thomas, who was slain at the battle of Flodden-field, and this William. Being the younger son, he, from his nonage, addicted himself to arms, and particularly to the sea-service, which in those days, became a distinct and regular profession, King Henry having a navy-office, commissioners, &c. which his predecessors had not. He also fixed settled salaries for his admirals, vice-admirals, captains, and seamen; so that under him naval affairs underwent a very great change, and we have had a constant series of officers in the royal navy ever since. How soon Mr. Fitz-Williams went to sea, does not appear from any memoirs now extant, but most certainly it was in the reign of Henry VII. for in the second of Henry VIII. he was appointed one of the esquires of the king's body.

In 1513 he had a command in the fleet which fought the French off Brest, and behaving very bravely there received a dangerous wound in the breast by a broad arrow. This did not hinder him from being present at the siege of Tournay the same year, where, distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner, in the sight of his prince, he was honoured with knighthood, and thenceforward constantly employed at sea, where he made himself equally useful to his prince, and grateful to the seamen. Of these we are assured he knew and called every one by name, never taking a prize but what he shared amongst them, or suffering more than two months to elapse, before they were fully paid their wages. The merchants were, remarkably, friends to him, on account of his constant attention to their concerns; and the king highly esteemed him for the punctuality with which he executed his orders, and his wonderful expedition in whatever he undertook.

He executed the office of vice-admiral during the

absence of the earl of Surrey, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in 1520, and convoyed the king, when he passed over to France, in order to an interview with Francis I. and two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that prince, Sir William, with a good fleet, was sent to protect our trade, and to molest the enemy, which he did effectually, but was not quite so successful in 1523, when he had orders to prevent the duke of Albany from passing with French succours into Scotland: for though he once dispersed the duke's fleet, and actually took some of his ships, with several persons of distinction on board, yet that cunning prince escaped him with the rest by this artifice: he pretended to abandon his enterprise, re-landed his forces, and ordered the ships to be laid up; but, as soon as he understood that the English admiral was returned to his own coasts, he instantly re-imbarked his troops, and, continuing his voyage, notwithstanding it was the winter season, arrived safely in his own country. In the sixteenth of Henry VIII. we find Sir William preferred to be captain of Guines castle in Picardy; in the next year he was sent ambassador into France, and executed his commission with such success, that he was from that time more and more in the king's favour.

After the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, to whom our admiral was no great friend, we find him an active man in parliament, and made use of by the king to excuse Bishop Fisher to the House of Commons. In the twenty-seventh of the same reign he was again employed in an embassy to France, and in the succeeding year, being already treasurer of the household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the garter, the king by letters-patent raised him to the dignity of admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gascoine, and Aquitain, and, by other letters-patent, soon after created him earl of Southampton; all which he is said to have merited by his steady loyalty, and by his great skill and inde-

fatigable application in maritime affairs, to which he from his youth had been addicted.

Shortly after, the king raised him still higher, to the post of lord privy seal, in which quality we find that, with John Lord Russel, who succeeded him as high-admiral, he passed over into France, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horse; which shews his martial spirit, and how loth he was to quit the service of his country in a military way.

It seems that his constitution was by this time much broken through continual fatigues, and therefore he made a will, whereby, among other legacies, he bequeathed the king his master his best collar of the garter, and his rich George set with diamonds.

Yet, on the breaking out of a war with Scotland, to which his friend and old companion in arms, Thomas duke of Norfolk was immediately ordered, with a numerous army, our brave captain would not remain behind, but, with a brisk body of horse and foot, joined him, and led the van; yet this proved but the last flashings of his heroic flame, since at Newcastle, overcome by his disease and with fatigue, he breathed his last, to the great regret of his royal master, as well as of his general, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army all the rest of the expedition, as a mark of the respect due to his memory. By his countess Mabel, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, he had no issue to inherit his virtues or his honours; but he left behind him a natural son, Thomas Fitz-Williams, *alias* Fisher. As to his age at the time of his decease, we find no note thereof either in books or in records; but it is probable, that he did not exceed sixty, according to the course of his preferments. He seems to have been one of the first seamen raised to the honour of peerage in this kingdom.

CHAP. X.

The Naval History of England, under the Reign of Edward VI. with an Account of such eminent Seamen as flourished in his time.

THIS young prince, at the decease of his father, was but in the tenth year of his age : however, on the twentieth of February following, he was crowned, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation, who were in hopes that a milder government would succeed under the auspices of an infant prince, assisted by ministers whose chief, indeed, whose only support must be the affections of the people. The scheme of administration, laid down by the will of King Henry VIII. was held to be impracticable, because it made such a division of power, as rendered the conduct of public affairs extremely difficult, if not impossible : and therefore, to remedy these inconveniences, the earl of Hertford, uncle to the young king, created soon after duke of Somerset, was declared Protector, or chief governor, that the nation might have some visible head ; after which, as a manifestation of his authority, followed various promotions : amongst the rest, Sir Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother, was created baron of Sudley, and raised to the great trust of lord high admiral. One of the first things resolved on, was to commence war against Scotland, to which probably the government might be provoked by the passage of a strong squadron of French gallies through the narrow seas, which were going to block up the castle of St. Andrews, and to which they were certainly encouraged, by the distracted state of the Scots affairs, the government being weakened by a

minority, and the nation divided and distracted by factions.

The preparations made by the protector for his expedition into Scotland, looked as if he intended rather an absolute conquest of that country, than to compel the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the young King Edward. Both the brothers took a share in this expedition : the protector commanded in person the land army, which consisted of ten thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery, it being allowed to be in all respects, the best equipped force that for many years had been set on foot in this kingdom. With this also, the fleet, fitted out by his brother's care, corresponded ; consisting in all of sixty five sail, of which thirty-five were ships of force, the rest were store-ships and tenders, the whole commanded by the Lord Clinton as admiral of the North Sea, and Sir William Woodhouse as vice-admiral ; which arrived before Leith about the time the English army penetrated Scotland by land.

The protector, who was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to have prevented bloodshed, by sending very amicable letters to the Scots governors, wherein he shewed, how much it would be for the interest of both nations, that this match should take place, and how little it was for the benefit of Scotland to remain in that dependency on France, in which she had continued for a long tract of time. The governor or protector of Scotland, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who was entirely in the French interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him, since he had a very numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the English to a battle ; with which advice he complied, and told the rest of the lords about him, that the protector's letter contained only threatenings and reproaches.

This strange conduct, brought on a decisive en-

agement on the tenth of September, 1547, which, in the English histories, is styled the battle of Musselburgh; but the Scots writers call it the battle of Pinkey. It was fatal to the Scots, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, their army consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men; but they were so eager to fight, that they despised all the precautions usually taken as to ground and other circumstances. Nay, they were so fool-hardy as to expose themselves to the fire of the English fleet, which galled them extremely; and therefore we need not wonder that they were totally defeated, leaving fourteen thousand dead on the place, and eight hundred noblemen and gentlemen prisoners; after which victory, the protector burnt Leith, and so returned in triumph.

The Lord Clinton with his fleet, continued longer in those parts, with a design, as it appeared, to extirpate entirely the naval force of the Scots. He had before, in the reign of Henry VIII. been employed for the same purpose, and had executed his commission with great diligence, carrying off the Salamander and the Unicorn, two very fine ships, and all other vessels that were worth taking. He now perfected this scheme of destroying, by burning all the sea ports, with the small craft that lay in their harbours, and searching every creek, and all the mouths of rivers, with such diligence, that it is said, he did not leave one ship of force or burden in all that kingdom. In 1548, the lord high admiral, with a very stout fleet, sailed hence upon the Scots coasts, to prevent their repairing their harbours, and to do what farther mischief he was able. But he was less successful; for, though he made two descents upon considerable forces, yet he was repulsed in both. The great hardships the people suffered had made them desperate; so that, notwithstanding the vast expense England had been at, and the complete victory the protector had gained, the Scottish queen being escaped into France, and great succours coming from

thence into Scotland, the English were obliged, after two years, to make peace, both nations having suffered exceedingly by the war; which proved, however, advantageous enough to France, who, as usual, made her uses of each, and performed her agreements with neither.

The unnatural quarrel between the protector and his brother the lord high admiral, was the chief cause of the nation's misfortunes; for, while they endeavoured with all their force to destroy each other, public affairs were neglected, those who might have prevented these disorders, from the same principle of selfish ambition, studying rather to encrease them, with a view to ruin both.* What the crimes of the admiral really were, most of our historians seem to think very uncertain: we only know, that he was charged, among other things, with a design of seizing the king's person, of marrying the Princess Elizabeth, and forming, thereby, some title to the crown. On this accusation, whether well or ill founded, he was attainted, without a trial, by act of parliament: a proceeding, altogether inexcusable, because thereby posterity stand deprived of seeing the evidence on which public justice is said to be founded. The protector set an edge on the sentence passed by this law,

* Innumerable instances of this sort occur in the collection of state-papers published by Dr. Haynes. No person, how great soever their quality, seems to have been exempt from the perplexities attending this unhappy business; even the king submitted to be examined; and his confession, as it is styled, with that of the Lady Elizabeth, the marquisses of Dorset and Northampton, Sir Robert Tyrwhyt and his lady, the earl of Rutland, and other persons of distinction, are there to be met with, printed from the originals. The marriage of the lord admiral with the dowager queen, and the disgust it gave the protector, or rather the duchess his consort, appears to have been the original cause of these disputes: and perhaps the reader will incline to my opinion, when he has perused two letters from that princess to her lord, both without date, and the confession of Wyghtman, servant to that nobleman, which he will find in that work. See the King's Journal in Burnet, p. 4.

by signing the warrant, in conjunction with the rest of the lords of the council, for the admiral's execution, though his Majesty's uncle, and his own brother: and this, we are told, he did to gratify his wife.

The truth seems to be, that the lord protector Somerset was an honest but weak man, meant well, yet seldom knew his own meaning, and, as such men generally are, was therefore governed, in most cases, by other people's counsels; whereas the admiral is allowed to have had quick parts, great courage, and a much better capacity for governing: but his turbulent spirit gave the common enemies of his family, and the nation's quiet, an opportunity of detaching him from his brother's interest, and thereby creating those misfortunes which were not only fatal to him and the protector, but to the kingdom also. I cannot forbear remarking, that the events of this short reign afford the most useful lessons to English ministers: private views governed all the great men in these times; and to this they sacrificed the welfare of the king and kingdom. For this, one, not out of regard to justice, brought the other to deserved punishment; and by degrees, they all became victims to national vengeance, though their successors were not at all warned by their examples, but trod still in the same slippery paths, till a similarity of conduct brought them, also, to similar ends!

The French, who were now governed by Henry II, a young enterprising prince, laid hold of this opportunity, while the English were engaged in a Scots war, and divided by civil dissensions, to deprive them of the few but important places they still held in France. To colour their proceedings, they set up the following pretence: that Boulogne was not absolutely yielded to King Henry VIII. but conditionally only, by way of mortgage for a certain sum of money, which, they said, had been tendered him more than once by their late king Francis I, and conse-

quently they had an equity of redemption, which they thought, might justify them in any measures that should appear necessary for the making themselves masters of the place. In saying this, I am not governed by English authorities, much less by English prejudices, but follow the accounts given by their best historians, and who relate the sequel of the matter thus : The French king, under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his public entry into Paris, and the queen's coronation, drew a considerable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into Picardy ; then, departing suddenly from his capital, he came to Abbeville where his forces rendezvoused, and marched from thence with all expedition to Boulogne, where he attacked and carried some of the forts, and distressed the place so much, that it was found impracticable to keep it. Our writers say, that these forts were taken by treachery ; and, it appears, by the representations made in King Edward's name to the emperor, that the whole of this transaction was contrary to the law of nations, there being, at the time it happened, no war declared.

Another attempt the French likewise made upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, which they invaded with a strong squadron of men of war, and two thousand land forces. The English court having notice of this attempt, and knowing those islands to be but indifferently provided, sent thither a small squadron under the command of Commodore Winter, with eight hundred men as a reinforcement, on board a few transports. At his arrival, he found the ports blocked up, and himself under the necessity either of desisting from his enterprise, or attacking the French notwithstanding their superiority. He, like a brave man, chose the latter, and executed this design with such courage and conduct, that, having killed nearly a thousand men, he obliged the enemy to embark the rest on board some light vessels, in which they fled ; abandoning their ships of force, and all

these he caused to be set on fire. This defeat was so mortifying, that our authors say, they forbade the speaking of it, with all its particulars, under pain of death: for which report, one would imagine there must have been some foundation; though we find no traces of this story in any of their own writers.

The misfortunes attending the English, by taking the forts about Boulogne, having served the purpose of the duke of Somerset's enemies, in fixing a grievous charge upon him, for which he was sent to the Tower, and divested of his protectorship; they then thought proper to make a treaty with France, whereby the town of Boulogne and its dependencies, were sold for four hundred thousand crowns, and the French took possession of them in the spring of the year 1550. In this treaty the Scots were included; and for the managing thereof, Edward Lord Clinton, who had been governor of the territory now yielded to France, was made lord high admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands, from the king.*

It is not to be wondered, that a treaty so far from being honourable to the nation, was very ill received at home. We have already shewn, with what injustice the French made war upon King Edward; and it is but reasonable to add, that when his ambassador applied to the emperor for assistance, and represented the great things that his father had done for the house of Austria, the pains he had taken to solicit the elec-

* Among others, as the King's Journal, p. 11. and Strype, vol. ii. p. 194. inform us, who were rewarded for accomplishing this business, was Anthony Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. He had a present of one thousand crowns, a yearly pension of one thousand crowns, and a pension of two hundred and fifty crowns was bestowed on John Guidotti his son. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, and about a year after, was appointed the king's merchant, had a licence to export woollen cloths, kersies, lead, tin, &c. under certain restrictions, and to import velvet, cloth of gold, wine and oil; paying only the same duties as the merchants of England. See, likewise, Rymer's Fœdera, tome xv.

tors to set the imperial crown on the head of Charles V. and how much the English nation had been impoverished by the wars against France, purely on his behalf; a very uncourteous and rude answer was given. The emperor took notice of the great change that had been made in religion, which, he pretended, put it out of his power to yield the aid that was desired; and, therefore, insisted, that as the price of his friendship, all things should be restored again to their former state. After this, when matters were come to the extremity, it was proposed, on the part of King Edward, that the emperor should take the town of Boulogne into his hands, to remain as a deposit till the king was of age; but that was likewise rejected, unless the old religion was restored.

After this peace, there grew a closer and more considerable intercourse between the French and English courts, which gave such offence to the emperor, that he suffered his subjects in Flanders to cruise in the English seas, which afforded the French a pretence for acting in the same manner; but, upon complaint that the navigation of the narrow seas was exceedingly disturbed, the king ordered Lord Henry Dudley, with four men of war and two light ships, to put to sea, in order to protect our merchants; which, however, he performed but indifferently. On the twenty second of May, in the preceding year, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, accompanied by the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormond; the Lords Lisle, Fitzwalter, Bray, Abergavenny, and many gentlemen of rank; carrying with him the collar, and other habiliments of the most noble order of the garter; with which he afterwards invested Henry II. went over to France as the king's ambassador, and there concluded a treaty for the marriage of his master to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of that monarch: who, in the month of July following, dispatched Monsieur le Mareschal de St. Andre with a very great retinue into England, to present the ensigns of

the order of St. Michael to the king ; as also to treat of various affairs : though it is highly probable the French were not very sincere in these negotiations.

Some time after they began to raise jealousies in England, of the emperor's proceedings, because he had fitted out a great fleet, without assigning any particular cause for it ; but the next year, things took a new turn : for the French continuing their piratical practices, under one pretence or other, seized many English ships ; so that loud complaints were made to the king : and upon examination it appeared, that the merchants had suffered by their depredations, in the space of twenty months, to the full amount of fifty thousand pounds. Upon this, his ministers at the court of France had orders to make very sharp representations, which they did, but with little effect ; so that things remained pretty much in this situation ; that is, tending to a rupture, to the time of the king's death, which happened on the sixth of July, 1553 ; but whether by poison, as some have pretended ; or by a consumption, as is generally thought, I pretend not to determine. He had then reigned near six years and a half, and was not quite sixteen. He was, certainly, for his years, a very accomplished prince ; of which he has left us many, and those unquestionable proofs in his writings.

This reign plainly shews, that the personal character of a prince, however amiable, as much governed by his ministers as his subjects, is to them of no great importance. The forms of government were kept up, parliaments were called and sat, nothing was heard but the highest pretensions to purity in religion, and zeal for the public good ; while those who made them, shewed very little regard to either, in what is the surest test of men's principles, their actions. Under colour of reformation, several useful charities were given to the crown, as if they had been superstitious foundations, that the crown might give them away again to such, as for that very purpose, had

branded them with so offensive an appellation. Against this, Archbishop Cranmer struggled, but in vain; those who had their interests in view prevailed; the crown had the scandal and they the benefit. All bishops had not the sanctity, nor the sincerity of Cranmer. There were amongst them, some who accepted rich fees, in order to grant away their revenues. All this time the Commons were grievously taxed, the exchequer was like a sieve, which received all, and retained nothing. Errors in administration at home produced misfortunes abroad; these created expenses, and which is worse, unavailing expenses; so that, by an authentic account preserved amongst the Cecil papers, it appeared, that from the thirtieth of the last, to the close of this reign, which is not quite fifteen years, there had been spent in foreign wars, and about foreign concerns, upwards of three millions sterling. Boulogne was the great prize we got; and this we were forced to restore for four hundred thousand crowns; and the poor young king, who was not so much as indulged with the trifles necessary for his childish occasions, died in debt.

But even in this reign, though they were but short, there were, however some gleams of sunshine. In such affairs as interested no faction, and more especially, in such as came before the king in council, and were of a nature fit for him to examine, or to be explained to him, things took another, and a better turn.

As to his care of trade, we have as many instances of it, in every kind, as can be desired. In 1548, he passed an act for laying the Newfoundland trade entirely open, and for removing various obstacles by which it had been hitherto cramped. The very same year, the merchants at Antwerp complaining of certain hardships under which they suffered, the king's ambassadors interposed; and when the regency of that city suggested to them, that it was strange the king of England should more regard a company of

merchants, than the friendship of a great emperor, King Edward's agent, whose name was Smith, answered roundly, that his master would support the commerce of his subjects, at the hazard of any monarch's friendship upon earth.

We have a very distinct and particular account of the advantages derived to the city of Antwerp from the residence of the English merchants there, which, for the reader's instruction, as well as satisfaction, we will insert, from a very scarce and curious piece, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England.

“ Philip, surnamed the Good, duke of Burgundy and of Brabant, &c. gave privileges to the English nation in the Low Countries, which happened in the year 1466, which privileges the town of Antwerp confirmed the sixth of August in the same year; giving to them besides a large house, which is now called the Old Burse: and afterwards the Exchange, another more goodly, spacious and sumptuous house, called the court of Lier, which the company enjoyed till the said town was yielded up to the duke of Parma, in the year 1585.

“ At the abovesaid first concordate and conclusion of privileges with the town of Antwerp, or not long before, there were not, in all the town, above four merchants, and those also no adventurers to the sea: the rest of the inhabitants or townsmen were but mean people; and neither able nor skilful to use the feat or trade of merchandise; but did let out the best of their houses to Englishmen and other strangers, for chambers and pack-houses; contenting themselves with some corner for their profit's sake: but within these late years, the concourse and resort of foreign merchants to that town was so great, that house-room waxed scant, rents were raised, tolls, excises, and all other duties to the prince and town wonderfully increased; and the Antwerp men them-

selves, who a few years before were but mean artificers, or lived by husbandry and keeping of cattle, whereof one gate of that city to this day beareth the name, and had but six ships belonging to their town, and those for the river only, that never went to sea, began to grow exceeding rich ; so that some fell to the trade of merchandise, and others employed their substance in building.

“ Then their old rotten houses covered with thatch were pulled down ; their waste ground, whereof there was store within the town, was turned into goodly buildings, and fair streets, and their shipping increased accordingly. Thus prospered not only those at Antwerp, but all other towns and places thereabouts ; so that in our memory that now live, the said town was grown to such wealth, strength and beauty, as never was known the like in so short a time ; and no marvel ; for, within the compass of fifty years, an house that was worth but forty dollars a-year, grew to be worth three hundred dollars a-year ; and an house that was let out for sixty dollars, came afterwards to be let for four hundred dollars ; yea, some houses in Antwerp were let for six hundred, some for eight hundred dollars a-year rent, besides their havens for ships to come and lade and discharge within the town. Their public stately buildings and edifices, erected partly for ornament, and partly for the ease and accommodating of the merchant, were so costly and sumptuous, as he that hath not seen and marked them well would not believe.”

This shews abundantly how great a right King Edward had to insist upon all his subjects' privileges in that city, where their residence was a thing of such prodigious consequence. We must not imagine, however, that so wise a prince as the Emperor Charles V. was not very well acquainted with this, of which we have an instance, within the compass of King Edward's reign, *Anno Dom. 1550*. For when, after all the supplications of the citizeus of Antwerp,

and the intercession of several great princes on their behalf, he remained fixed in his purpose of introducing the inquisition into that city; yet, upon the bare mention that this would infallibly drive the English not only out of Antwerp, but out of the Low Countries, he very prudently desisted.

With like care, the king prosecuted the wrongs done to his trading subjects by the French, and very graciously received a memorial, wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and increasing the number of seamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade here in foreign bottoms. Some notice there are of other projects, of a like nature, in his own diary, which shew, that if he had lived to have had a sufficient experience, he would have been extremely careful of maritime affairs, and very ready to have contributed to the ease and advantage of his subjects. But the disorders which happened in his short reign, as well as his immature death, prevented his doing the good which he intended.

We must ascribe to those disorders, and to the boundless ambition of that great duke, who, taking advantage of the king's minority, directed all things with most absolute sway, that such heavy taxes were laid upon the people, who were far from being in a condition to bear them, that lands, to so great a value, were taken from the church to the use, as was pretended, of the crown, and then granted away to favourites; and, above all, that the very worst part of his father's politics should be pursued, and the coin still more and more debased; for, in the third year of his reign, under pretence of redressing this evil, there was a new standard introduced, somewhat better in appearance than the last coinage in his father's reign, for now, instead of four ounces, there were six ounces of fine silver in each pound of metal; but then the number of pieces was increased from forty-eight to seventy-two, and consequently the no-

nominal value of silver was raised from four shillings to six shillings an ounce, but, in reality, it continued at the same rate as before, that is, at twelve shillings an ounce, which was incredibly grievous to the people; yet two years afterwards this method was changed, and the finishing stroke given to all practices of this nature, by coining the same number of shillings, that is, seventy-two out of a pound of metal, in which there was but three ounces of silver; so that, while the nominal value remained the same, and those who knew no better believed that silver was still at six shillings an ounce; it was, in fact, so long as the money of this coinage remained current at twenty-four shillings an ounce. Yet one advantage followed from thence, which was, that the grossness of the imposition made it quickly discernible; and, therefore, the next year's money was coined pretty near the old standard, before it had been practised upon by his father; but then there were sixty shillings in the pound weight, which brought the price of silver to five shillings an ounce. And this began that emendation of our coin, which was completed, under Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of the same minister who procured this last alteration in the time of King Edward.

In this monarch's reign the Levant trade grew more extensive; and that to the coast of Guinea, and other parts of Africa, was first discovered and prosecuted with success, by Mr. Thomas Wyndham. We may add to these proofs of the flourishing of naval power under this young prince, the attempt made for discovering a north-east passage, which will lead us to speak of the most accomplished seaman who lived in his time, and whose memory deserves, for his industry, penetration, and integrity, to be transmitted to posterity; I mean the celebrated and justly famous

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

This gentleman was the son of that eminent Venetian pilot Sir John Cabot, of whom we have given some account heretofore. He was born at Bristol about the year 1477; and, therefore, Mr. Strype is mistaken when he tells us he was an Italian; into which he was led by the name he met with in the MS. from whence he copied his remarks, *viz. Sebastiano Caboto*, an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affected to vary foreign names strangely. Sebastian was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography; and by that time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent skill in the practical part of navigation; and in like manner were bred the rest of his father's sons, who became also eminent men, and settled abroad, one in Genoa, the other at Venice.

The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father, for the discovery of the north-west passage, of which we have given some account before. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to North America: but whether Sebastian Cabot did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the new found land, is a great doubt with me, because I find such incongruous relations of this voyage in different authors. For instance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebastian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, that the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships fitted out at his own expense; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition,

wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Bristol. Besides this, a very intelligent Spanish writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when Cabot sailed at the expense of King Henry VII. in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond Cape Labrador, somewhat more than fifty-eight degrees north latitude, then, turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to thirty-eight degrees; which agrees very well with our accounts of John Cabot's voyage : but Ramusio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebastian Cabot before him when he wrote, speaks of a voyage wherein he sailed north and by west to sixty-seven degrees and an half, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors.

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

“ To come to the particulars,” says he, “ of augmentation of our trade, of our plantations, and our discoveries, because every man shall have his due therein, I will begin with Newfoundland, lying upon the main continent of America, which the king of Spain challenges as first discoverer ; but as we acknowledge the king of Spain the first light of the west and south-west parts of America, so we, and all

the world must confess, that we were the first who took possession, for the crown of England, of the north part thereof, and not above two years difference betwixt the one and the other. And as the Spaniards have, from that day and year, held their possession in the west, so have we done the like in the north : and though there is no respect, in comparison of the wealth betwixt the countries, yet England may boast, that the discovery, from the year aforesaid to this very day, hath afforded the subject annually, one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and increased the number of many a good ship, and mariners, as our western parts can witness, by their fishing in Newfoundland. Neither can Spain challenge a more natural right than we to its discovery ; for in that case we are both alike.

“ If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their right, it is Italy that must assume the discovery to itself as well in the one part of America as in the other. Genoa, and Christopher Columbus by name, must carry away the praise of it from Spain ; for Spain had not that voyage in agitation, or thought of it, till Columbus not only proposed, but accomplished it. The like may be said of Sebastian Cabot a Venetian, who, by his earnest intercession to Henry VII. drew him to the discovery of Newfoundland, and called it by the name of *Bacallao*, an Indian name for fish, from the abundance of fish he found upon that coast.”

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

pliment to ITALY, the MOTHER of SCIENCE, and the NURSE of the FINE ARTS.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more; his name ought surely to have been transmitted to future times with honour, since it clearly appears, that Newfoundland hath been a source of riches and naval power to this nation, from the time it was discovered, as well as the first of our plantations; so that, with strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people. Yet have we no distinct accounts of what he advised, or what he performed for upwards of twenty years together, wherein certainly so able a man could never have been idle. The next news we hear of him is in the eighth of King Henry VIII. and our accounts then are none of the clearest.

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

This disappointment, in all probability, might dispose Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain, where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would admit, being declared pilot-major or chief pilot of Spain;

and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery, which, in those days, were many and important. His great capacity and improved integrity induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, in relation to a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the newly-found passage of Magellan, to the Moluccos; which, at length, he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spanish historian Herrera.

He sailed, says he, about the beginning of April 1525, first to the Canaries, then to the islands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape St. Augustine, and the island of Patos or Geese; and near *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, or the bay of All-Saints, he met a French ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the said island; but there the Indians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships: but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force four sons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of Plate, having left a-shore on a desert island Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion, he went not to the Spice islands, as well because he had not provisions, as by reason that the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Straits. He sailed up the river La Plata, and, about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island, which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brasil. There he anchored, and, rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side, whither he brought up his vessels, and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom

caravel, in order to make discoveries, thinking that, although he did not pass through the Straits to the Spice islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana; and, finding the natives thereabouts a good-natured rational people, he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, *i. e.* of the Holy Ghost, and his followers by another name, *viz.* Cabot's Fort.

He thence discovered the shores of the river Parana, which is that of La Plata; where he found many islands and rivers, and, keeping along the greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, to which the Indians gave the name of Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brasil, and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, a thing which, in those parts, he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone out to gather palmetos to eat. At the time Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the same view of making discoveries, had entered the river La Plata, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the said river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own, which was a large ship, alleging, that it was of much too great burden for that discovery, and with the rest came to an anchor in the same place where Cabot's ship lay, directing his course, with two brigantines and sixty men, towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-west, he arrived at the fort built by Cabot.

About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of St. Anne, so named by the latter; and, after a short stay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghost, and thence sent messengers into Spain. Those who

were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot were Francis Chalderon, and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued, and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general's conduct. The demands they made were, that a supply should be sent of provisions, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers: to this the merchants, by whom Cabot's squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to let their rights escheat to the crown of Castile: the king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, quite tired out, as having been five years in America, resolved to return home; which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the biggest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spanish court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough from the manner in which the Spanish writers speak of him, that he was not well received, and one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity; and, on the other hand, his owners were disappointed by his not pursuing his voyage to the Moluccos: he kept his place, however, and remained in the service of Spain many years after, and at length he was invited back again to England.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, this eminent seaman was introduced to the duke of Somerset, then lord-protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself than could have been expected; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this

island and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entering, conveniences and inconveniences, and, in short, could answer any question about them that a sailor could ask. We need not wonder, therefore, that, with such a prince, Cabot was in high esteem, or that in his favour a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of one hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, which we find granted to him by letters-patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause, in which patent this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. It was in this year that the emperor's minister D'Arras, in the name of his master, signified to Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassadors then at the court of Brussels, his Imperial Majesty's request, that the king would send over thither our famous seaman, as he could be of no great service to the English nation, who had little to do with the Indian seas, and more especially as he was a very necessary person to the emperor, was his servant in the capacity of grand pilot to the Indies, and to whom he had granted a pension, and that in such a way as the emperor should, at some convenient opportunity, declare unto the king's council. But we have no accounts that this application was in any shape complied with.

He continued thenceforward highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551; of which it will be fit to insert a short succinct account here, since it has escaped the notice of most of our historians, though it gave, in some measure, a new turn to the whole state of our commerce.

These merchants are sometimes called of the Hanse, because they came from the Hause-towns, or free cities in Germany; sometimes Almain, from their country: they settled here in or before the reign of

Henry III. and imported grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and steel, whence the place in Dowgate-ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-yard; which name it still retains. The kings of England encouraged them at first, and granted them large privileges; amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths: they had likewise an alderman, who was their chief magistrate; and, in consideration of various grants from the city, they stood bound to repair Bishopsgate, and were likewise under other obligations. By degrees, however, the English coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these Germans dealt, great controversies grew between them; the foreigners, on all occasions, pleading their charter, which the English merchants treated as a monopoly not well warranted by law.

At last, the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, on the twenty-ninth of December 1551, exhibited to the council an information against these merchants of the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put in their answer. They did so; and after several hearings, and a reference to the king's solicitor-general, his council, learned in the law, and the recorder of London, a decree passed on the twenty-fourth of February, whereby these merchants of the Steel-yard were declared to be no legal corporation; yet licenses were, afterwards, granted them, from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithstanding this decree, which remained still in full force and virtue. The great offence objected to them was, that, whereas, by their charter, they were allowed to export goods at one and a quarter *per cent.* custom, which gave them a great advantage, they, not content with this, in direct violation of that charter, covered other foreign merchants so, that in one year they exported forty-four thousand cloths, and all other strangers but one thousand one hundred. These mer-

chants of the Steel-yard being immensely rich, ventured now and then upon such projects as these ; and then, by paying a round sum, procured a renewal of their charter.

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

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

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

Many have surmised, that he was a knight ; whence
we often find him styled Sir Sebastian ; but the very
title of those instructions I have cited, proves the
contrary ; as also the charter granted by King Philip
and Queen Mary, in the first year of their reign, to
the merchants of Russia, since styled the Russia
Company ; whereby Sebastian Cabota is made gover-
nor for life, on account of his being principally con-
cerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that
trade ; but so far from being styled knight, that he is
called only, one Sebastian Cabota, without any distinc-
tion at all. Indeed he is styled Sebastian Cabot, Esq.
in the letters patent, bearing date at St. James’s, No-
vember 27, 1555, in the second and third years of
Philip and Mary ; wherein their Majesties are pleased
to grant him an annuity of one hundred sixty-six
pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence, during his
natural life ; as he also is in the letters patent, dated
at Westminster, May 29, 1557, the third and fourth
of the same reign, when these princes were pleased to
permit him to surrender the former patent ; and, as a
reward of his great merit, to grant him the like an-
nuity as before, not only during his life, but also to
continue the same to William Worthington, Esq. a
friend no doubt of Cabot’s, for his natural life like-
wise. After this we find him very active in the af-
fairs of the company, in the year 1556 ; and in the
journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is observed, that
on the twenty-seventh of April, that year, he went

down to Gravesend, and there went on board the *Serch-thrift*, a small vessel fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors: and, on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor; desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the *Christopher*; where, says Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself. This, except the renewing his patent, is the last circumstance relating to Cabot that I can meet with any where: and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity; so I look upon it as certain, that he died some time in the next year; when, if not fourscore, he was at least much upwards of seventy.

He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived; and who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom: for he it was who first took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such mighty consequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in their inquiries ever since. An Italian writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which has hitherto appeared, celebrates Sebastian Cabot as his countryman: yet, as he was, if we believe himself, ours both by nature and affection, and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, I thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent British seamen; the rather because he has been hitherto strangely neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general historians.

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY.

It is likewise fit to say somewhat of SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY, admiral of that expedition into the northern seas, which produced the important discovery of the trade to Archangel. I have before observed, that the original of this undertaking sprung from Sebastian Cabot, whose settled opinion it had always been, that there were streights near the north pole, answerable to those of Magellan. It was by him proposed to King Edward VI. so early as the year 1551: in the month of February the next year, he obtained two ships from the king, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*; and the terms on which he was to have these, leading him to confer with some principal merchants, the result of their conferences was, the changing his scheme; insomuch, that it was agreed to build three new ships, and to fit these out by a joint stock; to which, such as had a good opinion of the voyage might contribute, at twenty-five pounds a share. This once settled, the ships were built with wonderful celerity; and that which was called the *Admiral*, was sheathed with lead, to preserve her from the worms. The whole of this joint stock amounted but to six thousand pounds; and yet this money was so well employed, that, by the beginning of May 1553, they were ready to sail.

The admiral was called the *Bona Esperanza*, of the burden of one hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight; the *Edward Bonaventure*, of one hundred and sixty tons, commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor; the third, the *Bona Confidentia*, of ninety tons, Cornelius Durfurth master. May 10, 1553, they sailed from Ratcliff; and, on the eighteenth of the same month, cleared from Gravesend. The admiral, Sir Hugh Willoughby, had all the qualities that could be desired in a com-

mander : he was descended of an honourable family, was a man of great parts, much experience, and unconquerable courage ; yet unfortunate in this undertaking. In the beginning of the month of August he lost the company of Captain Chancellor ; and about the same time first discovered Greenland, though the Dutch endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmost progress was to seventy-two degrees of north latitude ; and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far spent, and his ships unable to bear the sea, he put into the haven of Arzina, in Lapland, on the eighteenth of September, and there provided the best he could to have passed the winter. It appears by a will, which was found in his ship, that Sir Hugh and most of his company were alive in January 1554, but soon after, they were all frozen to death ; their bodies being found the next summer by Russian fishermen, who repaired to that coast ; as also the original journal of Sir Hugh, from whence these particulars are taken. As for Captain Chancellor, he was so fortunate as to enter the river of St. Nicholas, where he was well received, and had, soon after, access to John Basilowitz, then great duke of Muscovy, which gave us an entrance into that country.

CHAP. XI.

The Naval History of England, during the Reign of Queen Mary; together with such Transactions as relate to foreign Commerce, or remarkable Discoveries.

THOSE who were about, and in the confidence of King Edward at the time of his decease, prevailed upon him to set aside his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call to the possession of his throne his cousin, the Lady Jane Grey, who was married a little before to the Lord Guilford Dudley, son to the great duke of Northumberland: but, notwithstanding the time they had during the king's sickness to concert their project, and to provide for the support of their designs, they were so much at a loss, that they did not immediately publish his death; but on the eighth of July 1553, they sent for the lord mayor of London, and directed him to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers, whom they acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had disposed of the crown, requiring them to keep it secret; which they did for two days, and then proclaimed Lady Jane queen of England, &c. I mention this circumstance, to shew in what estimation traders then were.

Among the rest of the precautions taken by the duke of Northumberland and his party, one of the principal was, his sending a squadron of six ships, with orders to lie before the port of Yarmouth, to prevent the Lady Mary, as he styled her, from making her escape beyond the seas; which, however, proved the ruin of his design; for these ships were no

sooner seen before the town of Yarmouth, than Sir Harry Jernegan went off in an open boat, and exhorted the seamen to declare themselves for Queen Mary, which they immediately did. This, with the lord warden of the cinque-ports proclaiming the queen in Kent, contributed chiefly to put an end to the struggle, so that on the nineteenth she was proclaimed at London, and the unfortunate Lady Jane became a prisoner in the very same place where, a little before, she had kept her court.

In the beginning of her reign Queen Mary acted with great temper and moderation, releasing the duke of Norfolk, who had remained a prisoner all this time in the Tower, from his confinement, imprisoning indeed such as had taken arms against her, but proceeding to no greater severities till after Wyatt's rebellion, when falling into the hands of Spanish counsellors, she began to act with that cruelty which is so deservedly esteemed the curse of her reign. That she was naturally a woman of better temper appears by remitting part of a tax granted to her brother King Edward, by his last parliament; and that she had a just respect to the honour of the English nation is clear, from the great pains she took to rectify all the disorders which had crept into the government during the duke of Northumberland's despotic administration. But all her good qualities were blasted by her persisting obstinately in her resolution to marry Philip, prince of Spain, contrary to the general inclination of her people.

In pursuance of this unhappy measure, the consequence also of her bigotry, Commodore Winter was sent with a strong squadron to fetch the ambassadors sent by Charles V. to conclude the match. On the arrival of Mr. Winter at Ostend, the emperor sent him a very fine gold chain, which, at his return to England, he shewed to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who, after looking at it for some time, said, "For this gold chain you have sold your country;" which ex-

pression had like to have cost them their lives. It was the coming of these ambassadors which induced Sir Thomas Wyatt to take up arms, and begin that rebellion which first endangered the queen's safety, and at last brought him to the block. Notwithstanding this, she caused a fleet of twenty-eight sail to be equipped, the command of which she gave to the Lord William Howard, created baron of Effingham, in the first year of her reign, and lord high admiral, who was now, by special commission, constituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her royal army. He was sent to sea under pretence of guarding the coast, but in reality his squadron was designed to escort prince Philip, which was, however, a needless care, since his own fleet consisted of a hundred and sixty sail; with this naval force he entered the narrow seas, his admiral carrying the Spanish flag in his main top, a thing which gave such offence to the gallant admiral of England, that he saluted him with a shot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince; a circumstance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and one would think, too, of IMITATION.

Prince Philip landed at Southampton the nineteenth of July, and passing on to Winchester, there espoused the queen on the twenty-fifth of the same month, being the feast of the Spanish patron St. James. As the nation was displeas'd at the celebration of their nuptials, so their discontents grew higher and higher, in-somuch that the queen never had a pleasant hour, or her subjects a quiet minute, from her wedding-day, though many projects were set on foot to pacify them. To this end the Spanish artizans were forbidden to open shops here, severe justice was done on several, who, in resentment of insults, had killed some of the English, and a great many carts laden, as it was said, with gold and silver, were driven through the streets to the Tower.

All these arts, however, could not dissipate the jealousies which the English had conceived, nor were they or their queen at all satisfied when the Emperor Charles V. resigned the crown of Spain to King Philip. They easily foresaw that this would occasion his remaining almost constantly abroad, which would be attended with the most fatal consequences to their affairs, since, without communicating and receiving direction from him, the council could, or at least would, do little or nothing here at home. After the emperor's resignation, in his passage from Flanders to Spain, he put into an English port, where he was received with great respect by the lord high admiral, who could not, however, prevail upon him to visit the queen his daughter; but, to excuse it, he wrote her a very long letter, perplexed and ambiguous, very evidently speaking that disorder of mind under which he laboured. This letter is dated the twentieth of September, 1556, and seems to have been chiefly intended to palliate the absence of his son.

About this time, the court had information of some treacherous designs in respect to the queen's dominions in France. These places were equally objects of the attention of both nations. The government of Calais, and its dependencies, was the most profitable employment the crown had to give. It was of great utility as a staple to which foreign merchants resorted to purchase English commodities, which were there vended annually to a very large amount. It was held of still greater consequence as one of the keys of the channel, Dover being the other*. The French again considered this fortress and the forts belonging to it as a bridle in their mouths, an inlet into their

* Calais, while in our hands, was entirely inhabited by English. Had a mayor and aldermen, with other franchises. A mayor of the staple. Children born there were not reputed aliens. Its inhabitants grew so rich as to excite envy at home, though being English, all the wealth they acquired there of course centered here. See Cotton's Records.

kingdom, by which the English could enter their country at pleasure, and as a standing monument of their being once masters of the realm. On all these accounts they were, in peace as well as war, plotting how Calais and its district might be recovered. For this reason every overture on that subject was well received, come from whom it would.

The principal instrument in this business, and who wrought for them most effectually, has escaped the notice of all our writers. His name was John de Fontenay, Sieur de Briteville, a gentleman of Normandy, who, having in 1545 murdered the king's advocate, took refuge in Calais; this man, as a proper return for the protection shewn to such a criminal, began quickly to contrive a plan for surprising the place. He communicated this to, and received encouragement from, Francis I. and, upon his memoir, and the subsequent informations he gave, the French took their measures till it fell into their hands; when Henry II. rewarded this John de Fontenay with letters of abolition, and gave him also three thousand crowns, to pay the "interét civil," which is in the nature of our appeal, brought by the children of the person whom he assassinated. The truth of this fact stands, therefore, upon indisputable testimony.

But the court of France did not solely rely on him, they, on the contrary, listened also, as has been before remarked, to the informations, and gladly received the propositions, of English traitors, and among these to one for betraying this place. King Philip made this known to his queen, and her ministers, offering at the same time any assistance that might be requisite for their defence, it being too well known that the garrisons in Calais and the forts were but weak. The council acted very unluckily upon this tender point. They refused the king's succours from an apprehension they might seize these places for him, and considering these treacherous negotiations in a time of full peace, as so injurious and so

insulting to the nation, that they advised the queen to make war upon France. Accordingly, an herald was sent to Henry, as the custom was then, to defy him in the queen's name, which was most solemnly performed at Rheims. The reasons publicly assigned for this, that it might appear entirely an English quarrel, were these, that he had assisted the late duke of Northumberland and his adherents; that Dudley and Ashton, traitors, had been by him received, and were gratified with pensions; and that Stafford had been countenanced by him in attacking the castle of Scarborough. But notwithstanding all these points were notoriously true, it was believed that the queen would not have declared war, but from the solicitations of her consort Philip, which made it exceedingly disagreeable to the common people, and the parliament discovered a backwardness in supporting it.

It was stipulated by the articles of marriage, that the queen's dominions should not be engaged in any war, particularly with the crown of France, on account of any disputes that might arise between the French and King Philip; and yet, when the Spaniards thought it advisable to break with the French king, Henry II. the queen and her council were prevailed upon to forget that article, and the interests of England, and to enter into a war both with Scotland and France. To bring this to pass, King Philip himself came over, and remained the best part of the spring in England, where he concerted such measures, as he thought would infallibly ruin the French. On his return into Flanders, and drawing his forces to the frontiers, the earl of Pembroke passed from hence with a gallant body of troops, consisting of between ten and eleven thousand men, and had the honour to contribute greatly to the total defeat of the French forces, before the town of St. Quintin, in the famous battle fought there on the seventh of July, 1557, and assisted soon after in taking of the town by storm.

But while these brave men gained honour abroad,

their country suffered severely at home; for the Scots not only harassed the borders, but also, by the advice and assistance of the French, fitted out abundance of privateers, which disturbed the commerce, and particularly alarmed all such as were concerned in the Iceland trade, then of very great consequence. To quiet the apprehensions of the merchants, Sir John Clere, vice-admiral of England, was sent with a fleet of twelve sail to annoy the Scots, and to preserve the Iceland fleet: with this view he made a descent on the island of Pomona, one of the Orkneys, on the twelfth of August, 1557; but the next day the Scots, to the number of three thousand men, fell upon him, defeated the forces he had landed, killed three of his captains, took all his artillery, and to complete the misfortune, the boat in which he fled upset, so that himself, with several others, were drowned. The rest of the fleet, discouraged by this unlucky accident, abandoned their design, and returned home, which encouraged the Scots to raise a great army, and to threaten a dangerous invasion; but their own domestic dissensions, as was commonly the case with that people, rendered their projects abortive, and preserved the nation from receiving any further damage on that side.

The succeeding winter proved fatal to the English possessions in France, those small remains of the great conquests which her Henrys and Edwards had made. The duke of Guise at this time governed all in France, who, being well informed of the strange policy of the English, trusting, in the winter, the defence of Calais, rather to its situation than to its garrison, resolved to make use of that season to surprise it. The war with Spain gave a colour for his drawing together a great army on the frontiers, and under pretence of disturbing the English navigation, he directed abundance of ships to be fitted out from all the ports of France, with secret directions to join before Calais in the beginning of the month of

January. On the first of that month he threw himself, with a choice body of troops, before the place, or rather behind it, towards the sea, where attacking the forts of Nieulay and the Rysbank, he, after a vigorous defence, made himself master of them; after which he assaulted the town, and in a week's time forced it to capitulate; the Lord Wentworth, who commanded therein, having no stronger garrison than five hundred men.

Thus, in eight days the English lost a place which they had held two hundred and ten years, and which had cost Edward III. eleven months siege before he became master of it. Some of our historians, and especially the memoir-writers of those times, attribute this misfortune to treachery, and stab several noble characters with imputations of this sort, according as their prejudices led them; but there does not appear the least ground for these reports, any more than for suggesting that the Lord Gray, who was governor of the castle of Guisnes, betrayed it; since the French writers very candidly acknowledge, that he made not only a good but a desperate defence, so that if he had either commanded a numerous garrison, or had entertained any hopes of relief, he would have infallibly preserved the place. As it was, he surrendered upon honourable terms, which is more than can be said for the governor of the fortress of Hames, who, seized with a sudden panic, yielded it up before the French had attacked it. The news of these disasters struck the queen with despair, which is not wonderful; but that they should so dispirit the nation, as to engage the council to write in such a dejected strain as they did to King Philip, on his moving them to attempt the re-taking the place, is really strange, and I think it can be accounted for no other way than by supposing, that, on the one hand, they were weary of the mighty expence which these possessions annually cost England, and were, on the other, willing to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity, to demonstrate

to the king the mischief this war had done them, and how utterly incapable they were of prosecuting his projects any longer.

In order to shew the probability of what I have suggested, and to give my readers the clearest idea of the real importance of this place, it may not be amiss to observe, that at such time as the French king Francis I. was prisoner in Spain, there wanted not some, who advised King Henry VIII. to lay hold of this opportunity of parting with this fortress, and all he held in France, supposing, that by such a step he might add to his profit, without diminishing his honour: but, upon a debate in his privy council, it was resolved to keep it. This is certain, that the expence of preserving Calais was very great, not amounting to less, during the time we held it, than three millions. How to compute the advantages we derived from it, I confess, is not easy to say; but surely the indifference with which Queen Elizabeth and her ministers treated it, and the little inclination we have since shewn to get it into our own possession, may render what I have advanced credible.* Add to this, that in those days the house of Austria was almost as formidable as the house of Bourbon is now; which made the greatest part of Europe afraid of it, and of it only. How well this apprehension was conducted, and with what address the English ministry managed this general inclination, so as to render the weakness of other states the cause of weakening Spain to such a degree as she has never recovered, I shall, hereafter,

* The French made an offer of Calais to Queen Elizabeth, by their ambassadors at London, in 1560, prior to the treaty of Edinburgh, after having first tried how far threats would operate, in case she would recall her forces out of Scotland, which she had sent to the assistance of those of the reformed religion in that kingdom; but her majesty, as we are told, which shews in what estimation she held it, shrewdly replied, that for the sake of a paltry fishing-town, she would never desert those she had taken under her protection. Camdeni Annal. Elizabethæ, edit. T. Hearne, vol. i.

have occasion to shew. In the mean time, let us return to the last, indeed the only naval expedition in this reign.

The war still continued between the French and Spaniards with the utmost animosity, and the former, being earlier in the field, in 1588 began to gain great advantages in the Low Countries, but growing upon this too warm, as is common with the French, they attacked Count Egmont near Gravelines, whose army made a gallant resistance till such time as the English squadron, then cruising in the narrow seas, hearing the incessant noise of their artillery, and having the advantage of the wind, approached the field of battle, which was close to the sea-side, and bringing their guns to bear upon the left wing of the French, they did such terrible execution as quickly decided the fate of the day, and forced two hundred of the enemy to fly to the English ships for quarter. This battle was fought on the 3d of July, and was of infinite consequence to King Philip. In the mean time the queen caused a considerable navy to be drawn together, in order to make a descent upon France. The ships were not fewer than two hundred and forty sail; but there were great uncertainties about the time, place, and manner of acting, occasioned by the king's feeding Queen Mary with hopes of his coming over to England, which it is more than probable he never intended.

At length Lord Clinton, then lord high admiral, put to sea with a stout fleet in the month of July, and landed seven thousand men in Lower Bretagne, where they took the town of Conquet, and soon after re-embarked. Before they reached the English coast, they were joined by a squadron of thirty sail of Spanish ships, which induced the admiral to think of taking Brest; but, arriving on the coast of Bretagne a second time, they found the whole country in arms, so that they were constrained to abandon their enterprise, and to lay aside all thoughts of action for this year.

This disappointment joined to the coldness of her husband, the calamities which the war had brought upon her native country, and the general discontent of her subjects, greatly affected the queen's tender constitution, now in a manner worn out by a dropsy: yet this distemper was not the immediate cause of her death, but rather a kind of infectious fever, which raged excessively in the autumn of this year, especially among the better sort. According to the accounts in some of our old chronicles it differed little from a plague. While she laboured under her last sickness, King Philip entered into a treaty with the French king, wherein, at first, he pretended to insist strenuously on the restitution of Calais; but it afterwards appeared, that this was only for form's sake, and in order to obtain better terms for himself; the queen was wont to say in her languishing condition, that, if after she was dead they opened her, they would find Calais written in her heart. Worn with her disease, and excruciated by her griefs, she expired the 17th of November, 1558, the parliament then sitting.

We have said somewhat as to her character before, but it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the latter part of her reign, and especially after the death of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor, and her prime minister, things went but indifferently in parliament, where, but a few weeks before her death, one of the members for the city of London, made a long speech in the House of Commons, wherein he fully and freely laid open all their grievances, and entered into a particular detail of the state of the nation, affirming, among other things, that the city of London was then worth less by three hundred thousand pounds than at the death of King Edward. We need not wonder, therefore, that this princess was very little regretted, especially if we consider, that, throughout her whole reign, she put herself at the head of a party both in church and

state, and thereby exceedingly provoked the body of her people.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that by the hardships the nation underwent, in consequence of the queen's foreign marriage, they were for that reason cured of their unreasonable attachment to the house of Burgundy, which, from the time that Maximilian married the heiress of the last duke to the death of Queen Mary, cost England in the bare expence of wars and subsidies entered into, or granted on their behalf, six millions of our money, exclusive of the inexpressible advantages derived to them from our trade, of which enough has been said in the former reign. To this we must justly ascribe, in a great measure, the putting our commerce upon a right footing, by which I mean, taking it out of the hands of foreigners in the Steel-yard, and out of the hands of an exclusive company here at home, which had been impracticable, or, which comes to the same thing, never had been thought practicable, if, through the distresses brought upon us by Queen Mary's administration, our political system had not been changed; and the bringing this to pass ought in justice to be ascribed to Sir William Cecil, who, being little employed, though much regarded by that princess, spent most of his leisure time in making himself entirely master of the practical as well as speculative knowledge relative to coin and commerce, which with so much credit to himself, and glory to his sovereign, he exerted in the next reign. For as it was the bane of Queen Mary's government, that she was entirely guided by foreign councils, so it was the principal source of her sister's fame and felicity, that her views were entirely English, as were those of her minister before-mentioned, whose maxim it was, that his mistress could not be great, and himself secure, from any other means than by consulting for, and procuring the common benefit of the nation.

Some things, however, were done under the reign

of King Philip and Queen Mary for the benefit of trade, King Edward's decree against the merchants of the Steel-yard was enforced by an act passed in the parliament of the twenty-fourth of October in the first year of the queen's reign, and the privileges this company pretended to, were entirely taken away for this just and wise reason, because that though they were said to be for the benefit and advancement of commerce, yet they were found in effect to be prejudicial thereto, by maintaining in these merchants a monopoly, by secreting the mystery of traffic from the natives of this realm, and by establishing a kind of foreign republic in the metropolis of this kingdom. Notwithstanding which, this princess was prevailed upon, some say in consequence of her alliance with the emperor, to suspend the execution of this act for three years, and to discharge the German merchants from paying any other duties than those they were accustomed to pay in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The Russia company, or, as it was then called, the Muscovy company, was established by the charter which has been mentioned before, with a particular view to the discovery of new trades, and in this respect the wisest and most useful establishment that was ever founded. It was, therefore, farther encouraged by an act in the eighth of the next reign, and so lately as in the time of William III. another act passed, whereby the company are obliged to admit as a member, and to a joint participation of all their privileges, any subject of this realm who requests the same, paying for such admission five pounds; so that this society stands on a broad bottom, and cannot be charged with any of those inconveniences which may be justly imputed to other companies. The first Russian ambassador sent hither was in this reign, and was received with great respect, having his first public audience of King Philip and Queen Mary on the twenty-fifth of March, 1557.

We find also, that several letters were written to princes and states, in favour of our merchants, by the direction of their Majesties; and by the favour of King Philip there was a considerable intercourse with Spain, and with all the provinces subject to his Catholic Majesty throughout Europe; which, though it might possibly be the effects of his policy, in order to gain the affections of the English, yet it was certainly of great advantage to private persons, quickened the spirit of trade, and added somewhat to the public stock. It must, however, be allowed, that these favours did by no means balance the inconveniences which arose from the influence of foreign councils; much less would they have made us amends, if the intrigues of this enterprising prince had taken effect; for that he had thoughts of adding England and Ireland to his other hereditary dominions, and of awing them by Spanish garrisons, is very certain, though the war with France, and the queen's early death, prevented such schemes from being carried into execution. This, as it was very fortunate for us, so it was such a heavy disappointment to him, that, as we shall see in the succeeding part of this work, he exerted all his address, and employed his utmost power, to achieve by force what he had failed of obtaining by fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime strength, and increased ours much beyond what could otherwise have happened by our utmost industry.

As to discoveries, there were not many attempted in this short space. Stephen Burroughs, as we before observed, was fitted out to prosecute Sir Hugh Willoughby's attempt to find a passage by the north to the East Indies; but he failed, though he passed as far as the straits of Weygatz. Captain Richard Chancellor, who had so happily begun an intercourse between us and Russia, and procured such ample privileges for our merchants from the Czar, made two other voyages into his dominions, which were very

successful; but, in returning from the last, he was unfortunately lost on the coast of Scotland in the latter end of the year 1556. The next year the Russia company sent Captain Anthony Jenkinson into Muscovy, who, the year following, passed with infinite labour, and incredible danger, into Bucharìa, having traversed the countries bordering on the Caspian sea, and so was actually the first discoverer of the Persian trade by the way of Muscovy.

SIR JOHN DUDLEY,

AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT LISLE, EARL OF WARWICK, AND
DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS aspiring man, son of Edmund Dudley, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born in 1502, and was about eight years of age at the time of his father's execution. In 1511, an act was passed, by which the attainder of Edmund Dudley was reversed, and John Dudley the son was restored in blood, in consequence of which, he inherited a large property, which had been left by his father. While he was very young, he attended the duke of Suffolk in an expedition to France, where, on account of his gallantry and heroism, he obtained the honour of knighthood. He was afterwards patronized by Cardinal Wolsey and Lord Cromwell. When Lady Anne Cleves arrived in England, Dudley was made master of the horse to the intended queen. He was also appointed master of the armory in the Tower. On the first of May, 1539, he was the first of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence, and acted his part with much spirit. In 1542, he was, by letters patent, raised to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, a title which belonged to his mother in her own right; at the next festival of St. George he was elected knight of the garter. This was soon after followed by a much

higher instance of the king's trust and confidence, for his majesty, on account of his abilities and courage, constituted him lord admiral of England for life. He had previously to this, distinguished himself in the naval service of his country, and had, in particular, been engaged with the admiral of Sluys, which he boarded and took, fighting her ship to ship. In the year 1544, he sailed as lord high admiral of England, with a fleet of two hundred sail, in order to invade Scotland. The troops were landed about four miles from Leith, from whence they marched to Edinburgh, the lord admiral commanding the van-guard, and the earl of Hertford the main. In Scotland they did a great deal of mischief, scouring the coasts, burning some of the towns, and destroying all the vessels that came within their reach. From Scotland, the admiral proceeded to assist the king in his enterprise at Boulogne, and very much contributed to the capture of that place, of which, as a reward for his services, he was appointed governor. In 1546, he was appointed lieutenant-general and commander at sea, and with a very inferior force, not only frustrated an intended invasion by the French, but, in return, carried an alarm to their coasts, which is thus related:

The French monarch, being much vexed at the loss of Boulogne, hired from several of the Italian powers, at a great expence, a considerable number of ships, and having assembled upwards of two hundred sail besides gallies, gave the command of this fleet to Annebault, admiral of France, in hopes of recovering Boulogne, and also with a design of making some attempts on the English coasts. Between Alderney and Guernsey, their gallies attacked the English lord admiral Lisle, who had then but a small squadron with him, and they made every exertion to take his own ship, but he defended himself so well against eighteen of their vessels at once, that they were glad to retire. At length, the whole French fleet appeared before St. Helen's, and making a shew of attempting

something upon the coast, the lord admiral advanced, his fleet consisting of sixty sail; but, after exchanging some shot, the French retired. The English fleet being then reinforced, and having taken some troops on board, offered the French battle again, which they accepted; and a sharp engagement ensued for two hours, till night parted the two fleets, when the French retired to Havre de Grace, and appeared no more. The English admiral, however, soon after paid a visit to the coast of France; and landing six thousand men at Treport, burnt the town and abbey, with thirty ships which were in the harbour, all which he did with the loss of fourteen men only, and then returned with his fleet to England.

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

We do not find that after this, the earl of Warwick took any part in the naval concerns of his country, we shall, therefore, give only a very brief abstract of the subsequent events of his life. He continued to ascend in the scale of preferment, and was successively created lord steward of the household, earl marshal of England, and, in October 1551, he obtained the high title of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset had long been Dudley's rival: the young King Edward was anxious to unite them, by proposing a marriage between the duke's eldest son, and the daughter of the duke of Somerset, which

took place. The reconciliation was of very short duration: the ambitious duke of Northumberland felt that he could rise no higher but by the fall of his rival. This he effected, and to his disgrace, and that of the age, Somerset was executed in January 1552, his enemy having sat as one of the judges on this bloody occasion. He had now leisure to pursue his ambitious projects: he procured a marriage between his son and lady Jane Grey, a branch of the royal family, and then forced the king to set aside the succession of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and to bequeath the crown to his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane. This, which he hoped would raise him to the highest point of honour, caused his downfall and execution. On the demise of the king, he caused his daughter-in-law to be proclaimed queen, but the people united for Mary, and fixed the crown upon her head. Northumberland was committed to the Tower, and with the hope of obtaining a pardon, he conformed to the Roman Catholic religion. Mercy, however, was not among the attributes of the queen: the duke had resisted her power, and insulted her authority, and she determined he should pay the penalty of his life. He submitted to his fate with composure; and was beheaded August 22, 1553, leaving behind him several children, of whom Guilford Dudley, and the amiable Lady Jane, suffered for his guilty ambition.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the Naval History of England, under the auspicious Reign of Queen Elizabeth, an Account of the many Discoveries made, and Plantations settled during that space of time, with the Measures pursued for the Advancement of Trade; including, also, Memoirs of the famous Admirals, and eminent Seamen, who flourished in that glorious Period.

ON the demise of Queen Mary, one would have thought there needed no mighty consideration in order to settle the succession, since, according to the will of King Henry, which had been hitherto obeyed, as well as the laws of nature and of the land, the lady Elizabeth became immediately queen. The ministry in the late reign, however, seem to have been in some doubt about taking this step, and very probably, if the parliament had not been sitting, they might have made an attempt to have secured their own power, at the expence of the public peace: but it fell out more happily for the nation, so that, after a short consultation, they resolved to give notice to the House of Lords of their mistress's demise; and, upon this, orders were immediately given for proclaiming Queen Elizabeth.

There never was, perhaps, a kingdom in a more distressed condition than England at the accession of this princess. It was engaged in a war abroad for the interest of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames, and those of the Roman communion found themselves now in a declining state. On the continent we had no allies; in this very island the Scots were enemies, and their

queen claimed the English crown. The exchequer was exhausted, most of the forts and castles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at sea we had lost much of our ancient reputation, and a too sharp sense of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the last degree.

Elizabeth was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and she inherited from her father a high and haughty spirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an absolute contempt of those pleasures, by the indulging of which princes are too commonly misled. Her wisdom consisted in good sense, rather than refined maxims, and her policy seems to have rose no higher than to this plain rule, of steadily minding her business. From the moment she became a queen, she never suffered herself to forget the station in which God had placed her. She received the compliments on her accession with majesty, and she supported her dignity even in her dying moments: The subsequent part of this history will shew that this character is drawn from her actions, and that I have been no more inclined to flatter her, than to asperse some of her royal predecessors.

But let us see by what steps this great queen and her able ministers extricated their country from the misery in which it was involved, and restored this realm not only to a settled and flourishing condition, but raised her glory higher than, in her most happy times, she ever stood, laying the foundation of that extensive power which she has since enjoyed, and which she may always enjoy, if there be not wanting honest men at the helm, and if the spirit of the nation co-operate constantly with that of her rulers.

The first act of the queen's government was asserting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing

to the influence of foreign councils in the late reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare that she was a free princess, and meant so to act, without any further applications to Spain, than the concerns of her people absolutely required. On the 21st of November, when she had worn the crown but three days, she sent orders to Vice-admiral Malyn, to draw together as many ships as he could for the defence of the narrow seas, and for preventing, likewise, all persons from entering into, or passing out of, the kingdom without license, which he performed so strictly, that, in a short time, the council were forced to relax their orders, and to signify to the warden of the cinque-ports, that the queen meant not to imprison her subjects, but that persons might pass and repass about their lawful concerns.

With like diligence provision was made for the security of Dover, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, so that, by the end of the year, the kingdom was out of all danger from any sudden insult, and the queen at leisure to consider how she might further strengthen it, so as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive. Her entrance on government had the same appearance of wisdom as if she had been years upon the throne; and the hopes raised by her first actions were supported, and even exceeded, by the steadiness of her conduct; so that, by a firm and uniform behaviour, she secured the reverence and affection of her subjects at home, and established a character abroad that prevented any immediate enterprises upon her dominions in that feeble and fluctuating condition in which she found them.

In the month of April 1559, peace was concluded with France, and therein, amongst other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the French should render to the queen the town of Calais, or pay her fifty thousand crowns, by way of penalty. In this treaty the dauphin and the queen of Scots were also included; but this was very

indifferently performed : for the French immediately began to send over great forces into Scotland, where they intended, first, to root out the Protestant religion, and then to have made themselves entirely masters of the kingdom. This proceeding so alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that many of them had immediate recourse to arms, and not finding their own strength sufficient, applied themselves for protection to Queen Elizabeth ; who, foreseeing the consequence of suffering the French to fix themselves, and establish an interest in Scotland, determined to send thither the assistance that was desired, both by land and sea.*

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

* See the queen's letter to the duke of Norfolk, dated December 30th, 1559, in Haynes's Collection of state-papers, p. 217, 218, the articles agreed, to on the part of that princess, by the duke of Norfolk, with Lord James Stuart, and others of the nobility, when she condescended to take the realm of Scotland and the confederate lords under her protection, dated February 27th, 1559.

principal grievances felt under the former government redressed, base money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flourishing condition.

But, above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; she directed a most exact survey of it to be made, a very strict inquiry into the causes of its decay, and the surest means by which it might be recovered. She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gun-powder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vast expence. For the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, she built a strong fortress called Upnore-Castle. The wages of the seamen she raised, enlarged the number, and augmented the salaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners skilled in the arts relating to navigation, to instruct her people, and by the pains she took in these affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began every where to exert themselves in like manner, by repairing ports, and building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. Camden tells us, the queen justly acquired the glorious title of the **RESTORER OF NAVAL POWER, AND SOVEREIGN OF THE NORTHERN SEAS**; insomuch that foreign nations were struck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing respectfully to court a power, which had been so lately the object of their contempt.

The civil dissensions of the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called Hugonots, produced in the year 1562 very destructive consequences to their neighbours. A general spirit of rapine and confusion having spread itself through the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as

dwelt on the sea-coast, and who were mostly Hugonots, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies; upon which the court-party did the like, so that, at last, piracies were frequent, and the English trade suffered thereby so intolerably, that, at length, the queen resolved to interpose. The French Protestants had long sued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands; which, at length, she accepted, and sent over Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the month of September 1562, with a considerable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept possession of it till the twenty-ninth of July following.

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

But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen, for her own safety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain

it; those who had fitted out ships of force, from a disposition natural enough to privateers, plundering indiscriminately all vessels that came in their way. In the month of July, also in this year, the queen directed a small squadron of ships to be fitted out, *viz.* the Lyon, the Hoope, the Hart, Swallow, and a bark, named the Hare, of which Sir William Woodhouse, knight, was appointed vice-admiral, under a pretence of guarding the narrow seas, which were then said to be greatly infested with pirates, but in reality, as appears from his instructions, to lend what assistance he possibly could to the malecontents in France; which none of our historians, at least that we can discover, have remarked. Some of these vessels were, in the November following, such as the Hart, Swallow, Hare, &c. judged requisite by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral Clinton, to remain at Portsmouth, not only for the security of the coast, and keeping the channel clear during the winter, but for the conveniency of transporting troops, money, provisions, and ammunition, as also for the conveying to, and receiving letters from, Newhaven. And, as we are told, the Hare, having on board Sir John Portinarie, a famous engineer, in her passage to the last-mentioned place, was attacked by a French ship of ninety tons and upwards, which they, notwithstanding, took, and which proved to be laden with wine, and carried her in with them on the twenty-fifth of the same month.

Philip II. of Spain, from the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully; sometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others seeking every occasion to injure and molest her subjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders. What served also to heighten the people's hatred against the Spaniards was, the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated captain Hawkins and his crew in the West Indies; an insult

which the queen could but very ill bear, though as things were circumstanced, she could not well resent it, all trade to the Spanish West Indies being in some respect repugnant to treaties. Yet while these things disturbed the nation's tranquillity in a certain degree, France and the Low Countries were much more grievously torn through religious disputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war. The Protestants being the weakest, and likewise the most injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them some assistance, though she was not willing absolutely to break either with the most Christian or with the Catholic king.

The latter had sent the duke of Alva to govern the Netherlands, who was a fierce and cruel man, but nevertheless a person of great courage, an able captain, and a consummate statesman. This duke, as he was a bitter enemy to the Protestants, so he had conceived, probably on that account, as keen a hatred against Queen Elizabeth, which he soon found occasion to discover. Towards the end of the year 1568, some merchants of Genoa, intending to have set up a bank in the Low Countries, procured a license from the king of Spain to transport thither a very large sum in ready money, on board certain ships belonging to the province of Biscay. These ships were chaced in their passage by some French privateers, and were forced to take shelter in the ports of Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, where, by the queen's orders, their vessels were protected, and those on board them well treated, till, at the request of the Spanish ambassador, the money was brought ashore.

Cardinal de Chatillon, who was, at the same time, here as a refugee, informed the queen that this money did not belong, as was pretended, to the king of Spain, but to private merchants, and that, in case she gave leave for transporting it into the Netherlands, the duke of Alva would certainly seize it, in order to

carry on some of his dark designs. The queen, by the advice of her very wise and able minister Cecil, resolved to defeat this scheme, by taking the money to her own use, promising to repay it immediately, if it should appear to be the king of Spain's treasure, and to compensate the Genoese merchants for the time she kept it with just interest, if it was theirs. This was highly resented by King Philip and the duke of Alva, the former by his ambassador, endeavoured to get secretary Cecil assassinated, tampering also with the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Ormond, to raise disturbances both in England and Ireland; in which, however, he failed:—but the duke of Alva, according to the violence of his temper, seized all the English effects in Flanders, and permitted his frigates and privateers to cruise on the English coast. The queen made reprisals in her turn, and allowing her subjects to fit out ships, they pursued this trade of privateering with so much eagerness and success, that, at length, they began not to distinguish friends from foes, upon which her majesty was compelled to issue a proclamation, forbidding the purchase of any ship, or effects taken by these privateers. Soon after, these disputes were compromised, and peace restored, though it did not last long, both the Spaniards and the English being generally inclined to break it.

In the midst of all these difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, or pursuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view she sometimes contributed ships, sometimes gave money, at others entered into partnership; in short, she neglected nothing which might shew her maternal tenderness for all her subjects. She likewise afforded, in a very delicate conjuncture, a shining proof of her generosity, in directing a strong squadron of her ships to escort Anne of Austria, in her voyage from Flanders into Spain, not-

withstanding the bad terms whereon she then stood with King Philip. Her treaties with France which seemed to exclude all fear of danger, did not hinder her from fortifying Portsmouth thoroughly, in which it quickly appeared, that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needless timidity; for the French soon fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending to take some offence at the supplies she had sent the Hugonots, as if it was contrary to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her majesty had provided effectually against any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to desist, and even to make greater professions of friendship than before, which disposed the queen to send over the earl of Worcester to the christening of the French king's daughter.

This proved unlucky for the Hugonots, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from Rochelle, they stopt and visited vessels of all nations approaching the French coast; amongst the rest, they seized a bark with part of the earl of Worcester's baggage, which they took, and killed three or four people. This being reported to the queen, she issued her orders by the lord high admiral to scour the narrow seas, who appointed William Holstock, Esq. comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and sixty men on board, to perform this service, which he did with such industry and effect, that between the North-Foreland and Falmouth, he took twenty privateers of several nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and sent them as they were taken, to Sandwich, Dover, Newport, and Portsmouth. He likewise re-took, and set at liberty, fifteen merchantmen, by them made prize, and all this within so short a time as six weeks, returning into Portsmouth in the middle of the month of March. Among these prisoners were three persons who were known and proved to be of the crew of that vessel which had plundered the earl of Worcester's baggage, and there-

fore they were immediately tried and hanged as pirates, but the rest were ransomed. A few years after, the nation found itself under the like difficulties, though from another quarter.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland had now delivered themselves from the Spanish bondage, and were growing considerable in the world by their maritime power. This, however, had a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who became insufferably insolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our corresponding with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, who were their enemies. At first, therefore, they took only such ships as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed such notorious piracies, that the queen was again forced to send the comptroller of the navy, Mr. Holstock, with a small squadron to sea, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment, sent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beale, Esq; to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects, which, however, they did not obtain; and, on this account, the Dutch factors here suffered severely.

But as for such refugees of all nations, as fled hither for the sake of religion, she not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce them to stay, and fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy succeeded so well, that Colchester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and many other places were filled with those industrious foreigners, who taught us to weave variety of silk and worsted stuffs, while many also from Germany were sent into the north, where they employed themselves in mining, making salt-petre, forging all sorts of tools made of iron, which were arts absolutely unknown to us before their arrival, and which, for ages to come, might

have continued so, but for the wisdom and public spirit of the queen and her ministers. The French and Spaniards, who were sensible of the advantages we gained, and the losses they suffered, by the retiring of their artificers into this island, had recourse to severe laws in order to prevent it, which were so far from answering the end, that they drove people over faster than they came before; so that we may truly say, our extensive trade was a blessing bestowed by God, for the countenance we afforded in those their dismal days of distress, to the afflicted Protestants in France and Flanders.

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

The Catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying Queen Elizabeth, and utterly subverting the English state. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of

religion, most of the princes and states abroad, which, by the assistance of the Pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he, in a good measure, effected, carrying, as we shall hereafter see, his distaste so far, as to practise even with the little republics in Germany, to disturb our commerce, and to injure our government. His second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popish faction and by maintaining, at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewise for some time successful, the peace of the kingdom being broken, its strength enervated, the government, nay, the queen's life, often in danger by those restless spirits, who were as assiduous in the blackest cause, as if their industry had been prompted by the most honourable motives. The last thing King Philip had at heart was, the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself entirely master of England at once; to which end he, with great diligence, sought to increase his maritime power, and upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ablest generals which that, or perhaps any age ever produced, such an army in constant readiness there, as might be sufficient to achieve this conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep-laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumstances, which might, and very probably did, strongly flatter his hopes, particularly the death of the queen of Scots, that deeply stained the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts, and his own acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vast accession of naval strength.

Queen Elizabeth and her ministers were too penetrating, and had too quick as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark as to the purpose of the king of Spain; and their prudence was such, that, by

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

But still, the great secret, by which the queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions, seems to have been scarcely known to most of the writers who have undertaken to acquaint us with the transactions of her reign. It was, in reality, this: she discovered the principal instruments he intended to make use of for her destruction; but, instead of exposing or destroying them, she contrived so to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfil her purposes, though they remained, all the time, tools and pensioners to Spain. Thus she caused the ambassador Mendoza, whose arts might have been otherwise dangerous had he remained here, to be so wrought on as to forfeit his character, by suborning persons to murder Secretary Cecil, and to spread libels in the night through the streets, reflecting on herself. The Spa-

nish emissaries employed to seduce her people, in order to form a strong party on any invasion, she took care to engage in plots against her person, whereby they became speedily obnoxious to a legal conviction, and so were brought to an ignominious death, equally terrible and shameful to the popish faction. This appears clearly from the case of Parry and other conspirators, with whom her secretaries played till their treasons were ripe, and then seized and convicted them; and thus, at last, after all the pains that the king had taken, she escaped an invasion, by procuring such notions to be infused into the prince of Parma's head, as inclined him rather to seek his own than his master's advantage, by which she reaped a double benefit, that prince being soon after poisoned, and so his particular schemes were likewise cut short. But it is time to return to our more immediate subject, the pains and precautions taken by the queen and her ministers to put the nation into such a state of defence, both by land and sea, as might give the people courage, and strike the enemy with a strong sense of danger; the rather, because these facts seem hitherto not to have been extremely well understood.

The queen's apprehensions of the Spaniards' designs were certainly conceived much earlier than most of our historians imagine, as appears from the state-papers in her reign, among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent than instructions for viewing fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, inquiring into the strength and posture of our militia, taking frequent musters, and, in fine, forming from all these inquiries a brief state of the military and naval power of her dominions, of which I have seen many in ancient MSS. among them one in 1575, whereby it appears, that the able men throughout England were computed to be 182,929, by which were intended serviceable men; and of such as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were 62,462; and of light-horse

2,566. I have, likewise, an account of the royal navy in 1578, by which it appears, that it consisted of no more than twenty-four ships of all sizes. The largest was called the *Triumph*, of the burden of a thousand tons; the smallest was the *George*, which was under sixty tons. At the same time all the ships throughout England, of an hundred tons and upwards, were but one hundred and thirty-five, and all under an hundred and upwards of forty tons, were six hundred and fifty-six.

It is, therefore, singularly strange to find a late writer, Mr. Burchet, who ought certainly to be as well acquainted with the state of the navy as any man, giving us the following list* under so amazing a title as,

WHAT OUR NAVY WAS IN 1573.

	Guns.	No.	
Of —	100,	1	} 59 of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in those days.
From —	80 to 60,	9	
From —	58 to 40,	49	
From —	38 to 20,	58	
From —	18 to 6,	29	
		146	

Though nothing is easier than to discern at first sight, that this account is absurd and improbable, yet another writer, Mr. Lediard, has copied it implicitly, and no doubt, by degrees, it would gain credit, though I dare say there is an error of an hundred years at least in the title of this state of the navy. That it is absolutely false, may appear from hence, that, in an estimate in the office of ordnance, the guns on board the queen's ships in 1578 are computed to be five hundred and four, whereas, according to the foregoing state, they must have been, five years before,

* Mr. Burchet in his preface to his *Naval History*. See also Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. i. p. 160.

as we see, no less than five thousand ninety-nine, which, if we compare with the number of cannon in the Spanish armada, being but two thousand six hundred and thirty, as appears by a list printed by authority of the Spanish court, we shall have a proper idea of the accuracy of this computation, which I have been forced to treat in this manner, to prevent so strange a fact from being longer imposed even on the most inattentive peruser.

As I find authority has so great weight with some people, that they will not be brought to believe that the naval strength of England was so inconsiderable at this time, I have thought it necessary to insert *verbatim*, in a note below, the list* before-mentioned

* The Names of her MAJESTY'S SHIPS, with the Number of Men and Furniture requisite for the setting forth of the same, A. D. 1578.

I. TRIUMPH.

1. Men 780, whereof	
Mariners	450
Gunners	50
Soldiers	280
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus	250
Bows	50
Arrows, sheaves of,	100
Pikes	200
Corslets	100
Mariners	200
3. Burden	1000

II. ELIZABETH.

1. Men 600, whereof	
Mariners	350
Gunners	50
Soldiers	200
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus	200
Bows	50
Arrows, sheaves of,	100
Pikes	280
Bills	170
Mariners	200
3. Burden	900

III. WHITE BEAR.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

IV. VICTORY.

1. Men 500, whereof	
Mariners	350
Gunners	40
Soldiers	160
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus	200
Bows	40
Arrows, sheaves of,	80
Corslets	80
Mariners	160
3. Burden	803

V. PRIMROSE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden as the last.

VI. MARY ROSE.

1. Men 350, whereof	
Mariners	200
Gunners	50
Soldiers	100

and to add some remarks, which will, I think, put the matter beyond all dispute.

2. Furniture:	
Harquebus	125
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of,	60
Pikes	100
Bills	120
Corslets	50
Mariners	160
3. Burden	600

VII. HOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

VIII. BONAVENTURE.

1. Men 300, whereof	
Mariners	160
Gunners	30
Soldiers	110
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus	110
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of,	60
Pikes	90
Bills	100
Corslets	50
Mariners	100
3. Burden	600

IX. PHILIP and MARY.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

X. LYON.

1. Men 290, whereof	
Mariners	150
Gunners	30
Soldiers	110
2. Furniture and Burden, as the two last.	

XI. DREADNOUGHT.

1. Men 250, whereof	
Mariners	150
Gunners	20
Soldiers	80
2. Furniture	
Harquebus	80
Bows	25
Arrows, sheaves of,	50

Pikes	50
Bills	60
Corslets	40
Mariners	80
3. Burden	400

XII. SWIFTSURE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

XIII. SWALLOW.

1. Men 200, whereof	
Mariners	120
Gunners	20
Soldiers	60
2. Furniture	
Harquebus	75
Bows	25
Arrows, sheaves of	50
Bills	60
Corslets	30
Mariners	70
3. Burden	350

XIV. ANTELOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden as the last.

XV. JENNET.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the two last.

XVI. FORESIGHT.

Men and Furniture as the three last.
Burden

300.

XVII. AID.

1. Men 160, whereof	
Mariners	90
Gunners	20
Soldiers	50
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus	50
Bows	20
Arrows, sheaves of	40
Pikes	40
Bills	50
Corslets	20
Mariners	50
3. Burden	240

There cannot be fuller evidence expected for the authenticity of this list, than the visible conformity between it and all the lists of the queen's ships of war, published in the relations by authority during that reign, and by Sir William Monson in his Naval Me-

XVIII. BULL.

1. Men 120, whereof	
Mariners.....	70
Gunners.....	10
Soldiers.....	40
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus.....	35
Bows.....	15
Arrows, sheaves of.....	20
Pikes.....	30
Bills.....	40
Corslets.....	20
Mariners.....	40
3. Burden.....	160

XIX. TYGER.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

XX. FAULCON.

1. Men 90, whereof	
Mariners.....	60
Gunners.....	10
Soldiers.....	20
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus.....	24
Bows.....	10
Arrows, sheaves of.....	20
Pikes.....	20
Bills.....	30
Corslets.....	12
Mariners.....	24
3. Burden.....	

XXI. AIBATES.

1. Men 60, whereof	
Mariners.....	40
Gunners.....	10
Soldiers.....	10
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus.....	16
Bows.....	10
Arrows, sheaves of.....	20
Pikes.....	20
Bills.....	30
Corslets.....	12

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Mariners.....	24
3. Burden.....	80

XXII. HANDMAID.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the last.

XXIII. BARK OF BULLEN.

1. Men 50, whereof	
Mariners.....	40
Gunners.....	10
Soldiers, none.	
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus.....	12
Bows.....	10
Arrows, sheaves of.....	20
Pikes.....	15
Bills.....	20
Mariners.....	30
3. Burden.....	60

XXIV. GEORGE.

1. Men 50, whereof	
Mariners.....	40
Gunners.....	10
Soldiers, none.	
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus.....	12
Bows.....	1
Arrows, sheaves of.....	20
Pikes.....	15
Bills.....	20
Mariners.....	20

The sum of all other, as well merchant ships as others in all places of England, of 100 tons and upwards..... 135

The sum of all barks and ships of 40 tons and upwards, to 100 tons 656

There are besides, by estimation, 100 sail of hoyes. Also of small barks and fishermen an infinite number. So as the number through the realm cannot be less than 600, besides London.

moirs, with one of which, containing the state of the navy at the queen's demise, the reader will find an opportunity of comparing it hereafter. On the other hand, that there could be no such fleet at the time the before-mentioned abstract is dated, will still farther appear from the following considerations: That the building and maintaining it was utterly inconsistent with the state of the public revenue at that time. That there is not the least mention of any such force in any of the histories of those times. That all the lists of ships published by authority directly contradict it; so that unless we can believe the wisest and most active men in that age were totally ignorant of what it most imported them to know, we must conclude that this abstract certainly belongs to another period, or that it is a downright chimera; but the former appears to me infinitely more probable than the latter.

It must give every candid and attentive reader a very high idea of the wisdom and fortitude of Queen Elizabeth, and her ministers, when he is told, that during the whole time Spain was providing so formidable an invasion, they were assiduously employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of England, without suffering themselves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boasts, or by the intelligence they had of their great strength, and vast preparations. To distress King Philip in bringing home his treasures from the West Indies, many adventurers were licensed to cruise in those seas, and the queen herself lent some ships for this purpose. To delay the invasion as much as possible, or if it had been practicable to defeat it, the queen sent a stout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced six gallies which were designed to have guarded the port, to shelter themselves under the cannon of their castles, and then burnt a hundred ships and upwards in the bay, all of which were

laden with ammunition and provisions. From thence he sailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he surprised some forts, and entirely destroyed the fishing craft in the neighbourhood.

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

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

hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty monks of several orders.

The command of the whole was originally designed to have been vested in the above-mentioned marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of known valour and great experience, of which he had given high proofs in the famous battle of Lepanto; but he dying, the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonso de Gusman, was appointed in his stead, rather on account of his superior quality than his distinguished merit, under whom served Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biscayneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whose advice the general was entirely led. These great officers repaired to Lisbon in the latter end of the month of May, and, in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to sail. But it is now time to return to the dispositions made in England for warding off so dangerous a blow.

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

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

In regard to a land-force, the queen had three armies; the first consisted of twenty-thousand men, cantoned along the south-coast; another of two and twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leicester; the third, which was made up of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, all chosen men, was for the guard of the queen's person, their commander being the Lord Hunsdon, a brave, active, and resolute nobleman, the queen's near relation.

The Spanish fleet sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the first of June, N. S. with as great pomp, and as sanguine hopes as any fleet ever did. The king's instructions to the duke of Medina Sidonia were, to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to pursue such further orders as he should find in a sealed letter delivered to the general with his instructions. It was also recommended to him to keep as close as possible to the French shore, in order to prevent the English from having any intelligence of his approach, and in case he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting, to the utmost of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himself. But, in doubling the North-cape, the fleet was separated by foul weather, which obliged the general to sail to the Groyne, where he re-assembled his

ships, and had intelligence that the English fleet, believing their expedition laid aside, was put into Plymouth.

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

The season was so far advanced, and the English had so little intelligence of the Spaniards departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but several of their ships also were already laid up, and their seamen discharged. The admiral, however, sailed on the first notice, and though the wind blew hard into Plymouth-sound, got out to sea, but not without great difficulty. The next day, being the 20th of July, they saw the Spanish navy drawn up in a half-moon, sailing slowly through the channel, its wings being nearly seven miles asunder. The admiral suffered them to pass by quietly, that having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success, and though Don Martinez de Ricalde, did all that it was possible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmost disorder, and many

of them received considerable damage. More would have been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance, so that the admiral was forced to wait for them.

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

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

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

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

When, therefore, the Spanish fleet anchored on the twenty-seventh of July before Calais, the English admiral had with him nearly a hundred and forty ships, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely. But perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the Spaniards had so disposed their larger ships, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into disorder, he resolved to practise an expedient long before in contemplation, in case the enemy should have come up the river Thames, which was, converting some of their worst vessels into fire ships. This method he accordingly pursued, filling eight large barks with all sorts of combustible matter, and sending them under the command of the Captains Young and

Prowse, about midnight, into the thickest part of the Spanish fleet, where they speedily began to blaze, and, as the admiral had foreseen, obliged the navy to separate, and each ship by steering a separate course to seek its own safety.

The next day a large galeass ran ashore on the sands of Calais, where she was plundered by the English. Desirous, however, of attempting somewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvoused near Gravelines, where they waited some time, in hopes that the prince of Parma would have come out; but in this they were disappointed, whether through the want of power or of will in that great general, is uncertain. At last, finding themselves hard pressed by the English fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the streights of Dover; but the wind coming about with hard gales at north-west, drove them on the coast of Zealand, but soon after, veering to the south-west, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke de Medina Sidonia, took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation it was resolved, that there were now no hopes left of succeeding, and, therefore, the most prudent thing they could do was to drop their design, and to save as many ships as possible.

This resolution was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spanish navy made all the sail they could for their own coast, going north-about, which exposed them to a variety of unforeseen dangers. The English admiral very prudently sent Lord Henry Seymour with a strong squadron to cruize on the coast of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterwards left them, to pursue their course. When the Spanish fleet arrived on the Scots coast, and found that care was every where taken they should meet with no supply, they threw their horses and mules overboard, and such of them as had a proper store of

water, bore away directly for the bay of Biscay with the duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships. The rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, stood over for the coast of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clear. On the second of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore, so that upwards of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished on the Irish coast.

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

Thus, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been no less than three years preparing, was destroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ships, there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked, there perished twenty thousand men at least. We may best form an idea of their loss, from the precaution taken by King Philip to hide it, which was, by publishing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and constancy which he expressed upon this occasion, I should be unwilling to contradict many great authorities; yet this is certain, that the lord-treasurer Burleigh received intelligence of another kind, *viz.* "That the king should say after mass, that

he would spend the wealth of Spain, to one of those candlesticks upon the altar, rather than not revenge himself upon the English." His future conduct agreed so exactly with this threatening, that we may well conclude, if he did not say, he thought so, and was, therefore, far from being so unmoved at this disaster as is commonly reported. What might, in some measure, justify his resentment, was, the falling out of this mischief through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own; for, if the king's instructions had been pursued, it is more than probable, that Queen Elizabeth's government had run the utmost hazard of being overturned.

The duke of Medina Sidonia escaped punishment through the interest of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdez, whose persuasions induced the general to take that rash step, he was arrested as soon as he set foot on shore, and conducted to the castle of St. Andero, after which, he was never heard of more. The same writer, from whom we have this particular, remarks also an error in the conduct of the English, *viz.* that they did not attack the Spanish fleet after it had arrived before Gravelines, which, however, he assures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occasioned through the negligence of some under-officers, who had the direction of the military stores, and had been too sparing of powder and ammunition; otherwise he tells us, it was thought the duke de Medina Sidonia, at the persuasion of his confessor, would have yielded both himself and his ships, which, it seems, were, in that particular, not at all better provided. This would have been a conquest indeed, a conquest equally glorious and important, the loss of which ought to teach posterity not to be too hasty in censuring great officers, or too remiss in punishing little ones. In the present case, this mischance seems to have been covered by the many favours bestowed by Providence, and the offenders to have escaped through that general

joy which their deliverance from so great an evil diffused through the whole nation.

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

THE queen having intelligence that the Spaniards, which was an evident mark of resentment, meditated a second attempt upon her dominions, resolved like

*A LIST OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN THE YEAR 1588.

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

In all 143

a wise princess, to find them work at home, in order to which, in the spring of the year 1589, she expressed her royal intention of assisting Don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's charge, and partly at the expence of private persons. Her Majesty furnished six men of war, and sixty thousand pounds: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were joint commanders, who, with their friends, adventured fifty thousand pounds: the rest was defrayed by London, the Cinque-ports, Ipswich, Harwich, Newcastle, &c. and the whole navy consisted of a hundred and forty-six sail: to which also the Dutch, as much interested as we, joined a small squadron.

The first exploit that this armament performed was, landing near Corunna, commonly called the Groyne; which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval stores, defeated a great body of Spaniards, and then re-embarked their forces, and sailed, as they had at first designed, for the river of Lisbon. On their arrival before Peniche, the troops were landed, the place quickly surrendered to Don Antonio, and from thence Sir John Norris with the earl of Essex, and the whole army, marched immediately by land towards Lisbon, where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir Francis Drake; but he, finding it impossible to proceed up the river with safety to her Majesty's ships, stayed at the castle of Cascais, which place he took, and also seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, laden with corn and ammunition; these, with about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage. It was, indeed, intended to have gone to the Canaries; but by this time the soldiers and sailors were so weakened with sickness, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their passage home, they landed at Vigo, took and plundered it, and, having made some addition to their booty, reached Eng-

land, Sir Francis Drake arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-first of June, and Sir John Norris, with the rest of the fleet on the third of July, after having been about ten weeks abroad.

This expedition was inexpressibly destructive to the Spaniards, disappointed all their designs, weakened their naval force, and spread a mighty terror of the English arms through their whole dominions. But, as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconsiderable, and the generals met with a cold reception in England; Sir John Norris charged Sir Francis Drake with breach of his promise, and Sir Francis accused him of expecting from a fleet services that were impracticable. The chief grounds of their miscarriage were, in those days; when men could best judge, held to be these: First, they were but indifferently manned and victualled, of which misfortune they were very sensible before they were out of the channel. Secondly, their landing at the Groyne, which was contrary to their instructions, gave the men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and exposed them to a great and unnecessary loss. Thirdly, the disagreement of the generals before Lisbon defeated the remaining part of their design, and obliged them to think of coming home sooner than they intended, or was necessary; whereas, if, in pursuance of their instructions, they had sailed directly to the coasts of Portugal, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable they had effectually placed Don Antonio upon the throne of Portugal, which would have given a deadly stroke to the power of Spain, and must have greatly promoted the interest and extended the commerce of England.

The disappointments which happened in this voyage did not discourage either the queen or her subjects from pursuing the war by sea, and endeavouring, as much as possible, to ruin the maritime force of Spain, and augment their own. In order to this, her Majesty settled a part of her revenue for the ordinary

supply of the navy, amounting to about nine thousand pounds a-year, and by expressing a very high esteem for such young lords, and other persons of distinction, as had shewn an inclination to the sea-service, she encouraged others to undertake yet greater things. Amongst these, the earl of Cumberland particularly distinguished himself by fitting out a stout squadron in the summer of the year 1589, with which he sailed to the Tercera islands, where he did the Spaniards incredible mischief, and obtained considerable advantages for himself and for his friends. The island of Fayal he reduced, took the city and castle thereon, from whence he carried forty-five pieces of cannon, forced the island of Graciosa to a composition, and seized several rich ships, amongst the rest, one, the cargo of which was valued at upwards of a hundred thousand pounds, which, in his return, however, was lost in Mount's Bay, on the coast of Cornwall.

In 1590, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher were at sea with two squadrons, and, by impeding the return of the Spanish plate-fleets from America, and other services, kept King Philip entirely employed at home, though his thoughts were still busy in contriving another expedition against England. The succeeding year Lord Thomas Howard, second son to the duke of Norfolk, sailed with a squadron to the islands, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish fleet from the West Indies, which now was forced to return home. In this he had probably succeeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than seven of the queen's ships, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly escaped being totally destroyed by the Spaniards: for King Philip, knowing the dismal consequences that must have followed; in case his plate-fleet was intercepted, resolved to employ that force, which was intended against England, for its relief, and accordingly sent Don Antonio Bassan, an expe-

rienced seaman, and an excellent officer, with a fleet of forty-five sail, to attack Lord Thomas Howard, who very narrowly escaped. His vice-admiral Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was taken through his own obstinacy; for, when the enemy was in sight, he would not be persuaded that it was the Armada, but insisted that it was the American fleet, and so was surrounded. He sold his life and his ship, which was the only one of the queen's taken in the war, dearly; for a man of war called the *Ascension*, of Seville, and a double fly boat full of men, sunk by his side. The *Revenge* was so battered, that she could not be carried to Spain, but foundered at sea with two hundred Spaniards on board; and, as for Sir Richard Grenville, he died two days after of his wounds. The next day after the fight, the Plate-fleet arrived, which shews the uncertainty of expeditions of this kind; for, had it come but one day sooner, or had the Armada been one day later, the English had possessed themselves of an immense treasure. The Spaniards, however, gained very little by their dear-bought success; for, in their return home, nearly 100 vessels were wrecked, and the greatest part of the wealth on board them was lost, while Lord Thomas Howard with his little fleet still kept the sea, and, by picking up stragglers, saved a great part of the expences of his expedition.

In 1591, the earl of Cumberland made another expedition, and in 1592, Sir Martin Forbisher and Sir John Burroughs infested the Spanish coast, and did much mischief. In 1594, the queen sent a small squadron to sea under the command of Sir John Martin Forbisher, to reduce the port of Brest in Bretagne, which the king of Spain had taken, by the assistance of the leaguers in France, from King Henry IV. A place that, if it had been long kept, must have been very troublesome to that monarch, and would have given the Spaniards great advantages against us. It was strong as well by situation as by the art and expence employed in fortifying it, and had besides a numerous

garrison of Spanish troops. Sir John Norris, with a small English army, formed the siege by land; Sir Martin Forbisher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour; and having thus blocked up the place by sea, landed his sailors, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, stormed the fort, which, though gallantly defended, was taken, but with the loss of abundance of brave men, and amongst them may be reckoned Sir Martin himself, who died of the wounds he received in that service. The same year Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed on their last expedition into the West Indies.

The Spaniards, who seldom abandon any design they once undertake, were all this time employed in assembling and equipping another fleet for England; and as an earnest of their intentions, in the year 1595, Don Diego Brochero, with four gallies, arrived in Mount's-bay, in Cornwall, and, landing with all his men, burnt three little places, *viz.* Mouse-hole, Newlin, and Penzance, with a neighbouring church, but without killing or taking so much as a single man. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invasion of the Spanish dominions, to prevent any such future visits to her own; in order to which, a stout fleet and a numerous army were provided under the most experienced officers of those times.

The true design of this expedition was, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, not less in all than one hundred and fifty sail, of which one hundred twenty-six were men of war; but of these only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest were hired from traders, and fitted for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet were embarked upwards of seven thousand men. The joint commanders of the expedition were the earl of Essex, and the lord high admiral (Howard), assisted by a council of war, composed of the following per-

sons, *viz.* Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford. There was besides, a Dutch squadron under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for some time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready, and then, on the first of June 1596, sailed for the coast of Spain with a fair wind, and the good wishes of all their countrymen.

In their passage they were divided into five squadrons; and, whereas, in former expeditions, great inconveniencies happened by the enemy's having early intelligence, in this they were so happy as to arrive in sight of Cadiz on the twentieth of the same month, before they were either looked for, or so much as apprehended. They found the town tolerably well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were forty-nine Spanish ships, amongst them many laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty gallees. It was resolved the same day, in a council of war, to have landed all their forces at St. Sebastian's; but, when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable. After this, some time was lost before their coming to another resolution, which was owing to the joint command; for the earl of Essex, who was young and warm, affected to dictate; and, on the other hand, the admiral, who had as much courage, and a great deal more experience, could not brook being treated in such a manner.

At last it was determined to attack the ships in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty arose, which was, who should command this attack, first demanded by the earl of Essex, then given to Sir Walter Raleigh, lastly challenged and enjoyed by the vice-admiral Lord Thomas Howard. In the execution of it some errors were committed by the English through the too great heat and emulation of their commanders, but others much more gross and fatal by the Spaniards, who,

when they found themselves compelled to fly, did it without any of those precautions whereby they might have provided for their safety; for, instead of running their ships a-shore under the town, where they would have been covered by their own artillery, and where, at least, their men might have gone a-shore in safety, they ran them up the bay as far from the enemy as possible, by which means part fell into the hands of the English, and the rest were burnt.

In the mean time, the earl of Essex landed his men quietly, the enemy deserting a strong fort, from which they might have done him much mischief: three regiments also were sent to make themselves masters of the causeway which unites the island to the main. This they performed with very small loss, but afterwards quitted it again, which gave the galleys an opportunity of escaping; another oversight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing that the earl was landed, landed also with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordship could have kept the place; and, while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to seize the ships in the harbour of Port-Real, to prevent which the duke of Medina Sidonia caused them to be set on fire and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the sea.

The city and its forts they possessed for a fortnight, and the earl of Essex was very desirous of being left there with a garrison, however small; which was, notwithstanding, over-ruled by the council of war, and then it was agreed to sail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, where they found the place deserted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could be made plunder. To repair this disappointment, the earl of Essex was for sailing to the Azores, and there waiting for the East India ships; but in this too, he was over-ruled, because there was a great complaint of the want of provision and ammunition on board their fleet. In their return they looked into

the ports of the Groyne, St. Andero, and St. Sebastian's, where they expected to find ships, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened till their arrival in England, which was on the eighth of August the same year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred brass guns, and an immense booty, the desire of keeping which is conceived to have hindered them from performing more. But, with respect to the damage done the Spaniards, it is not easy to form any computation. However, this we know, that they burnt eleven men of war, forty ships from the Indies, four large merchant-men, and many magazines of ammunition and provision; so that notwithstanding the people might murmur here at home about the miscarriage of this voyage, as from the writings in those times it manifestly appears they did, yet, taking all things together, it answered very well, and distressed the enemy excessively.

In the spring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh armada from Lisbon, composed not only of his own ships and gallies, but also of all that he could take up and hire in Italy, or elsewhere. On board of these he embarked a great body of troops, especially of the Irish, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds disappointed him, scattered his fleet, and thirty-six sail were cast away. In the mean time the queen resolved to fit out another fleet under the command of the earl of Essex, with an intent to intercept the Plate-fleet near the Azores, after burning such vessels as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. This fleet consisted of forty men of war, and seventy other ships, to which the Dutch added ten men of war, under Sir John Van Duvenvoord, who was knighted in the former expedition.

They sailed from Plymouth the ninth of July; but a storm arising, they were forced back thither again, and did not sail the second time till the seventh of August. They used their best endeavours to perform the first part of their instructions, but finding it

impracticable, they thought it expedient to steer for the islands, which accordingly they did. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's ship sprung her mast, which however did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loss, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous, which was the island of Flores. He had scarcely began to wood and water there, before the earl of Essex sent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which island the general himself intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed him; but not finding Essex on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were securing their goods, throwing up intrenchments, and making every other preparation necessary for their defence, he, with the advice of his officers, resolved, in case Essex did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the island, which accordingly he performed; but though he got reputation by this exploit, yet he lost the general's friendship, so that a coldness thenceforward prevailed, which afterwards increased to open opposition and the most rancorous hatred.

After Essex's arrival they sailed together to Graciosa, which immediately submitted. Here the general intended to have stayed; and if he had done so, undoubtedly it had answered his purpose, and he had taken the whole Spanish fleet; but being too easily brought to alter his purposes, he took another method, which gave the Spaniards, who arrived next day, an opportunity of proceeding for Tercera, with the loss of no more than three ships, which were taken by Sir William Monson. The rest of the fleet, consisting of about thirty-seven sail, arrived safely in the port of Angra, which was well defended by several forts, so that, on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with reasonable hopes of success.

The earl of Essex, vexed at this disappointment, resolved to do somewhat of consequence before he returned, and, therefore, landing, surprised the town of Villa Franca, and plundered it, after which he

re-embarked his forces, and prepared for his return home. In this passage he had the good luck to take a very rich Spanish ship, which fell into his fleet, mistaking it for their own, and would have taken another in the same manner, but for the imprudence of a Dutch captain, who firing hastily upon her, frightened her away. In the mean time the Spaniards were meditating great designs. The absence of the English fleet gave them an opportunity of sending out their squadrons from the Groyne and Ferrol. With these they intended to have made a descent in Cornwall, and to have possessed themselves of the port of Falmouth, in which leaving a strong garrison, they thought next of intercepting the English fleet in their return, when they knew it must be weakened by so rough and troublesome an expedition, in which so long a space of time had been spent, and their ships were to return so late in the year.

This design, as it was wisely laid, so it was well conducted; the Spanish admiral joined his squadrons as he intended, and proceeded with them to the islands of Scilly, almost within sight of our shore. There he thought fit to call a council of war, in order to give his officers necessary instructions as to the intended descent. But it so happened, that, while his captains were on board, a very high storm arose, which hindered them for a long time from getting back to their respective ships, and, afterwards, entirely separated their fleet, tossing them to and fro, sometimes towards our coast, sometimes on their own. In this storm eighteen capital ships were lost, several forced into English ports were taken, and the Spanish admiral's schemes thereby entirely disconcerted. Nor did our fleet escape the fury of the tempest, but were terribly beaten; however their ships being light and strong, and manned by able seamen, they with much difficulty reached our western coast, in the latter end of the month of October.

The compass of this work, I confess, ought to

deter me from digressions; but as the principal intention of it is, to give the reader a just and impartial notion of the conduct of our naval affairs under every reign, so I think myself obliged to make a few short reflections on the facts before set down, in order to shew how little we stood indebted for safety to the management of our own commanders, or to the faults of our enemies, and how much we owe to the care of divine Providence.

This expedition to the Azores might have proved, if well managed by us, the ruin of the Spanish power, and as it was managed, had very near been fatal to our own; so much depends on the conduct of commanders, and so little regard ought there to be had to high titles and great quality, where the safety of a nation is at stake. The earl of Essex was chosen for this command from court motives, such as his birth, interest, and personal accomplishments, though he wanted almost all the qualities requisite for a commander in chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not resolute or lasting; his wit was quick, but his judgment slow and unsettled; and besides all this, he was deficient in experience. Sir William Monson, who went the voyage with him, and who appears enough inclined to favour him, owns that their miscarriage was entirely owing to his lordship's incapacity, who was unable to form any right resolution himself, or pursue steadily any measures recommended to him by those who were more knowing than he. Sir Walter Raleigh fell into disgrace with him, and, as Sir William Monson says, had smarted severely, if the earl had not been afraid of being called to an account for it in England, and all this for doing his duty, for performing the only important service done in the whole expedition. This demonstrates, that the earl had no view but to his own particular glory, and that the public service was to be postponed whenever it came into competition therewith. By this management that Plate-fleet escaped, which, if it had

been taken, would have ruined the Spaniards, and made us.

His subsequent attempts to repair his own honour, and to make a shew of that resolution which he really had not, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the Spanish admiral an opportunity of invading England, which an accidental storm prevented. So much is due to truth; and to the interest of the nation; nor would I have this looked on as flowing from any pique to the memory of the earl of Essex, who was certainly a popular nobleman, endowed with many virtues; but where the public suffers, an historian ought to spare no man, however supported by the favour of his prince, or magnified by the folly of the people.

In 1598, the earl of Cumberland fitted out a squadron of eleven sail at his own expence, with which he first attempted to intercept the Lisbon fleet in its passage to the East Indies. Being disappointed in that, he sailed to the Canaries, where he made a descent on the island of Lancerota, plundered it, and then proceeded to America, where he promised himself great things. The place he fixed upon was the island of Puerto Rico, where he landed, and took the capital with small loss. This city he determined to keep, therefore refused a very large ransom offered him by the inhabitants, whom he turned out, and then thought of fortifying the place, with an intent to have cruized from thence upon the Spanish coasts; but he was quickly convinced that the design was impracticable, diseases spreading amongst the soldiers and seamen to such a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conquest, and to return home with very great reputation, rather than any considerable reward.

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it seems rather with an intent to watch the Spaniards, than to undertake any other enterprise of importance; since after remaining about

three weeks in the Downs, it was again laid up. Yet the equipping this fleet had a great effect upon Spain, and all the powers of Europe, for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well victualled, and thoroughly manned, which shewed the strength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved since 1588. The next year, being 1600, Sir Richard Levison was sent to intercept the Plate-fleet, which design, though it was well contrived, and wisely executed, yet failed. In 1601, the same admiral was employed in Ireland, where he did good service, in obliging the Spaniards, who had landed a considerable body of forces, to relinquish their design, and withdraw out of that island.

In 1602, the same admiral in conjunction with Sir William Monson, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the Dutch had sent their squadron, agreeably to their engagements with the queen. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they continued on the coast of Portugal, and, at length, resolved to attack a galleon, which lay with eleven gallies in the road of Coimbra, which, as it was one of the most gallant exploits performed in the whole war, deserves to be circumstantially related. The town of Coimbra was large and well built with free-stone, defended by a good citadel well furnished with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, stood an abbey, so fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored close to the shore, so as to defend, by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had so flanked and fortified themselves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the English fleet, without receiving any damage themselves, till such time as our ships were just before the town. Yet, in spite of these and many other advantages, the English admirals resolved to attack them, which they did on the third of June. A gale of wind blowing fresh about two

in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the signal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and, soon after, they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the Spaniards defended themselves with much resolution, yet in the end several of the gallies were burnt, the garrison driven from the castle, and the rich galleon, for which all this struggle was made, taken, with about a million pieces of eight on board. The fourth, taking the benefit of a fair wind, returned to England.

Frederic Spinola, in the *St. Lewis*, sailed from Coimbra, with the rest of the gallies that had escaped, *viz.* the *St. John Baptist*, the *Lucera*, the *Padilla*, the *Philip*, and the *St. John*, for the coast of Flanders, and on the twenty-third of September entered the British channel. Sir Robert Mansel was cruizing there with two of the men of war, and four Dutch ships to intercept them. The enemy first discovered two of the Dutch ships, and resolved to engage them. But before they could put this design into execution, perceiving one of the queen's, they stood off the remainder of the day, hoping by advantage of the night to gain their intended port. The admiral, and the other ships, with the two Dutch men of war, chased them from eight in the morning till sun-set, when the gallies altered their course for the English shore, and came so near it, that some of the slaves got off their chains, leaped overboard, and swam to land. They then very unhappily ran into the place, where one of her majesty's ships, and the Hollanders lay at anchor. Sir Robert foreseeing that the gallies must fall in with those ships, in order to make them still keep that course, steered a little out of the way, to get between them and the coast of Flanders. The ship which they thus fell in with, was the *Answer*, Captain Broadgate, who fired upon them very briskly, as the Dutch did likewise. The enemy however did not fire so much as a single gun, but made the best use they could of their oars, and steer-

ing at random, one of them in the night came directly upon the admiral, who discharging all his guns, brought down her main-mast, when, hearing a most lamentable cry, he offered quarter to those who were in her. The other five gallies came to her assistance, at whom he discharged a broadside, but what execution it did could not be discovered. One of the Dutch ships falling foul of the galley called the *Lucera*, carried away her rudder, and so disabled her that she sunk immediately, with all that were on board. By a like accident the *Padilla* split in pieces, and the Dutch vessel, who was the occasion of the disaster, narrowly escaped sharing the same fate. A third was cast away through carelessness of the sailors, in her endeavouring to reach Calais. Two put into Newport. Spinola in the Admiral, with a very valuable cargo, got safe, though with difficulty, into Dunkirk, and after refitting the three gallies, carried them to Sluys. The year following he was killed in an engagement with the Dutch, leaving behind him the character of a very brave and gallant commander.

This was the last great exploit performed by sea in this reign; for the queen, now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the twenty-fourth of March following, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and in the seventieth of her life, when she had settled the Protestant religion throughout her kingdom, had restored the crown to its ancient reputation, supported her allies with the greatest firmness, and humbled her enemies, so as to compel them to think of soliciting for peace. In the following page will be found a list of the ships, and the force, left by her majesty at her decease.

Names and Force of such Ships as her Majesty left at her death.

<i>Names of Ships.</i>	Ton- nage.	Mari- ners.	Gun- ners.	Sol- diers.	<i>Names of Ships.</i>	Ton- nage.	Mari- ners.	Gun- ners.	Sol- diers.
Elizabeth Jonas	900	340	40	120	Swallow	330	114	16	30
Triumph	1000	340	40	120	Foresight	300	114	16	30
White Bear	900	340	40	120	The Tide	250	88	12	20
Victory	800	268	32	100	The Crane	200	70	10	20
Mer-Honneur	800	268	32	100	Adventure	250	88	12	20
Ark Royal	800	268	32	100	Quittance	200	70	10	20
Saint Matthew	1000	340	40	120	Answer	200	70	10	20
Saint Andrew	900	268	32	100	Advantage	200	70	10	20
Due Repulse	700	230	30	90	Tyger	200	70	10	20
Garland	700	190	30	80	Tramontain	—	52	8	10
Warspight	600	190	30	80	The Scout	120	48	8	10
Mary Rose	600	150	30	70	The Catis	100	42	8	10
The Hope	600	150	30	70	The Charles	70	32	6	7
Bonaventure	600	150	30	70	The Moon	60	30	5	5
The Lyon	500	150	30	70	The Advice	50	30	5	5
Nonpareil	500	150	30	70	The Spy	50	30	5	5
Defiance	500	150	30	70	The Merlin	45	26	5	4
Rainbow	500	150	30	70	The Sun	40	24	4	2
Dreadnought	400	130	20	50	Synnet	20	—	—	—
Antelope	350	114	16	30	George Hoy	100	—	—	—
Swiftsure	400	180	20	50	Pennyrose Hoy	80	—	—	—

Her attention to trade appears in many instances, of some of which it may not be amiss to treat more particularly. The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the ill treatment they had received in the days of Edward and Queen Mary; to which she very prudently answered, "That as she would not innovate any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities and condition she found them;" which not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants; for they trying what they could do themselves therein, their adventures and returns proving successful, they took the whole trade into their hands, and so divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers, the one residing constantly at some one place, the other keeping their course and adventuring to other towns and states

abroad, with cloth and other manufactures. This so vexed the Hanse, that they devised all the ways that a discontented people could, to draw upon our new staplers or adventurers the ill opinion of other nations and states; but that proving of too small force to stop the current of so strong a trade as they were now run into, they resorted to some other practices.

They applied themselves to the emperor, as being a society incorporated into the empire; and upon complaint, obtained ambassadors to the queen, to mediate the business, but these returned *re infecta*. Hereupon the queen caused a proclamation to be published, that the merchants of the Hanse should be treated, and used as all other strangers in her dominions, in point of commerce, without any mark of distinction. At last, the Hanse-towns prevailed so far in virtue of their German connections as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the English merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was answered by a proclamation, in consequence of which, sixty sail of their ships were taken in the river of Lisbon, laden with contraband goods for the use of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as sincerely desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at the city of Lubeck in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and their cargoes to be confiscated; only two of them were released to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings.

After this, Sigismond king of Poland interposed in their behalf, sending hither an ambassador, who talking in a very high style, the queen in her answer told him plainly, that the king his master made no right estimate of his own power, and that himself was very little fit for the employment in which she found him. Thus were we ridded for ever of these incorporated foreign factors, and our own merchants

established in the right of managing our commerce. In the latter end of her reign, some disputes happening with the king of Denmark, and he most unadvisedly seizing the English ships that were in his ports, the queen sent Dr. Parkins to demand an immediate and adequate satisfaction; which he did in so peremptory a style, that the Dane was glad to compound the matter for forty thousand dollars, which he paid her Majesty, and which she caused to be proportionably divided among the merchants who were injured.

These are instances of her noble spirit in obtaining redress of grievances in foreign countries, even in the most perilous times, and when her affairs were in the utmost embarrassment. As to her care of trade and navigation within her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiss to observe, that in 1563 an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance, and increase of the navy: and in 1566 there was a law to enable the master, wardens, and the assistants of the Trinity-house, to set up beacons and sea-marks. The same year there passed an act for incorporating, and more effectually establishing the company of merchant-adventurers. In 1571, there likewise passed an act for the increase of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more especially for recovering the trade to Iceland, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred sail of stout ships. In 1585, the queen erected, by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary; and in the year 1600 she incorporated a society of merchants trading to the East Indies, whence the present East India Company is derived, as will be hereafter shewn.

Besides these numerous marks of her royal favour, and strict attention to the commerce of her subjects, the queen afforded others continually, by sending en-

voys and agents to the Czar, to the Shah of Persia, to several great princes in the East Indies, and, in short, wherever her interposition could be of any use to open, to promote, or to recover any branch of traffic; as appears by all the histories that are extant of her reign. It may be said, and which is more, may be said with truth and justice, that in the midst of these great things done for industry and trade, the prerogative was carried very high, many monopolies erected, and several exclusive privileges granted, which have been found injurious to trade. But the discussing these points belong to general history. The queen levied taxes sparingly, and helped out her revenues, by what were then styled rights of the crown. Monopolies were the invention, at least had the countenance, and turned to the profit, of her ministers, who for a time deceived their mistress into the support of them; but when she understood the nature and extent of them, she gave them up. As to statutes prejudicial to trade, there were some founded in popular error, from which no age is exempt: or things themselves have changed their circumstances, if not their nature, that what was or might be judged right then, may be plainly wrong now.

But the peculiar glory of Queen Elizabeth's reign in this respect, was, the great care she took of the coin which, as we have shewn, was shamefully debased in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and though her sister had put an entire stop to this bad practice, yet the circumstances of her affairs were very far from being such as to admit her taking any measures towards an effectual amendment, the base coin continuing to have a currency, though it began to sink in its value; which, however, did not hinder foreigners from pouring in vast quantities of that mixed money, to the great detriment of the nation. But immediately after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Lord Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith, whose papers upon that head are yet extant, interposed with

the queen, and shewed her clearly the bad consequences of a debased coinage, and shewed her farther, that it was not the short ends of wit, or some slight and temporary devices that could sustain the expence of a great monarchy, but sound and solid courses. I make use of their expressions, which though not elegant, are very emphatic. They, therefore, exhorted her to pursue the steps of her great-grandfather Edward IV. and rejecting all expedients as ineffectual in themselves, and unworthy of her, to strike at the root of the evil.

She took their advice, and by a proclamation in the second year of her reign, called in all the debased money, directing it to be marked with a greyhound portcullice, lion, harp, rose, or fleur-de-lys, to distinguish the several intrinsic values of the pieces, it being her design to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural estimation of money; and therefore she directed, that foreign coin and bullion should be brought to her mint, as there was from eight thousand to twenty-two thousand pounds every week, and the like quantity of gold in Spanish pistoles, for the space of about six months, when she repaid her subjects the full value of the silver, in new money of that standard, which has since continued, and which was fixed after mature deliberation, and with a just regard to the value silver and gold had obtained in foreign countries at that time. In the very next year the majority of her council were for undoing all again, by introducing a fresh debasement, but the Lord Burleigh, then Sir William Cecil, and secretary of state, withstood this, as he did every other project of that kind, so long as he lived, with such vehemence of speech, and with such strength of argument, as kept the queen steady to her first measure.

When this great undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the queen took occasion to tell her people in a proclamation, that she had now conquered that monster which had so long devoured them; and it is

very wisely recited in the preamble of an act of parliament, in the fifth year of her reign, "That by her great goodness new money had been coined of the same fineness, as in the time of her noble progenitors." Neither was this famous act, as she herself called it upon another occasion, forgotten, in the inscription placed upon her monument, where, after mention being made of restoring religion to its primitive sincerity, and establishing a lasting tranquillity, it follows, that she reduced the coin to its just value. Hence we may perceive how great an action this was, and of what lasting benefit to the kingdom.

It may, however, contribute not a little to our satisfaction, if we inquire what quantity of coin, both gold and silver, there might be in the nation, towards the close of her reign, because it is of very great consequence to have a just notion of what was the nation's stock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in silver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then, if we consider, that she re-coined almost all the silver specie of the kingdom, and that there was a small alteration in the standard in the latter end of her reign, which raised silver from five shillings to five and two-pence an ounce, which occasioned a new fabrication; so that much of the former coin came into the mint again as bullion; we may, with the judicious Dr. Davenant, estimate the silver coin at that time in this kingdom at two millions and a half, to which if we add the gold of her own and her predecessor's coin, and estimate this at a milion and a half, we may be pretty sure that we are not much wide of the truth, and that one hundred and fifty years ago the current coin of England amounted in the whole to four millions or thereabouts.

As the restoring the coin was in effect putting the first wheel in motion, so this being thus early set right, all the subordinate parts of general commerce

began quickly to resume their respective forces; and the willingness which the queen shewed upon every occasion to facilitate whatever designs were formed for improving her dominions, employing her subjects, and venting the produce of their industry, had such effects, that by degrees, one thing opening a way to another, the face of affairs totally changed. All the complaints that were formerly made gave place to a general approbation of the queen's government among the better part of her subjects, that is, among those who were willing to help themselves by their honest and chearful endeavours to enlarge their properties, and to turn to the utmost advantage the laudable desire, which their sovereign expressed, of encouraging whatever could be invented for the promoting their welfare, and augmenting the public stock.

This disposition in the queen excited a like spirit throughout the whole nation. Not only persons bred to trade, and some of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for discoveries, and planting new-found countries; but even persons of the first distinction became encouragers and adventurers in those designs, such as the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, the earl of Leicester, &c. and some of them actually engaged in the execution of such projects, among whom were the earls of Cumberland, Essex, and Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, &c. And therefore we need not wonder at the surprising increase of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this sort, within so short a period of time. Let us mention only a few: In 1575 Sir Humphry Gilbert attempted the discovery of a north-west passage. In 1577 Sir Martin Forbisher sought one the same way. Pet and Jackman sailed on a like design in 1580 by the direction of the governor and company of merchant-adventurers. An expedition was undertaken at a great

expence by Sir Humphry Gilbert, in order to settle Florida; nor did it miscarry through any error of the undertaker. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have settled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, industry, and public spirit could have effected it; but though he failed in the extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, since he laid the foundation of that settlement, which afterwards so happily succeeded. But it is now time to speak of those great men by whom these celebrated actions were achieved; and first of

CHARLES HOWARD,

BARON OF EFFINGHAM, AFTERWARDS EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, AND LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

WE have already seen two brothers of this illustrious family of Howard successively lord high-admirals, and we are now to speak of another Howard, who arrived by merit at the same high honour, and, which is more, was also the son of a lord high-admiral of England. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. his father having the title only of Lord William Howard. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganshire. Lord William being raised to the title of baron of Effingham, and admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he was about twenty-two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France to compliment King Charles IX. who had just ascended that throne. Nine years afterwards, he was general of horse in the expedition made by the earl of Warwick against the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active.

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which, as we before observed, the queen was pleased should escort Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that ceremonial in their passage to Flanders by Sir John Hawkins, as the reader will find at large related in our memoirs of that gallant seaman. In 1571 he was chosen to parliament as knight of the shire for the county of Surry, and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January the 12th, 1572, in the great office of lord privy seal, and very highly in the queen's favour.

The queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom. He became first chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected knight of the garter. Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were, certainly, the most opposite people in the world in their tempers: for, whereas Leicester was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things, the lord-chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public-spirited man, in the good graces of the queen from his known affection to her person; and exceedingly popular as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal, and heroic family. When, therefore, the earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of high-admiral, which she did with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was excessively beloved.

When the Spaniards had spent three years in pre-

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

When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with his own hands, and, with six ships only got the first night, out of Plymouth, and the next morning, having no more than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish navy. He shewed his conduct and prudence by dispatching his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hobby, to the queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land-forces for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance. His valour he discovered in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and re-

tiring as soon as he had light enough to discover his own, without loss.

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

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

“Worthy of perpetual memory,” says he, “was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in *anno* 1588, by the worthy earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England, who in the like case, with pure and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many courageous and noble captains who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard; but when he foresaw, that the enemy had an army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and higher moulded, so that they, who with such advantage fought from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter peradventure proving more fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but glory

and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country, and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge all things by the external appearance), seemed invincible, but, truly considered, was much inferior to ours in all things of substance, as the event proved; for we sunk, spoiled, and took many of them, and they diminished of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name save only Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidst his company. The greatest damage that, as I remember, they caused to any of our ships, was to the Swallow of her Majesty's, which I had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire, shot into her beak-head, which we saw not because of the sail, till it had burnt a hole in the rose as big as a man's head; the arrow falling out, and driving along by the ship's side, made us doubt of it, which, after, we discovered."

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

"That, by the victory obtained *anno* 1588, he had secured the kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain and other impending dangers; and did also, in conjunction with our dear cousin Robert, earl of Essex, seize by force the isle, and the strongly for-

tified city of Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain; and did likewise entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the king of Spain, prepared in that port against this kingdom."—An honourable preamble! but less needful in that reign than in any other, since it was well known, that Queen Elizabeth parted not with titles till they were deserved, and where she knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this case it loudly did; for the earl of Nottingham, on his first going to the house of peers, was received with unusual marks of joy, sufficiently declaring how worthy the best judges esteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen added also another, making him lord justice itinerant of all the forest south of Trent, for life.

The next great service in which the earl of Nottingham was employed was in 1599, when the state was again in very great danger. On the one side, the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other, the earl of Essex, who was then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels he was sent to reduce, and forming, as it was believed, some designs of employing the troops, with the command of which he was entrusted by the queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all hopes, indeed all shadow of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and, to shew the confidence she had in the admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased

to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high and very unusual title of LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND, an office scarcely known to former, never revived in succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces.

The unfortunate earl of Essex, having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland, and return to England, the queen thought fit to punish this dangerous contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again in favour. But he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to have compelled the queen to do what he thought expedient. Upon his failing in this wild and ill-concerted project, he retired with such as were about him to Essex-house in the Strand where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy-councillors sent by the queen to inquire into the grievances which had driven him to this rebellious violence, as he pretended. This was on the 8th of February 1600, when the queen saw herself, in the decline of her life, and after she had triumphed over all her foreign foes, in the utmost peril from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who had thus excited a dangerous sedition in her capital, on the point of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perilous situation she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the lord-admiral, who, she often said, WAS BORN TO SERVE AND TO SAVE HIS COUNTRY.

He performed on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the queen could expect; for he in a few hours reduced the earl of Essex, after a romantic sally into

the city, to such distress, that he was content to yield himself a prisoner; and, when he had so done, the lord high-admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible. The same year the admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl-marshal of England; and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleased to declare her royal intention, as to the succession, in favour of the KING OF SCOTS.

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

On his return he was not so well received at court as he had reason to expect, which was by no means

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

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

It appears, however, upon the strictest inquiry, and due consideration of all circumstances, that these stories are very ill founded, and that in reality the earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to himself, or capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any participation of

Buckingham, or so much as his knowledge, and was, on account of his age and infirmities, very easily agreed to. His estate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these: that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown should be remitted, that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds, and that, as earl of Nottingham, he should take precedence in the house according to the descent of his ancestors, so created by Richard II. and not as a new-made peer.

These points were quickly adjusted. The duke went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning in his favour, at the same time that he made the young countess a present of three thousand pounds. He carried also his respect to this venerable old man, ever after as far, as it was possible, calling him always, FATHER, and bending his knee whenever he approached him. Besides all this, Sir Robert Mansel, who had been ever a dependent on, and was once the earl of Nottingham's menial servant, but then vice-admiral during pleasure, by the interest of the duke, had that office confirmed to him for life by patent, which his old master took so kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a visit to return him thanks. In reference to the public, the king was so much aware of what might be said upon this change, that he appointed the marquis of Buckingham in quality of lord high-admiral, a council composed of persons of rank, and who were perfectly versed in naval affairs, without whose advice he was to do nothing material, and by whose advice and assistance he actually made a great reform, bringing the ordinary expence of the fleet from fifty-four thousand to thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, chiefly by his interest in procuring effectual funds to be assigned for this service. On the whole, therefore, there

seems to be nothing in the least dishonourable in this transaction, for all parties were served, and all seem to have been content. What is said to the contrary flows evidently from a desire of prejudicing the world against the memories of men, from surmises and conjectures, a method of all others the most destructive of the true end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and instruct thereby such as peruse it.

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

In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr. Fuller phrases it, at once. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in King James's court, we need not wonder, that among

these, the earl of Nottingham met with some detractors. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censures. He who beat the Spanish armada, equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea in a fortnight's time, and, by his presence alone, dispirited the earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man. Though we should grant to his enemies, that he was not very learned, and expressed himself a little bluntly, for a person of so high quality, yet he had little or no tincture of those arts which, though they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have inserted this history here, because, notwithstanding he died in the reign of K. James, he spent his life in the service of Queen Elizabeth. He was, indeed, the king's ambassador in Spain, but, as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great statesman, I thought it but just to insert his memoirs where they might do his memory most honour. For the same reason I refer those of Sir Walter Raleigh to the succeeding reign, because the last action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under King James. But it is time to resume the thread of our discourse, and to proceed to an account of

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX,
ADMIRAL, GENERAL, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF SEA
AND LAND FORCES.

ROBERT DEVEREUX was son to Walter, the first earl of Essex, by Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, who was related to Queen Elizabeth. He was born on the tenth of November, 1567, at Nethewood, his father's seat in Herefordshire. When his father breathed his last in Ireland, at which time, this his son was only in the tenth year of his age, he

recommended him to the protection of the earl of Sussex, and to the care of Lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

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

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

On his return to England in 1587, the earl of Essex was made master of the horse; and in the year 1588, when her majesty thought fit to assemble an

army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom against the Spaniards, she gave the command of it, under herself, to the earl of Leicester, and appointed the earl of Essex general of the horse. He was also about this time made a knight of the garter.

In 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake having undertaken an expedition for restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal, the earl of Essex, desirous of sharing the glory, imprudently followed the fleet and army to Spain, without the knowledge or consent of the queen. His lordship carried with him his brother, Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield. They joined the English fleet on the thirteenth of May; on the sixteenth they landed; and the same day the earl of Essex skirmished with the Spaniards. He was present in every action that passed in the neighbourhood of Lisbon; and, by a trumpet, challenged the governor, or any of equal quality with himself, to single combat. At length, when for want of artillery, it appeared impracticable for them to become masters of the castle, and their army, which had been much lessened by the attack upon Corunna, diminishing daily, it was found necessary to return home, which they did towards the month of June. The queen had been much displeas'd at Essex's setting out on this expedition without her permission; at his return, however, he soon recovered her Majesty's good graces; but which he again hazarded by a private marriage with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sydney. From this time, for some years the earl of Essex had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in professional services. He sometimes amused himself with those fanciful entertainments which were at this time in vogue. "Essex," says Mr. Horace Walpole, "was gallant, romantic, and ostentatious; his shooting-matches, in the eye of the city, gained him great popularity; the ladies and the people never ceased to

adore him. His genius for shows, and those pleasures that carry an image of war, was as remarkable as his spirit in the profession itself." One of his masks, which was exhibited at the latter end of the year 1595, is described by a contemporary; an extract from the account of which will present to the reader some idea of the amusements of that age. "My Lord of Essex's device," says Rowland White, "is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met by an old hermit,—a secretary of state,—a brave soldier,—and an esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave-fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before the earl's entry. In short, each of them endeavoured to win him over to their profession, and to persuade him to leave his vain following of love, and to betake him to heavenly meditation. But the esquire answered them all, and told them plainly, "That this knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies." He pointed out all the defects of their several pursuits, and, therefore, thought his own course of life to be best in serving his mistress.—The queen said, 'that if she had thought there would have been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night.'

In 1596, an expedition was set on foot against the Spaniards. The force employed herein was very considerable, in all not less than a hundred and fifty sail, of which one hundred and twenty-six were men of war; but of these, only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest being hired and fitted up for this voy-

age. On board this fleet were embarked upwards of seven thousand men. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the earl of Essex, and the lord-admiral Howard, both of whom had expended great sums of their own in this armament. The particular design of this expedition was, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were named as a council to the earl of Essex and the lord-admiral. Besides the English fleet, there was also a Dutch squadron, under the command of admiral Van Duvenvoord, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled.

This navy lay for some time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready; and, in the meantime, the queen seemed every now and then disposed to countermand this expedition; which gave great uneasiness to the earl of Essex, who was very eager for the enterprise. However, on the first of June, the whole fleet set sail with a fair wind for the coast of Spain. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel; by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

They arrived in sight of Cadiz on the twentieth of June. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were fifty-nine Spanish ships, many of which were laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty gallees. It was resolved the same day, in a council of war, to

have landed all their forces at St. Sebastian's; but when they came to attempt it, it was found impracticable. It was afterwards determined to attack the ships and galleys in the bay, though this attempt was deemed somewhat rash: but Essex strenuously urged the enterprize; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea for joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when the lord-admiral informed him, that the queen, who was anxious for his safety, and who dreaded the effects of his warm and ardent temper, had secretly given orders, that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Lord Thomas Howard: but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promise which the lord-admiral had exacted of him, to keep in the midst of the fleet. He broke through, and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire; and the enemy were soon obliged by the English to slip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships a-ground. The St. Andrew and the St. Matthew, two Spanish ships, were recovered by our men, before the Spaniards could fire them. The St. Philip and St. Thomas were fired, and so were many of the rest. One of their argosies was taken, whose ballast was great ordnance; and another was burnt with the rest of the ships of war.

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

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

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

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

The earl of Essex, anxious for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to farther achievements: he insisted on the keeping possession of Cadiz, and he undertook, with four hundred men and three month's

provisions, to defend the place till succours should arrive from England. But this was opposed by the other commanders, who were also little disposed to any new enterprises. They seemed satisfied with the honour that they had already acquired; and it is supposed that many of the officers were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Accordingly, having amassed together all the riches they could make, demolished the forts, and burnt all the edifices in the city, the churches excepted, the English fleet again put to sea.

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

After their departure from Faro, a council of war was called, in which the earl of Essex was very urgent for sailing towards the isles of Azores, in order to intercept the Plate-fleet; but in this he was over-ruled, and it was resolved to hold on their course to the Groyne. Essex then proposed to send all the weak

and ill-manned ships to England; and offered, with two of the queen's, and ten other ships, to make towards the Azores: but this proposal was also rejected, under pretext of the vast loss by sickness and other accidents, and the scarcity of provisions. This extremely chagrined the earl of Essex; and he obliged every member of the council of war to sign the opinion he delivered. When the fleet came before the Groyne, they found nothing but an empty harbour, both there and at Ferrol. Essex then proposed to land the troops, and attempt to take the Groyne, while the ships should cruize along the coasts of Gallicia; but in this he was again over-ruled; and, on the eighth and tenth days of August, the whole English fleet returned to Plymouth. But Essex was so much disgusted at the other commanders having refused to concur in any other enterprise, that, after his return, he drew up an account of this expedition, in which he very freely censured the conduct of the other officers and generals: but by this he drew upon himself a great deal of ill-will.

The earl, after his return from the Cadiz expedition, was in high esteem both with the queen and with the nation; and he probably would have enjoyed a greater degree of her majesty's favour, if he had been less in favour with the people, or if he had seemed to value it at a lower rate than he did. But being little capable of dissimulation, the warmth of his temper at once discovered his real sentiments of affection or dislike, which easily exposed him to the designs of his enemies, who were well skilled in those arts with which he was but little acquainted.

In the spring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh armada from Lisbon, composed not only of his own ships and gallies, but also of all that he could take up, or hire in Italy, or elsewhere. On board of these, he embarked a large body of troops, especially of the Irish, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds disappoint-

ed him, scattered his fleet, and cast away thirty-six sail. Upon which the earl of Essex strongly recommended to the queen, the fitting out a squadron in order to intercept the Plate-fleet near the Azores, and also to burn the Spanish ships in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. Her Majesty approving of this proposal, equipped a large fleet, consisting of forty men of war, and seventy other ships, to which the Dutch added ten men of war. There were embarked on board this fleet five thousand new levied soldiers, and a thousand veteran troops. The earl of Essex was appointed admiral, general, and commander in chief, both of the sea and land forces: the Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral, and Sir Walter Raleigh rear admiral: the Lord Mountjoy was lieutenant-general of the land forces, and Sir Francis Vere lord-marshal. Many persons of distinction attended as volunteers; and we may guess at the interest Essex had in the success of this voyage, by the number of his friends who engaged in it: amongst those of the nobility, were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich.

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

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

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

The earl of Essex, soon after his arrival in England, repaired to court, where he had the mortification to find, that Sir Robert Cecil, who had been the year before made secretary of state against his lordship's inclination, had also been made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster during his absence. But what provoked him most, and which he could not brook, was, the advancement of the lord-admiral Howard to the earldom of Nottingham. He shewed evident signs of great displeasure, retired to his house at Wanstead, and, under pretence of sickness, absented himself from parliament. The cause of his discontent was not altogether unreasonable. By virtue of a regulation made in the reign of Henry VIII. the great chamberlain of England, the earl-marshal, the lord-admiral, and the steward of the household, were to have precedence in parliament of all peers of the same rank; so that if the earl of Essex had attended the service of the house, the earl of Nottingham, created but a few weeks before, would have taken place of him in virtue of this regulation. Essex also particularly resented it, that, in the patent for Nottingham's promotion, it was said, that this dignity was conferred upon him on account of his services in the year 1588, against the Spanish armada, and also since in the taking of Cadiz, in conjunction with the earl of Essex. But Essex thought himself injured, that any share in the latter action should be ascribed to Nottingham; and he, therefore, for some time, retired from court in disgust.

However, in December this year, 1597, the earl began to appear more publicly than he had done for some time before : but he then proposed to have Nottingham's patent for the earldom altered, insisting to have right done him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat against the earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name, who should defend it ; or that her majesty would take the consideration of the affair into her own hands ; and then he would submit to whatever she should please to determine. This contest gave great disturbance to the court, and interruption to all other business. Sir Walter Raleigh was, therefore, employed by the queen to reconcile the two earls ; but Essex seemed resolved not to agree to less than an alteration of Nottingham's patent, which could not be done without the consent of the latter. However, on the 18th of December, the earl of Essex received satisfaction, being created earl-marshal of England by her majesty's letters patent ; which office gave him the precedence of Nottingham, who, on the 20th of December, resigned his staff of lord-steward, and the next day retired to his house at Chelsea, pretending sickness.

On the following year the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge became vacant by the death of the lord-treasurer, Burleigh, whereupon that learned body chose the earl of Essex for their chancellor in his room. And, upon this account, he went down to pay them a visit, and was entertained at Queen's College with great magnificence ; and, as a proof of their general affection, the room in which he lay was long after distinguished by the name of Essex Chamber.

About this period a private council was called to determine upon a proper person to be sent governor of Ireland. Essex and the queen were at variance as to the fittest man. The dispute was warm, and the minister, unable to persuade his sovereign, contemp-

tuously turned his back upon her. Provoked at his insolence, she bade him retire and be hanged, accompanying her command with a blow on the face. Essex, thrown off his guard, clasped his sword, swearing the affront was such, as he could not and would not put up with. He withdrew in anger, and for some time seemed to set at defiance the queen's displeasure, but at length he submitted, and was restored to favour. A renewal of troubles in Ireland required a new governor, and Essex was appointed to this office, which he accepted, though probably much against his inclination, for in a letter which he wrote to the queen before his departure, he asks, "From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands?" He, however, went, but his success did not correspond with the expectations that had been formed by the queen, and that had indeed been excited by his own letters; he resolved to return to vindicate his conduct. Arriving unexpectedly, and in defiance of the commands under which he ought to have acted, he threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who at first seemed to receive him with more favour than he had anticipated; but he was soon after treated with much severity, committed to private custody, examined with rigour before the council, and suspended from almost all his employments. He endeavoured to bear the reverse of fortune with patience and fortitude, but his feelings and passions overcame his reason, and he sunk into an alarming illness; during this he had the satisfaction of being favoured with some extraordinary tokens of the queen's remaining regard: and he might still have reinstated himself in her favour, but, being set at liberty, and listening to the dangerous counsels

of Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, he seemed anxious to take revenge on his enemies. A conspiracy was formed against the person of the sovereign, which being discovered, lord Essex and others were apprehended under a charge of high treason. He and his chief adherent, the earl of Southampton, were committed to the Tower, and were afterwards tried by a jury of their peers, and were found guilty of the crimes with which they were charged. Sentence was pronounced, and the earl of Essex heard it with composure as a man prepared for his fate. The queen was long before she could be brought to sign the fatal warrant for the execution of her once favourite minister: she waited for an application for mercy, and construed his silence to an obstinacy not to be forgiven. He was executed on the 25th of February 1601. He met his death not with any apparent anxiety or terror, but with a humility and contrition which his religion inspired. He suffered in his thirty-fourth year. His character was adorned with many splendid virtues: he was brave, open, and affectionate; but it must be admitted that his conduct was often marked with rashness, violence, and precipitancy. He was a friend and the patron of literature. His memory has been always popular, and his unfortunate end has been the subject of four different tragedies.

SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT, KNIGHT,

AN EMINENT SEAMAN, AND GREAT DISCOVERER.

THIS gentleman was descended from a very ancient and honorable family in Devonshire, seated there at least as early, and, if some writers are to be credited, even before the conquest. His father's name was Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, Esq. his mother, Catherine daughter of Sir Philip Champnon, of

Modbury, in the same county, who afterwards married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Esq. and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, half-brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing. He was but a second son, though his father, having a good estate, left him a considerable fortune.

It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, first at Eton, afterwards at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to distinguish himself in an age fruitful of great men. He was as fortunate in an aunt as in a mother, Mrs. Catherine Ashly, who attended on the person, and was much in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. She introduced him to that princess while a boy, and the queen being much pleased with his courtly behaviour, love of learning, and generous disposition, recommended him to Sir Henry Sidney as a youth of merit. His genius naturally led him to the study of cosmography, navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he with great courage exposed his person early in the service of his country, and acquired a very just reputation from his actions, before he entered upon any of his great projects.

The first place wherein he was distinguished for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring spirit, was, in the expedition to Newhaven, wherein he behaved with so much prudence, and his various attempts were attended with so great success, that though then but a young man, he was much considered, and raised high expectations in all who knew him. In several expeditions undertaken in those troublesome times, he added to his fortune as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in discourse and with his pen, to render a reason for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be considered, by some of the most eminent persons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of doing his country great service, particularly in Ireland, where men of

true abilities were much wanted. Their conceptions concurring with Mr. Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himself known by great achievements, which was the ruling passion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and passing over into that island, became president of Munster, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Irish, than any Englishman employed in that service.

By his industry and address, he composed the tumults raised by the Mac-Carthies, and by his valour and activity drove the Butlers out of his province, when they swerved from their duty. He likewise forced James Fitz-Maurice, the greatest captain amongst the Irish, to abandon his country, and seek for safety abroad, and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, which would well deserve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my design: but as we mention him only as a seaman, it will be unnecessary to dwell on such actions of his life as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us hasten to the proposals which he made for discovering a passage by the north to the Indies, in which he laboured as rationally and as assiduously, though at the same time as unsuccessfully as any man in the age in which he lived.

It is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquired the honour of knighthood before his return out of Ireland or not: there are authorities on both sides; but I incline to think, that he received that honour from Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to England till some years afterwards. The first discovery he made, both of his knowledge and of his intentions, was, in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies, which was first printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written some time before.

It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the close of it there is an account of another treatise of navigation which he had written and intended to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was, to excite a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of the north-west passage, for that he still had this, among other projects in view, is plain from the letters-patent granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert, in 1583. For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at Westminster, June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the western discovery of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands hitherto unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects.

Immediately on the procuring these letters-patent, Sir Humphry applied himself to the procuring associates in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be highly successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; yet, when the project came to be executed, many departed from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way. These misfortunes, however, did not deter Sir Humphry from prosecuting his scheme, in which also he was seconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends, of unshaken resolution. With these he sailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a short time, and being then compelled to return, he in his passage home met with some Spanish vessels, from whom he cleared himself with great difficulty. This seems to have been in the summer of 1578; but we have a very dark account of it, without dates or circumstances, further than those which have been

already given. Yet his miscarriage in this first undertaking, was far from discouraging him; for after his return he went on as cheerfully as he had done before, in procuring fresh assistance for completing what he intended, and for promoting Christian knowledge, by the means of English settlements in undiscovered lands. This conduct sufficiently shewed, not only the steadiness of his courage, but the extent of his credit, since after such a disappointment, another commander would scarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which, however, was not his case.

One thing which hastened his second expedition was this, that though the grant in his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clause in it by which it was declared void, in case no possession was actually taken within the space of six years. This term drawing to a close, Sir Humphry in the spring of the year 1583, hastened his friends in their preparations, so as by the first of June his little fleet was in readiness to sail. It consisted of five ships. I. The Delight, of the burden of 120 tons, admiral, in which went the general Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him captain William Winter. II. The bark Raleigh, a stout new ship of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned, and victualled at the expense of Sir Walter, then Mr. Raleigh, under the command of captain Butler. III. The Golden Hind of 40 tons, rear-admiral, commanded by captain Edward Hayes, who was also her owner. IV. The Swallow, of the like burden, commanded by captain Maurice Brown. V. The Squirrel, of the burden only of 10 tons, under the command of captain William Andrews.

They sailed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June, and on the thirteenth, the bark Raleigh returned, the captain and most of those on board her falling sick of a contagious distemper. On the thirtieth of the same month, the rest of the fleet had sight of Newfoundland. On the third of August they landed, the

general read his commission, which was submitted to by all the English vessels upon the coast; and on the fifth, he took possession of the harbour of St. John, in the name of the queen of England, and granted, as her patentee, certain leases unto such as were willing to take them. At the same time, a discovery was made of a very rich silver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpose.

Sir Humphry now inclined to put to sea again, in order to make the best use of his time in discovering as far as possible; and, having sent home the *Swallow*, with such as were sick, or discouraged with the hardships they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St. John's in 47 degrees 40 minutes, N. L. on the twentieth of August, himself in the small sloop called the *Squirrel*, because, being light, she was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; Captain Brown in the *Delight*, and Captain Hayes in the *Golden Hind*. On the twenty-seventh, they found themselves in latitude of 45 degrees; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue so, yet on the twenty-ninth of August in the evening, a sudden storm arose, wherein the *Delight* was lost, twelve men only escaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with respect to the value of the ship, and the lives of the men, but also in regard to his future hopes, for in her he lost his Saxon miner, and with him the silver ore which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was so confident, as to tell some of his friends, that upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thousand pounds of the queen for his next voyage.

On the second of September he went on board the *Golden Hind*, in order to have his foot dressed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and those who were in that vessel did all that was in their power to persuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he ab-

solutely refused to do, affirming, that he would never desert his bark and his little crew, with whom he had escaped so many dangers. A generous but fatal resolution! for the vessel, being too small to resist the swell of those tempestuous seas, about midnight on the ninth of September, was swallowed up, and never seen more. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was seen sitting in the stern of the bark, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to say with a loud voice, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land." Thus he died like a Christian hero, full of hope, as having the testimony of a good conscience. Mr. Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it; affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal resolution of sailing in the *Squirrel*, by a malicious report that had been spread of his being timorous at sea. If so, it appears that death was less dreadful to him than shame; but it is hard to believe that so wise a man could be wrought upon by so weak and insignificant a reflection.

Such was the fate of Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT! one of the worthiest men of that age, whether we regard the strength of his understanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from Prince's *Worthies of Devonshire*; but that I am suspicious of their credit, and the more so, because they do not agree well together; besides they are but trivial, and my design leads me to take notice of such only as concern his character. The reason I have given his memoirs a place here is this, that he was in a manner the parent of all our plantations, being the first who introduced a legal and regular method of settling, without which, such undertakings must necessarily prove unsuccessful. Besides, his treatise of the north-west passage was the ground of all the expectations, which the best seamen had for many years, of actually finding such a route to the

East Indies; and, though at present we know many things advanced therein to be false, yet we likewise find many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reason, and the philosophy then commonly received. I shall conclude my account of him by transcribing a passage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of consideration, because some later accounts of the Spanish missionaries in California affirm the same thing.

“There was,” says he, “one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland, *anno* 1568, who affirmed the north-west passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be believed in America navigable; and further said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then lord-deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer del Sur into Germany through this north-west passage, and shewed Salvaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a sea-card made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described this north-west passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius’s map. And further, this friar told the king of Portugal, as he returned by that country homeward, that there was (of certainty) such a passage north-west from England, and that he meant to publish the same; which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage known to any nation; for that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This friar (as Salvaterra reported) was the greatest discoverer by sea that hath been in our age. Also Salvaterra, being persuaded of this passage by the Friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompany me in this discovery,

which it is like he would not have done, if he had stood in doubt thereof.”

It is true, that Sir William Monson discredits this relation, and he endeavours to refute all the reasons that have been offered to support the opinion of a passage to the north-west; I do not enter into the dispute, but only give the fact, which, as I have said, is confirmed by later testimonies to the same purpose. Let us now proceed to

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

THIS gentleman was a native of Devonshire as well as the former, and descended also of a good family: his father was William Hawkins, Esq. a gentleman of a considerable estate; his mother's name was Joan Trelawny, daughter of William Trelawny, of the county of Cornwall, Esq. John Hawkins was their second son, born at Plymouth, but in what year, I have not been able to find: however, from circumstances we may gather, that it could not be later than 1520. He was, from his youth, addicted to navigation and the study of the mathematics, as, indeed, were all his family, and began very early to carry his skill into practice, by making several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in those days extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his contemporaries.

Of these voyages we have no particular account, any more than of those of his father Mr. William Hawkins, who was likewise a very great seaman, and the first of our nation who made a voyage to Brazil. His son, probably, reaped the benefit of his observations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth as an officer at sea, when some, who were, afterwards, her

chief commanders, were but boys, and learned the skill by which they rose, from him.

In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors; but much more so in its consequences to his country. In several trips to the Canaries, where, by his tenderness and humanity, he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After due consideration, he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription among his friends for opening a new trade, first to Guinea for slaves, and then to Hispaniola, St. John, de Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides, silver, &c. Upon his representation of the affair, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Gunson, whose daughter Mr. Hawkins married, readily joined in the undertaking.

At their expence a little fleet was prepared, composed of the following ships: the Solomon, of the burden of one hundred and twenty tons, in which went Mr. Hawkins himself; the Swallow, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton, and a bark of forty tons, called the Jonas; on board of which there were about one hundred men in all. Such were the beginnings of Britain's naval power! With this squadron he sailed from the coast of England in the month of October, 1562; and, in his course, first touched at Teneriffe, sailed thence to the coast of Guinea, where, having by force or purchase, acquired three hundred negroe slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola, and, making there a large profit, he returned safe into England in the month of September, 1563.

The next year he made another voyage with a much greater force, himself being in the *Jesus of Lubbeck*, a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by

the Solomon, and two barks, the Tiger and the Swallow. He sailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coast of Guinea; and thence to the Spanish West Indies, where he forced a trade much to his profit; and, after visiting the port of the Havannah, came home through the Gulf of Florida, arriving at Padstowe in Cornwall, on the twentieth of September, 1565, having lost but twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities. His skill and success had now raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarenceux king at arms, granted him, by patent, for his crest, "a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord:" a worthy symbol of the infamous traffic which he had opened to his country.

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

Mr. Hawkins made this, as he did his former voyage, in the Jesus of Lubeck, accompanied by the Minion and four other ships. He sailed with these from Plymouth the second of October, 1567. At first they met with such storms, that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his course to the Canaries, thence to the coast of Guinea, and so to the Spanish America to sell his negroes. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for, notwithstanding this, they traded together in a friendly manner till most of the negroes were sold. Thence he sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but, in returning home, being surprised with storms on the coast of Florida, he was forced to steer for the port of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the bay

of Mexico. He entered the port on the sixteenth of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, supposing him to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly frightened when they found their mistake. Mr. Hawkins treated them very civilly, assuring them, that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant-ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth 200,000 pounds, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction, whom he kept as hostages, while an express was sent to Mexico with an account of his demands.

The next day the Spanish fleet appeared in sight, which gave Captain Hawkins great uneasiness; for, if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be lost with all they had on board, which amounted to nearly two millions sterling; an act which, considering there was no war declared against Spain, he was afraid his native sovereign Queen Elizabeth would never pardon. On the other hand, he was no less sensible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would agree that the English should have victuals for their money, that hostages should be given on both sides, and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon which were therein, should be yielded to his crew while they staid. At these demands the viceroy at first seemed highly displeased; yet, quickly after, he yielded to them, and, at a personal conference with Mr. Hawkins, solemnly promised to perform them.

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the 26th with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides using reciprocal civilities, and professing a great deal of friendship. But

the Spaniards intended nothing but *professions*; for they had mustered 1000 men on land, and designed, on Thursday the 24th, at dinner-time, to set on the English on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the English perceived the Spaniards shifting their weapons from ship to ship, pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewise observed a greater number of men passing backwards and forwards than the business on board the ships required, which, with other circumstances, giving grounds of suspicion, Captain Hawkins sent to the viceroy to know the meaning of such unusual motions; whereupon the viceroy gave orders to have every thing removed that might give the English umbrage, with a promise, on the faith of a viceroy, to be their defence against any clandestine attempts of the Spaniards. The captain, however, not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected a great number of men to be hidden in a ship of 900 tons, which was moored next the *Minion*, sent the master of the *Jesus*, who understood Spanish, to know of the viceroy whether it was so or not. The viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous design no longer, detained the master, and causing the trumpet to be sounded, the Spaniards on this signal, of which they were apprized, began the attack upon the English on all sides. Those who were upon the island being struck with fear at this sudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships; but the Spaniards, debarking in great numbers at several places at once, slew them all without mercy, excepting a few who escaped on board the *Jesus*.

The great ship, wherein 300 men were concealed, immediately fell on board the *Minion*; but she, having put all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but a bare half hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the

Jesus aboard, which was, at the same time, attacked by two other ships. However, with much ado, and the loss of many men, she kept them off till she had cut her cable, and got clear also. As soon as the Jesus and the Minion were got two ships' length from the Spanish fleet, they began the fight, which was so furious, that in one hour the admiral of the Spaniards and another ship were supposed to be sunk, and their vice-admiral burned, so that they had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and mangled all the masts and rigging of the Jesus in such a manner, that there was no hopes of bringing her off.

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

The Minion and the Judith were the only two English ships that escaped; and in the night the Judith, which was a bark only of fifty tons, separated herself from the Minion, on board which was Captain Hawkins and the best part of his men. In this distress, having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the 8th of October, and then entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in order to obtain some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of 23 degrees 36 minutes N. where his company dividing, one hundred desired to be put on

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

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

This expedition probably damped the ardour of our navigator for maritime enterprise, and he chose to continue at home: however, his sovereign thought proper to give him still an opportunity of employing his skill and experience in the public service, by appointing him, in 1573, treasurer of the navy. This post was, at that time, not only of considerable honour and profit, but of great trust likewise, the trea-

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

surer or comptroller of the navy having usually the command of the squadron destined to protect the narrow seas, and, in a great measure, the direction of what might be styled the economy of the navy, with regard to building, repairing, equipping, victualling, and manning the vessels in the queen's service. In the discharge of this office, Captain Hawkins gave the highest proofs of his capacity and integrity.

About this time Mr. Hawkins was very nearly killed in the Strand, by Peter Birchet, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, who, being deranged, had formed a design of killing Hatton the queen's vice-chancellor. He mistook Captain Hawkins for the minister and stabbed him, but not mortally. Hawkins soon disarmed and secured him: the assassin was sent to the Tower, where, in a fit of frenzý, he killed the keeper, for which he was tried, condemned, and executed on the spot in which he had attempted the life of Captain Hawkins. His right hand was first cut off, after which he was immediately hung on a gibbet.

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

not expect to lie there; but, in twelve hours, weigh his anchor and be gone, otherwise he should regard him as a declared enemy, his conduct having already rendered him suspected.

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

Upon this Sir John Hawkins told him mildly, that he could not be a stranger to what was practised by the French and Spaniards in their own seas and ports, adding, "Put the case, Sir, that an English fleet came into any of the king your master's ports, his majesty's ships being there, and those English ships should carry their flags in their tops, would you not shoot them down, and beat the ships out of your port?" The Spaniard owned he would, confessed he was in the wrong, submitted to the penalty Sir John imposed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his son Sir Richard Hawkins, who was eye-witness of all that passed.

The next great action of this worthy seaman was, his service under the lord high-admiral, in 1588, against the Spanish armada, wherein he acted as rear-admiral on board her Majesty's ship the *Victory*, and had as large a share of the danger and honour of that

day as any man in the fleet, for which he most deservedly received the honour of knighthood; and in pursuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary service, insomuch that, on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen.

In 1590, he was sent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbisher, each having a squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of Spain, and intercept, if possible, the Plate-fleet. At first, his Catholic majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders, with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan; but upon more mature deliberation he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions into the Indies, that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there. Sir John Hawkins and his colleague spent seven months in this station, without performing any thing of note, or so much as taking a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of Fayal, which had submitted the year before to the earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being re-fortified, and the inhabitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his associates were forced to retreat.

It must be owned, that with the populace very small reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they lost no credit at court, where the issue of the business was better understood. By compelling the Spanish navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and the wintering of their Plate-ships in the Indies, proved so great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke, in Seville and other places; besides, it was so great a prejudice to their vessels to winter in the Indies, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued, the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the nation gained a very signal advantage, by grievously distressing her enemies.

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

The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished, on her part, a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their squadron consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and their whole force amounted to about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready on the English coast by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, conceived, that the only means by which it could be defeated was, practising some contrivances that might disappoint the first exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themselves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually sent four gallies to make a sudden

descent on Cornwall. By these steps they carried their point; for, the queen and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage at so critical a juncture.

At last, this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning *Nombre de Dios*, marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived at that place from Peru. A few days before their departure, the queen sent them advice, that the Platefleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only a single galleon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto-Rico; the taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at sea, the generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was, for executing immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go first to the Canaries, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unsuccessful, and then they sailed for Dominica, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves, and setting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto-Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the English admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the same day, the *Francis*, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died, on the twenty-first of November, 1595, when they were in sight of the island of Porto-Rico,

and not, as Sir William Monson suggests, of chagrin on the miscarriage in attempting the city of the same name, which in truth he never lived to see.

At so great a distance of time it may seem strange to enter into, or at least to enter minutely into the character of this famous seaman; but as we have good authorities, and such reflections may be of use to posterity, we think it not amiss to undertake this task, in performing which, we shall use all the care and impartiality that can be expected. Sir John had naturally strong parts, which he improved by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own. He was slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a great part of his life at sea, he had too great a dislike of land-soldiers. When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than of a reserved disposition. And now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greatest, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all just bounds.

In spite, however, of his imperfections, he was always esteemed one of the ablest of his profession, of which these are no inconsiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at sea forty-eight years, and treasurer of the navy two and twenty.

He and his eldest brother William were owners at once of thirty sail of good ships; and it was generally owned, that Sir John Hawkins was the author of more useful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had bore command therein before his time. One instance of this among many, was the institution of that noble fund, the CHEST at CHATHAM, which was the humane and wise contrivance of this gentleman and Sir Francis Drake; and their scheme, that seamen safe and successful should, by a voluntary deduction

from their pay, give relief to the wants, and reward to those who are maimed in the service of their country, was approved by the queen, and has been adopted by posterity. Sir John Hawkins built also a noble hospital, which he plentifully endowed at the same place. He was elected member of parliament three times.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

THE FIRST PERSON WHO MADE A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, AND VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN 1588.

It seems in some measure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that several of the most illustrious persons in our nation have risen from very obscure beginnings, and have left their historians difficulties enough to struggle with in deriving their descents. This is particularly true of Sir Francis Drake, concerning whose family I can say nothing with certainty. That he was born in Devonshire, occasioned his being taken notice of by the Reverend Mr. Prince, who has left us a life of him not much to be depended on; and as to earlier writers, who might have been better informed, many of them are silent.

According to the account given by Mr. Camden, who professes to have taken it from his own mouth, we are told, that he was son of a person in ordinary circumstances, who lived at a small village in Devonshire, and that Sir Francis Russel, afterwards the earl of Bedford, was his godfather. His father, having embraced the Protestant religion, was obliged to quit his country, and retire to Kent, where he first read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained deacon, and in process of time became vicar of the church of Upnore. As for our Francis Drake, he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting

vessel, whom he served so faithfully, that, dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ship to Drake, which laid the foundation of his fortunes.

I do not doubt, but many or indeed most of the circumstances in this story may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they stand in Camden, they cannot be so; for, first, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the six articles, and he was born some time before, Sir Francis Russel could have been but a child, and therefore not likely to be his godfather. Another story there is, as circumstantial, and written as early, which, perhaps, some judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this: but whether that can be done or not, I think it better deserves credit. According to this relation, I find that he was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock in the year 1545; being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinsman Sir John Hawkins. I likewise find, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay, that at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at the age of twenty-two had the honour to be appointed captain of the Judith, in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the Gulf of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a single groat.

Upon this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain, which, some say, was put into his head by the minister of his ship; and to be sure in sea-divinity the case was clear, the king of Spain's subjects had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the king of Spain. This doctrine, how rudely soever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore, he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers

ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence even as he had to colour their proceedings. In 1570, he made his first expedition with two ships, the Dragon and the Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned safe with competent advantages, if not rich; and having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design with respect to himself and to his enemies.

This he put in execution on the 24th of March, 1572, on which day he sailed from Plymouth, himself in a ship called the Pascha, of the burden of seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the Swan, of twenty-five tons burden, their whole strength consisting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconsiderable force, on the 22d of July, he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes, though not so conveniently, as those for which they afterwards used Porto Bello. He took it by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet upon the whole they were no great gainers, but after a very brisk action were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with little booty. His next attempt was, to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this scheme, too, he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of Vera Cruz, carried it, and got some little booty. In their return, they met unexpectedly, with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest. In these expeditions he was greatly assisted by the Simerons, a nation of Indians who are engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The prince or captain of these people, whose name was Pedro, was presented by Captain Drake with a fine cutlass which he at that time wore, and to which he saw the Indian had a mind. Pedro in return, gave

him four large wedges of gold, which Captain Drake threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression, "That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England,* and was so fortunate as to sail in twenty-three days from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly, and thence, without any accident, to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of August, 1573.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the use he made of his riches still a greater; for fitting out three stout frigates at his own expense, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex, the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded, he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions. After the death of his noble patron, he returned into England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, who was then vice-chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, privy counsellor, afterwards lord-chancellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance. By this means, he acquired a capacity of undertaking that glorious expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed was a voyage into the South-seas through the Streights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Englishman had ever attempted. This project was well received at court, and in a short time, Captain Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a dis-

* At the distance of a century Sir William Davenant, poet-laureat in the reign of King Charles II. made this expedition the basis of a dramatic performance, called *The History of Sir Francis Drake*.

tant prospect of the South-seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might sail an English ship in them, which he found now an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permission furnishing him with the means and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient.

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

John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself, in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice.

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

sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking possession of it in the name, and for the use of Queen Elizabeth; and having trimmed his ship, set sail from thence, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1579, for the Moluccas.

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

On the 25th of March 1580, he put this design into execution, and on the 15th of June he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of July he passed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the sixteenth, and there watered. On the eleventh of September he made the island of Tercera, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, entered the harbour of Plymouth. It is not a little strange there should be such variation as we find amongst the best writers, and those, too, his contemporaries, as to the day of his arrival. Sir William

Monson fixes the twenty-fifth of September. Hollingshed says the twenty-sixth. In Mr. Hakluyt's relation it is the third of November, which is followed by Camden and many others. But Stowe, and several that might be mentioned, content themselves with saying, he returned towards the close of the year; by which it is evident, that, at this distance, the exact time of his coming cannot be certainly determined.

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

At length they took a better turn; for on the fourth of April, 1581, her Majesty dining at Deptford in Kent, went on board Captain Drake's ship, where she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had

done, to the confusion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends. She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In process of time, the vessel decaying, it was broken up; but a chair made of the planks was presented to the University of Oxford, and is still preserved.

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

In 1578, he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a numerous fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping, and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to

the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the East Indies, thither he sailed; and though his men were severely pinched through want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days; within this space, the East India ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit; and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return, the mighty applause he received might render him somewhat elated, but certain it is that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, since it always vented itself in service to the public.

Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievously distressed; and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at eight miles distance, that is to say, in a straight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles. It was in consequence of the journals, charts and papers taken on board his East India prize, that it was judged practicable for us to enter into that trade; for promoting which, the queen by letters patent, in the forty-third year of her reign, erected our first India Company. To this, we may also add, he first brought in tobacco, the use of which was much promoted by the practice of Sir Walter Raleigh. How much this nation has gained by these branches of commerce, of which he was properly the author, I leave to the intelligent reader's consideration.

In 1558, Sir Francis Drake was appointed vice-admiral, under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England; here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever; for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this

vessel fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that through an oversight of his, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, he being in full pursuit of some hulks, belonging to the Hanse-towns, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the Spanish lights, and remaining almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by that squadron under his command.

The next year he was employed as admiral at sea, over the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio, king of Portugal; the command of the land forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to sea, before these commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better disposed with respect to soldiers, than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the general was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis and the sea-officers were for sailing to Lisbon directly; in which, if their advice had been taken, without question their enterprise would have succeeded, and Don Antonio had been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them, to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir John Norris indeed marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but, when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping of his word, he chose rather to break his promise than to hazard the queen's navy: for which he was grievously re-

proached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return; for he made it manifest to the queen and council, that all the service that was done was performed by him, and that his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off; and, without reducing that, there was no taking the town.

His next service was the fatal undertaking in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, in 1594, for the destroying Nombre de Dios, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the last mentioned commander, which, as we have shewn, was the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto-Rico. This was performed with all the courage imaginable, on the 13th of November, 1595, and attended with great loss to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the English, who, meeting with a more resolute resistance and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church and a single house belonging to a lady only excepted. After this he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewise burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the 29th of December Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the second of January, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This disappointment made such an impression on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the 28th, about four in the morning, though Sir William Monson hints, that

there were great doubts whether it was barely his sickness that killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived about fifty years; but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts which he first surrounded. Hitherto we have spoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, discourse somewhat of his person and character.

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

In excuse for these it is said, that the glory of what he did, might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority; his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession; and his love of speaking, was qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an

ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the West Indies; his councils were continually crossed by the land officers in his voyage to Portugal; and as to his last attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and public spirit, since therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation or private gain.

The only act of his whole life that laid him open to just censure, was his severity towards Mr. John Doughty, on which I have touched before, and which many reasons incline me to mention again. The cause, he alleged, was Doughty's attempting to raise some disturbance in the fleet, which, it is said, was partly proved from his own confession, and partly from papers found in his custody*. But in those days it was shrewdly suspected, that Doughty was sent abroad for no other purpose than to meet with his end; and this, because he had charged the great earl of Leicester with poisoning the earl of Essex. A fact generally believed at that time, on account of the Earl's marrying in a short space Lettice, countess of Essex, with whom the world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that Lord's death necessary.

The fullest account I know of this matter, is to be found in a poem called Leicester's Ghost; wherein there is a great deal of true, and I doubt not a little false history. The stanzas relating to this matter are as follow:

* This story is plainly and circumstantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. and is also mentioned in Mr. Winter's account of his voyage.

I doubted, lest that Doughtie would bewray
 My counsel, and with other party take ;
 Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,
 I sent him forth to sea with Captain Drake,
 Who knew how t' entertain him for my sake.
 Before he went, his lot by me was cast ;
 His death was plotted, and perform'd in haste.

He hoped well ; but I did so dispose,
 That he at port St. Gillian lost his head ;
 Having no time permitted to disclose
 The inward griefs that in his heart were bred ;
 We need not fear the biting of the dead.
 Now let him go, transported to the seas,
 And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes.

Yet it may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that he offered Doughty, either to be left where he was, or to be sent home to trial, or to meet his trial at once: he chose the latter, and was openly put to death, after as fair a trial, by a jury, not of twelve but of forty men, as the circumstances of time and place would permit ; that he submitted patiently to his sentence, and received the sacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Besides these, there are two points which deserve particular consideration : First, that in such expeditions, strict discipline and legal severity are often absolutely necessary. Secondly, that as to the earl of Essex, for whose death Doughty had expressed concern, he was Drake's first patron ; and it is therefore very improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. Camden and Johnson mention the fact and the report, but in such a manner as seems to justify Drake: and indeed, on the strictest review of the evidence, I can see no probable ground to condemn him.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live under the reign of a princess, who never failed to distinguish merit, or to bestow her favours where she saw desert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and she gave a very lucky proof of it in respect to a quarrel

he had with his countryman, afterwards Sir Bernard Drake, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed; which so provoked the other, who was a seaman, and an enterprising seaman likewise, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat; which is thus blazoned: Sable a fess wavy between two pole-stars argent; for his crest, A ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds; over it this motto, *AUXILIO DIVINO*; underneath, *SIC PARVIS MAGNA*; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern, gules, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake. Her Majesty's kindness, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake, the companion of his dangers, whom he made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which not a little diminished the advantages he would otherwise have reaped from his brother's succession.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

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

in spite of a little accident, which would certainly have overturned the good opinion entertained of a less esteemed commander. He brought from the straits, which he discovered, and which are still known by his name, a large quantity of black, soft stone, full of yellow shining grains, which he supposed to be gold ore; but after numberless trials it was reported to be worth nothing, and so thrown away. On this occasion I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a vessel belonging to the Greenland company, sent to make discoveries to the north-west. He brought home likewise a quantity of shining sand, which he apprehended contained gold, but upon trial it was judged to be of no value, and the ill usage, which on account of this supposed mistake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards the chancellor of Denmark shewed a small parcel of this kind of sand from Norway to an intelligent chemist, (the rest by his express orders having been all thrown into the sea); and this man extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that sand, in which also the Copenhagen artist could find none.

But to return to Frobisher; he commanded her majesty's ship the *Triumph* in the famous sea-fight with the Spanish armada, and therein did such excellent service, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on that signal occasion. In 1590 he commanded a squadron on the coast of Spain, which hindered the coming home of the *Plate-fleet*. In 1592 Sir Martin Frobisher took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which went to the coast of Spain; and though he had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon and bring home another. In 1594 he sailed to the coast of France to assist in retaking Brest, which was regularly attacked on the land-side by Sir John Norris with three thousand English forces, at the same time that our admiral

blocked up the port. The garrison defended themselves bravely, till such time as Sir Martin landed his sailors, and, desperately storming the place, carried it at once, but with the loss of several captains, Sir Martin himself receiving a shot in his side; and this, through want of skill in his surgeon, proved the cause of his death, which happened at Plymouth within a few days after his return. He was one of the most able seamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking; yet in his carriage he was blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity which hindered his being beloved.

THOMAS CAVENDISH, ESQ.

THOMAS CAVENDISH, was the son of William Cavendish, Esq. of Trimley St. Martin, in the county of Suffolk. He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine seat, and large possessions; but having in a few years consumed almost his whole estate, in gallantry, and following the court, he formed a design of recovering his sinking fortunes by a voyage to the South Sea. And the war with Spain being now begun, it was lawful to make any depredations upon the Spaniards. Accordingly Mr. Cavendish built two ships from the stocks, one of an hundred and twenty, the other of threescore tons; and with these, and a bark of forty tons, he sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586. On board this little fleet, which was victualled for two years, and fitted out entirely at his own expence, there were one hundred and twenty-three persons. On the 26th of August, they arrived at Sierra Leona; where they landed, and going up to one of the negroes' towns, burnt two or three houses, and took what spoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But a few

days after, the negroes had their revenge, wounding many of the English, and killing one with a poisoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona on the 6th of September, and stayed till the 10th at one of the Cape de Verd islands. On the last of October they arrived on the coast of Brazil; and on the 1st of November, they went in between the island of Saint Sebastian and the main land, where carrying their things ashore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them till the 23d of that month.

Mr. Cavendish entered the Streights of Magellan on the 6th of January 1587, and passed them very happily. Soon after he had entered the South Sea, he met with a violent storm, in which he was very near losing one of his ships; and some of his men going ashore at the island of La Mocha, met with a warm reception from the Indians. On the 16th of March, they came to St. Mary's island, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley, laid up in store-houses for the use of the Spaniards, they took some of the corn, and likewise hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other provisions. They left this island on the 18th, and on the 30th came into the bay of Quintero. About fifty or sixty of the men landed the next day, well armed, and went up seven or eight miles into the country; but they saw no human creature, though there were two hundred Spanish horsemen watching for them, and observed all their motions, but durst not attack them. The day following, the 1st of April, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed English sailors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few prisoners, about twelve being lost in all: the rest were rescued by fifteen soldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loss of twenty-four men.

On the 5th of April they sailed from this place,

and on the 15th came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Moro Moreno. Whilst they remained here, they took a small bark from Arica, which they kept, and called the George. They took also three other vessels, (one of them laden with wine), two of which they burnt, and sunk the third. On the 13th of May, they made themselves masters of a ship of three hundred tons; and of two others, laden with sugar and provisions, one of which was valued at twenty thousand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the rest, with the ships.

On the 20th of the same month, they came to Paita, where having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town, in which they found great store of merchandise, household-goods, and apparel, and five and twenty pounds weight of pieces of eight. They afterwards burnt the town, which contained two hundred houses, together with a bark that was riding in the road.

Sailing from thence, on the 25th of May, they arrived at the island of Puna. In the harbour they found a large ship of two hundred and fifty-tons, which they sunk, and then went on shore. The Cacique, or Chief of the island, was an Indian, who having married a Spanish woman, was turned Christian, and lived there in great state. He had secured his effects of greatest value in a little island, close by Puna. Thither Mr. Cavendish went, and having discovered the Cacique's treasure, which was valued at an hundred thousand crowns, he took what plunder he thought fit, and conveyed it to his ships. The English then burnt the church, and brought away five bells which were in it. But on the 2nd of June, the Spaniards attacked them, and killed, wounded, or took twelve of the English, with the loss of six and forty of their own men. The same day, going ashore again, with seventy of their men, the English met a party of an hundred Spaniards, armed with muskets,

and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they entirely defeated. They also burnt four great ships on the stocks, and left the town, which contained three hundred houses, an heap of rubbish. But the loss of men which Mr. Cavendish had by this time sustained, obliged him to sink the bark of forty tons, which he had brought with him from England.

On the 5th of June they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dulce. They passed the Equinoctial on the 12th and continued a northerly course all the rest of that month. On the 9th of July, they took a new ship, of one hundred and twenty tons, in which was one Michael Sancius, a skilful coaster in the South Sea, whom they took out, with all the men, sails, ropes, &c. and then set fire to the ship; and on the tenth they took another bark. On the 26th they came to an anchor in the river of Copalita; and the same night rowed with thirty men in the pinnace to Guatulco, where they made a descent, and burnt the town, and the custom-house, in which were goods to a very great amount. On the 24th of August, Mr. Cavendish went with thirty of his men, in the pinnace, to Puerto de Natividad, where he was informed he would meet with a prize; but he came too late. However, he burnt the town, and two ships, of two hundred tons each, on the stocks.

On the 3rd of September, they came into the bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan. On the 14th of October, they fell in with the coast of California, near which they lay till the 4th of November. On that day they met a large and rich Acapulco ship, named the St. Anne. They immediately saluted her with a broad-side, and a volley of small shot. The Spaniards made a stout resistance; but, after an engagement of six hours, they were obliged to surrender. The cargo of this ship was of immense value, but Mr. Cavendish's ships being too small to convey it home, he was

obliged to burn a great part of it; however, he took out as much gold as was worth sixty thousand pounds. And after putting the whole Spanish crew, consisting of an hundred and ninety persons, on shore, he set fire to their ship.

Mr. Cavendish, having now ravaged the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, from the middle of February to the middle of November, 1587, began to think of returning back to England by the way of the East Indies. Accordingly he now steered for the Philippine islands, where he safely arrived, and proceeded from them to Java Major, which he reached on the first of March, 1588. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope the first of June, and returned safe to Plymouth the ninth of September in the same year, having sailed completely round the globe in somewhat more than two years, and brought home an immense fortune.

Mr. Cavendish had been so fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different success. He set sail from Plymouth on the 26th of August, with three large ships, and two barks; and in about a month came within sight of the Canary Islands. But, under the equinoctial line, he had the misfortune to be becalmed for seven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the least wind; in which time most of his men fell sick of the scurvy. At length a north-west wind brought them in twenty days, namely, on the 29th of November, to the bay of Salvador, on the coast of Brazil. Here they took a small bark, laden with negroes, sugar, and other commodities. A few days after, they came to Ilha Grande, twelve leagues from Santos, where they landed, and found some refreshments. But now some feuds and animosities unhappily arose among Mr. Cavendish's men, which induced him to give them a diversion, by attacking the town of Santos. Accordingly, it being agreed that their long boat, with one sloop, and an hundred men, were sufficient for taking this place, they watched

their opportunity, on the morning of the 24th of December, when the chief of the inhabitants were at high mass, and, with twenty-three men only, seized the town. But there they unhappily continued too long, which proved the ruin of this expedition. Nay, some were for wintering at that place; but Mr. Cavendish would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and set all the ships in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land, to St. Vincent, which they burnt to the ground. On the 24th of the same month, they set sail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-seven degrees of southern latitude, they had a most violent storm, which began the seventh of February, and lasted till the 9th, whereby the ships were separated and much damaged. From this time Mr. Cavendish met with nothing but misfortunes; many of his men died of diseases, and by the severity of the weather, the rest mutinied, which in a manner compelled him to set out on his return home. But he died of vexation and fatigue on the coast of Brazil; whether at sea, or on land, has been doubted, and there is no certainty concerning it; but the former is the most probable.

MR. EDWARD FENTON.

ANOTHER great adventurer by sea was Mr. EDWARD FENTON, a gentleman who distinguished himself by several gallant exploits, in this active and busy reign. He was descended from a very worthy family in Nottinghamshire; in this county he possessed a small estate, of which himself and his younger brother disposed, inclining rather to trust to their own abilities, than to that slender provision which devolved to them by descent from their ancestors; and they are among the very few of those who did not

live afterwards to repent so extraordinary a procedure. Being naturally inclined to a military life, he courted the favour of Robert earl of Leicester, and his brother Ambrose, earl of Warwick, and was so happy as to obtain their protection and countenance. In 1577 he engaged with Sir Martin Frobisher, in his design of discovering a north-west passage into the South Seas, having before served some time in Ireland with reputation. In this expedition he was captain of the *Gabriel*, a little bark of twenty-five tons, and accompanied that famous seaman in his voyage to the Streights, which bear his name, in the summer of this year, though in their return he was unluckily separated from him in a storm, notwithstanding which he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Bristol.

In 1578 he commanded the *Judith*, one of the fifteen sail of which Sir Martin's squadron was composed, in a third expedition, set on foot for the like purpose, with the title of rear-admiral; sailing from Harwich on the thirty-first of May, and returning to England the first of October following. This, like the two former attempts, proved wholly unsuccessful: Captain Fenton, however, remained firmly persuaded that such a design was certainly practicable, and was continually suggesting of what prodigious importance the discovery of a passage to the north-west must be, to the commerce and navigation of this kingdom, and which might, notwithstanding the repeated disappointments it had been hitherto attended with, be again resumed with the highest probability of success. His frequent solicitations on this head, joined to the powerful interest of the earl of Leicester, at length procured him another opportunity of trying his fortune, and that in a way, and with such a force, as could not fail of gratifying his ambition to the utmost.

Of this voyage, which was chiefly set forth at the expence of the earl of Cumberland, we have several

authentic accounts, and yet it is not easy to apprehend the true design of it. The instructions given by the privy council to Mr. Fenton, and which are still preserved, say expressly, that he should endeavour the discovery of a north-west passage, but by a new route, which is laid down to him; *viz.* he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, and being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South Seas, and to attempt his return by a north-west passage, and not by any means to think of passing the Streights of Magellan, except in case of absolute necessity. Notwithstanding these instructions, Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that Mr. Fenton was sent to try his fortune in the South Seas; and so, most certainly, himself understood it. In the month of May, 1582, Mr. Fenton left the English coast, with three stout ships and a bark. With these he sailed, first to the coast of Africa, and then for that of Brazil directly, from whence he intended to have sailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the king of Spain, who had better intelligence, it seems, of his project and of his real intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his instructions, had sent Don Diego Flores de Valdez, with a strong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, resolved to return. Putting into a Portuguese settlement to refit, he there met with three of the Spanish squadron, one of which was their vice-admiral, which he sunk, after a very brisk engagement, and then put to sea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral, Captain Luke Ward, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived safely in England, on the thirty-first of May, 1583.

Captain Fenton likewise returned safely to England, and, for any thing that appears, preserved his credit, though he had the mortification not to accomplish his purpose; and this is the more probable, as we find him again at sea in 1588, and entrusted with the

command of one of the queen's ships, the Antelope, as some write, though others make him captain of the Mary Rose; whichever ship it was, he is allowed on all hands to have behaved with a becoming spirit, and to have given very singular marks of courage, in that famous action. He passed the latter part of his life, at or near Deptford, dying in the spring of the year 1603, and lies buried in the parish-church of that place, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece, with a very elegant inscription thereon.

Notwithstanding the disappointment which this gentleman met with, fresh attempts were made for the discovery of the passage to the north-west, in which Captain John Davis, a most knowing and active seaman was employed. The first was in 1585; he sailed a second time in 1586; but in both voyages achieved nothing beyond raising of his own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years. Sir William Monson tells us, that he conferred with this Mr. Davis, as well as Sir Martin Frobisher, on this subject, and that they were able to give him no more assurance than those who had never gone so far; though he confesses, they did offer him which was all he could expect, some very plausible reasons to prove, that such a passage there was. In his discourse on this subject, he labours hard to represent the undertaking as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting it were not so, he pretends to shew, that no such mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped from this discovery. He concludes his discourse with hinting, that a more profitable and, at the same time, a more probable attempt, might be made by sailing due north directly under the pole, which he supposes would render the passage between us and China, no more than fifteen hundred leagues.

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

THIS nobleman, distinguished by his naval enterprises, was born in Westmoreland in 1558, and educated at Peter-House, in Cambridge. He applied himself diligently to the mathematics, and was distinguished for his martial spirit. This he manifested at several tournaments before Queen Elizabeth, who on one occasion took off her glove and gave it him, which mark of royal favour he was proud of exhibiting in his hat on public festivals. In 1586, he fitted out a squadron, with which he sailed for South America; and after taking several vessels from the Portuguese, returned to England. In 1588 he took the command of a ship that contributed towards the destruction of the famous armada. As a reward for his gallant conduct, the queen granted him a commission to make another voyage to the South Sea, but after proceeding as far as the Azores, tempestuous weather obliged him to return. In 1591, he made an unsuccessful expedition to the coast of Spain, but in the following year he engaged in another adventure, and sailing to the Azores, took Santa Cruz, and a rich galleon valued at 150,000*l*. In 1593 he sailed again, but illness obliged him to return to England, after dispatching the rest of the squadron to the West Indies, where they plundered several Spanish settlements. In 1595 the earl fitted out the largest ship that had been ever sent to sea by an English subject, being 900 tons burden, but he was prevented from going in her himself by an order from the queen. In 1598 he sailed with a squadron to the West Indies, where he captured the island of Porto Rico. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by these testimonies of his public spirit; and therefore the queen, to shew how

just a sense she had of his zeal and resolution, honoured him, in the year 1592, with a garter, which, in her reign, was never bestowed till it had been deserved by signal services to the public. This noble peer survived the queen, and was in great favour, and in very high esteem with her successor. He died in 1605, and was the last heir-male of his noble family.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, son to the great earl of Leicester, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, distinguished himself by his application to maritime affairs, by his great skill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent seamen, as well as by his personal exploits, which were such as deserve to be remembered. He was born at Sheen in Surry, in 1573, and having received the first tincture of letters from Mr. Owen Jones, at Offington in Sussex, to whose care and diligence, in that respect, he had been committed by his father, he was sent to Oxford in 1587, and entered of Christ-Church, being recommended to the inspection of Mr. Chaloner, afterwards the learned Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to Prince Henry, under whom he profited so well in his studies, as to raise the highest expectations, which he lived abundantly to fulfil. By the demise of his father, who breathed his last, September the 4th, 1588, at his house at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, Sir Robert became intitled, on the death of his uncle Ambrose, earl of Warwick, to the princely castle of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and other large estates. He was considered, at this time, as one of the most accomplished young gentlemen in the kingdom, having a very agreeable person, tall, finely shaped, an admirable complexion, his hair inclining to red; a very

graceful air, and learned beyond his years, particularly in the mathematics; very expert in his exercises, such as tilting, riding the great horse, and other manly feats, in which he is reported to have excelled most of his rank. Having, from his earliest youth, a particular turn to navigation, he took a resolution, when he was scarcely two and twenty years of age, of making a voyage into the South Seas, for which great preparations were made; but, before he could put it in execution, the queen and her ministers interposing, the project was dropped.

In 1594 he fitted out a squadron of four sail, at his own expence, and leaving Southampton on the sixth of November, proceeded for the coast of Spain, where he lost the company of the other three ships. This, however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the West Indies; and, in doing this, he took two large ships, though of no great value. After remaining some time about the Island of Trinidad, he found himself under a necessity of returning home, in a much worse condition than he went out; and yet, coming up, in his passage, with a Spanish ship of 600 tons, his own vessel being of no greater burden than 200, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhausted, and then left her, but in so torn and shattered a condition, that she afterwards sunk. This made the ninth ship which he had either taken, sunk, or burnt, in his voyage.

He accompanied the earl of Essex and the lord high-admiral Howard in the beginning of June 1596 in the famous expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood on the eighth of August following, for the signal services he there performed. Endeavouring some years after to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he met with so many obstacles in his attempt, that, conceiving himself highly injured thereby, he determined to quit England, and embarking for Italy, fixed upon Florence for the place of his retreat, where he met with a most distinguished

reception from the then reigning grand duke of Tuscany, and the Archduchess Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand II.

In this his delightful retirement he became so much admired, and gave such shining proofs of his great abilities, particularly in devising several methods for the improvement of shipping, introducing various manufactures, instructing the natives how to enlarge their foreign commerce, and other affairs of like consequence, that the emperor, at the request of the archduchess, to whom Sir Robert had some time before been appointed great chamberlain, was pleased, by letters-patent, bearing date at Vienna, March 9, 1620, to create him a duke and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland and earl of Warwick, and, in 1630, he was, by his Holiness Pope Urban VIII. enrolled among the nobility of Rome. It was during his residence in this country that he formed his great design of making Leghorn a free port, which has been of such prodigious importance to the dukes of Tuscany ever since. In acknowledgement of such infinite merit, the grand duke assigned him a very liberal pension, made him a present of the castle of Carbello, a most magnificent villa three miles from Florence, which he so adorned and beautified, as to render it one of the fairest and finest palaces in Italy, and in which he paid his last debt to nature in the month of September, 1649, in the 76th year of his age, having acquired a very extensive reputation in the republic of letters by his learned writings, more especially from the following curious work, which is exceeding rare, and of which there are very few copies in this kingdom.

The title runs thus: "Arcano del mare di D. Roberto Dudieo duca di Northumbria, e conte di Warvich. Diviso in libri sei," &c.

It is elegantly printed on very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of six hundred fine plates, consisting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic

testimonies of the excellent genius of its illustrious author, admirably engraved. The chapters to the first five books, which compose the first volume, as well as those of the sixth, which comprehend the second, are again subdivided into several sections, and make in the whole one hundred and forty-three pages. Immediately after the title-page to the first volume appears a general index to the first five books; next the letters-patent of Ferdinand II.; then a short advertisement by the editor, addressed to the learned reader, setting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole six books, which is followed by a proemial discourse or preface on the mathematical science as far as relates to his subject, intended as an introduction to his great work, by the duke of Northumberland. The first edition appeared in 1630 and 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE was the son of Sir Roger Grenville, and is supposed to have been born in the west of England about the year 1540. He was naturally of an active, enterprising, and martial genius, which induced him, as soon as he was his own master, to procure a licence from Queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign, to go with several other persons of distinction into the service of the emperor against the Turks. He not only gave the highest proofs of his courage as a soldier in Hungary, but adventured his person likewise by sea; and it is said by some, that he had the honour to share the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Mahometans at Lepanto, by the combined Christian fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria. He continued the rest of that war abroad; and, having acquired the highest military reputation, returned again to England.

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

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

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

wounded; their masts were beat over-board; their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master-gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged Sir Richard to surrender. He died in three days after; and his last words were, "Here die I, RICHARD GRENVILLE, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp, though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men.

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, son to the famous Sir John Hawkins, of whom we have before briefly spoken, was born at Plymouth, in Devonshire; and, as he was little inferior to his father in skill or courage, he resembled him also but too much in his misfortunes. In 1593, he fitted out two large ships and a pinnace at his own expence, and had the queen's commission, empowering him to infest the Spaniards in South-America. His expedition was unlucky from the very first setting out; and yet, notwithstanding, a number of untoward accidents, he resolutely persisted in his design of passing the straits of Magellan, and surrounding the globe, as Drake and Cavendish had done. He shared, however, in none of their success, though he met with most of their difficulties. One Captain Tharlton, who had been very culpable in distressing

Mr. Cavendish in his last voyage, was guilty of the like baseness towards Sir Richard Hawkins; for, though he knew his pinnace was burnt, he deserted him at the river of Plate, and returned home, leaving Sir Richard to pursue his voyage through the Straits of Magellan with one ship only, which, with equal prudence and resolution, he performed in the spring of the year 1594, and, entering into the South-seas, took several prizes, of which one was of considerable value. On the coasts of Peru he was attacked by Don Bertrand de Castro, who had with him a squadron of eight sail, and two thousand choice men on board; yet Hawkins made a shift to disengage himself, after he had done the Spaniards incredible damage: but staying too long in the South-seas, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a second time by Admiral de Castro, who was now stronger than before; yet Hawkins defended himself gallantly for three days and three nights; and then most of his men being killed, his ship in a manner sinking under him, and himself dangerously wounded, he was prevailed on to surrender upon very honourable terms; *viz.* that himself and all on board should have a free passage to England as soon as might be.

After he was in the enemy's hands, Don Bertrand de Castro shewed him a letter from the king of Spain to the viceroy of Peru, wherein was contained a very exact account of Hawkins's expedition, the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, &c. which demonstrated how close a correspondence his Catholic Majesty entertained with some who were too well acquainted with Queen Elizabeth's councils. He continued a long time prisoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by Admiral de Castro; but, in the end, by order of the court of Spain, he was sent thither, instead of returning to England, and remained for several years a prisoner in Seville and Madrid. At length he was released,

and returned to his native country, where he spent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards; he intended to have written a second part, in which he was prevented by a sudden death; for, having some business which called him to attend the privy-council, he was struck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. Westcot, speaking of this accident, says very justly of this gentleman and his father, "That if fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age."

CAPTAIN JAMES LANCASTER.

CAPTAIN JAMES (by many called JOHN) LANCASTER was fitted out by some merchants of London to cruize on the coast of Brazil, then in the hands of the Spaniards. He sailed from Dartmouth the 30th of November, 1594, with three ships, one of 140, another of 170, and the third of 60 tons: on board these were two hundred and seventy five men and boys. In the space of a few weeks they took thirty-nine Spanish ships, four of which they kept, and plundered the rest; and then, joining with Captain Venner at the isle of May, they steered for the coast of Brazil, where they took the city of Fernambuco on the 20th of March, 1595, in a manner scarcely to be paralleled in history; for Captain Lancaster ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to pieces on the shore, and sunk his boats, that his men might see they must either die or conquer; the sight of which, so frightened the Spaniards and Portuguese, that, after a very poor defence, they abandoned the lower town. This the English held for thirty days, in which space they

were attacked eleven times by the enemy. The spoil was exceedingly rich, and amounted to so great a quantity, that Captain Lancaster hired three sail of large Dutch ships, and four Frenchmen to carry it home; and, having thus increased his fleet to fifteen ships, he brought them safely into the Downs in the month of July, 1595. This was the most lucrative adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears so conspicuously therein, that he deserves to be ever remembered with honour, even supposing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from several circumstances in the relations, that he was the same who opened the trade to the Indies.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1600. Their first stock consisted of seventy-two thousand pounds; and the first fleet they fitted out as a company, consisted of four large ships which sailed from London, February 13, 1600, under the command of this Mr. James Lancaster, who was, afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to Achen very successfully, and established the English trade throughout the Indies as happily and prudently as could be wished. In his return, his ship, which was the Dragon, was in the utmost peril off the Cape of Good Hope, having lost her rudder, and being otherwise much damaged; yet he refused to go on board the Hector, contenting himself with writing a short letter to the company, wherein he told them, they might be sure he would do his utmost to save the ship and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of those who were with him; adding this remarkable postscript in the midst of his confusion:

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

He had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. Helena, where he repaired his weather-

beaten ship as well as he could, brought her safely into the Downs the 11th of September, 1603, and lived nearly thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this successful voyage.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PARKER.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PARKER of Plymouth was fitted out by certain merchants to cruize on the Spaniards in the West Indies in 1601. His whole strength consisted in two ships, one of 130, and the other of 60 tons, with about 220 men. He sailed in the month of November, reduced St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd islands; then, steering for the coast of America, he took the town of la Rancheria in the island of Cubagua, where the pearl-fishery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to Porto-bello, which was then a very strong, well-built town: entering the port by moon-light, he passed without resistance, and attacked the place by surprise. The governor, Don Pedro Melendez, made a gallant defence in the king's treasury, to which he retreated; but at length that too was carried by assault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being considerable, and the best part of it Captain Parker distributed among his men. Notwithstanding this disappointment, our hero behaved most generously towards the enemy: he set Don Pedro at liberty, out of respect to his courage; he spared the place, because it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he set his prisoners at large, because the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ransom. Having done all this, he passed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the Spaniards supposed they should infallibly have sunk his vessels, and returned with immortal glory to Plymouth Sound the

6th of May, 1602. The Spaniards themselves mention his behaviour with honour and applause.

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

CHAP. XIII.

The Naval History of Great Britain, under the Reign of King James I. including also an Account of the progress of our Trade, and the growth of our Plantations; together with Memoirs of the most eminent Seamen who flourished in that space of time.

THERE were many accidents that contributed to the peaceable accession of the king of Scots to the English throne, notwithstanding what had happened to his mother, and the known aversion of the nation to the dominion of strangers. On the one hand, the famous secretary Cecil and all his friends, who were in the principal posts of the government, had been for a long time secretly in King James's interest, though, to avoid the suspicion of their mistress, they had sometimes pretended an inclination to the Infanta's title; which I suspect to have been the cause, why some persons of great quality, who sided with the Cecils against Essex, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of Spain. On the other hand, the potent family of the Howards, with all such of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of Scots. The bulk of the people, too, were inclined to wish him for their king, out of respect for the memory of Essex, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of dislike to some of Queen Elizabeth's ministry, who, they believed, would be instantly discarded, when he should be once seated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful, though few open enemies to this succession, both abroad and at home. The Spaniards had views for themselves, the

French king had an aversion mixed with contempt for King James, and the Pope had many projects for restoring his power here, by bringing in some prince of his own religion. There were, besides, some English pretenders; *viz.* such as claimed under the house of Suffolk, and had been competitors against Queen Mary:* and some again, as the Bassets, who affected to derive themselves from the house of Plantagenet; so that no small precaution was necessary to prevent any disturbance on the death of Elizabeth, or opposition to the design which the ministry had formed, of immediately proclaiming King James, and bringing him with all convenient speed to London.

In the methods made use of for this purpose, the wisdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conspicuous. For, in the first place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in those parts, were such as were either well affected to King James, or absolute dependents on the then administration. As to the fleet, which was of mighty consequence at such a juncture, provision was made for its security without the least jealousy given that this was the council's intention. For, it having been found of great benefit to the nation to have a strong squadron of ships on the Spanish coast from February

* In order to have a just notion of these jarring claims, the reader may consult the famous Treatise on successions, or, as the title runs in many editions, "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England." This was published in 1594, by father Robert Parsons, a Jesuit, the most pestilent and pernicious book that was ever penned. His design was to weaken the title of King James, to expose the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, Hertford, &c. to the jealousy both of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and to cry up the title of the Infanta. He most insidiously dedicated it to the earl of Essex to draw suspicion upon him, and assumed the name of R. Doleman, an inoffensive secular priest, whom he hated, and whom he would gladly have seen hanged for this production of his own, which it was made treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign for any one to have in his custody.

to November, there could be no umbrage taken at the increasing of these in the spring of the year 1602, because the war with Spain still continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir Richard Levison, who for some years had been entrusted with this squadron, yet they would not remove him, but contented themselves with appointing Sir William Monson, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ship than the admiral himself had. They likewise intimated to Sir William, when he went to this service (the queen being then so low that her recovery was not expected), that, in case of any tumult, Lord Thomas Howard should immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering Sir William Monson's ship, and Sir William go on board Sir Richard Levison's, with a supersedeas to his commission. But, as it fell out, there was no occasion for executing this project: the queen died, King James came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of March, 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of July following; the fleet in the mean time keeping sometimes on the English, sometimes on the French coast, and thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any such had really been intended.

King James, at his accession to the English throne, was about thirty-six years of age, and, if he had been a private person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable, either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to use it. The greatest of his failings were timidity, dissimulation, and a high opinion of his own wisdom; which, however, were more excusable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we consider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the strange treatment he met with in Scotland from the several factions prevailing in that kingdom during his youth, and the excessive flatteries that were heaped

on him after he came hither by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to speak of any part of his administration, except that which relates to maritime concerns, and, therefore, I shall content myself with observing, that, though it was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with such matters while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was once seated on the English throne, unless his hasty conclusion of a peace with Spain, which, however, was done by the advice of his council, may be reckoned an error in this respect; or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards, should be thought liable to the like censure.

The accession of King James gave a fair opportunity to the house of Austria to make an end of the long quarrel which had subsisted with England; because, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with King James as king of Scots. Immediately on his arrival at London, the arch-duke sent over a minister to the English court, and, in consequence of his negotiations, a peace was soon after concluded with Spain. Some of the writers of those times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's ministers and favourites, especially to the countess of Suffolk, for her husband's interest, and to the earl of Northumberland for his own; which gratuities, they would further persuade us, enabled them to build the two famous structures of Audley-end in Essex, and Northumberland-house in the Strand; and, among others suspected as to this particular, there are those who insinuate, that the lord high-admiral Nottingham came in for his share on this occasion. It seems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this peace was, in reality, the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen, some of whom were known to have been for

this measure in the queen's time. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both signed at London, the eighteenth of August, 1604, the constable of Castile, the greatest subject in Spain, being sent for that purpose. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleased with this proceeding, and would have been much more so, if the king had not taken a very strange step upon its conclusion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spanish commerce exclusively, which gave both an universal and very just offence; for, as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had suffered thereby, it was but reasonable that the benefits of peace should be as diffusive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament represented to the king so clearly the mischiefs that would inevitably attend such a monopoly, that his Majesty was content to dissolve the newly-erected company, and to leave the Spanish trade entirely open.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very strong party against making this peace, and who did not cease to publish their dislike and apprehensions concerning it, even after it was concluded. The point was certainly of high importance, otherwise it would not have been so warmly canvassed in those days; and it must also have been pretty difficult, since the dispute has reached even to our days, modern writers differing as much about the wisdom of King James in this article, as those who lived in his time. To discuss the matter here, would require more room than we have to spare; to pass it entirely over would be amiss, considering the near relation it has to the subject of this work. I will therefore content myself with stating the best reasons that have been offered against the peace, as they were drawn up by the masterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the answers given to them; both which I shall leave to the reader's consideration, without

fatiguing him with any comment of my own.* Sir Walter's reasons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the conclusion of the peace. 1. He alleged, "That his Catholic majesty had so exhausted his treasure, that he was no longer able to maintain the arch-duke's army in Flanders." To this it was answered, that the fact was very doubtful, especially if the king of Spain was in a condition to bestow those mighty bribes, that were said to be distributed at the time this peace was made. 2. "The interruption of his trade, and the losses of his merchants were so great, as to break both his banks at Seville." It is granted, that the subjects of the king of Spain suffered excessively by the continuance of this war, but it does not follow that we gained in proportion; neither is it clear, that if his Catholic majesty had been undone, the king of Great Britain or his subjects would have been gainers. 3. "He was afraid that the English and Netherlanders would plant in the West Indies." If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by settling in those parts of America which are claimed by Spain; and it was never pretended, that we made this war to extend the trade or to procure countries for the Dutch. 4. "The king of Spain makes this peace to recruit his coffers, and enable himself to break into war again." To judge by what was past, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be supposed that Spain would soon recover as great strength as she had at the commencement of the war, when yet she was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herself against us. 5. "The king of

* These, which were possibly the very points of his memorial to the king against the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter's dialogue between a Recusant and a Jesuit, among the genuine remains, published at the end of an abridgment of his History of the world, by Philip Raleigh, Esq. 8vo. 1700.

Spain took this step, that the English might decline and forget the passages and pilotage to the West Indies, and their sea-officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way; and seeing the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the peace! it is certain that the English will give over that navigation, to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king, both present and future." Experience shewed, that, though this was a plausible, yet it was not a true deduction; for, in consequence of this peace, many plantations were settled by us, and our trade to America in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flourished beyond the example of former times. Instead of objections, which are easily framed against the best measures by men of quick parts and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpose to have shewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at last, than by such a peace as was now made.

But if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad.* The Hollanders, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great advantages from the favour of Queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exasperated at a step so much to their immediate disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure

* View of the negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, by Dr. Birch. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. By comparing these books the reader will see, that King James was not so pusillanimous a prince, in respect to foreign affairs, as he is generally represented, but had spirit enough to demand satisfaction for an insinuation of this sort by prince Maurice to the States, and steadiness enough to insist upon and to obtain it.

than most other nations at sea, they lost that respect which was due to the English flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monson, with instructions to maintain the honour of the English flag, and that superiority which was derived to him from his ancestors in the British seas. This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same admiral, who appears to have been a man of great spirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet she ever sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language and fair promises; but they minded them very little, taking our ships on very frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang as pirates people who shewed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities shewn to the Hollanders in the late reign, when they sailed under the command of English admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her Majesty's own subjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent state.* We have no matters of very great importance to treat of in this reign, and therefore I think it

* See this matter stated in *Seldeni Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. Molloy *De Jure Maritimo*, tit. FLAG.

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

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

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

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

“The gentleman replied, that he expected such an answer from him, and therefore he was prepared

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

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

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

“ This passage betwixt the admiral and me was observed from the shore, people beholding us to see the event. Upon my landing I met with Sciriago, the general of the Spaniards, who in the time of Queen Elizabeth was employed under Mendoza, the ambassador of Spain. He told me, that if the Hollanders had worn their flag, times had been strangely altered in England, since his old master King Philip

the second, was shot at by the lord admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came to marry Queen Mary.

These disputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of Admiral Monson, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty at sea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland still kept up a spirit of resentment, which broke out in such acts of violence, as would not have been passed by in the days of Queen Elizabeth; yet our admiral does not seem to charge the king or his ministry in general with want of inclination to do themselves justice; but lays it expressly at the door of Secretary Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury; who thought it, he says, good policy to overlook such kind of offences,* but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not absolutely, or constantly prevail, even in the councils of King James; for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclamation was published in the year 1608, roundly asserting the king's sovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the British coast; this, though general in appearance; had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at London for granting licenses to such foreigners as would fish on the English coast; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea; and to these regulations, though

* The reader may consult the dispatches of this great minister, in Winwood's Memorials. The grand point upon which the Hollanders stood was, our old treaties with the house of Burgundy, which, they said, should be observed towards them. The reason, probably, of Salisbury's countenancing them was this, that his father had advised Queen Elizabeth to insist on those treaties as sufficient to justify her assisting the provinces, notwithstanding her leagues with Spain. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

with great reluctance, they submitted for the present; the reason of which seems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain.* In these important concerns, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two treaties were concluded on the twenty-sixth of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain, and the States-General; the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to King James. - One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by these treaties should have brought the republic to a better temper in respect to other matters; but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the assize-herring in Scotland, and the licence-money in England; and to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring busses. These facts, as they are incontestible, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who are a people certainly to be commended for all such instances of their public spirit, as appear to be consistent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations.

But at this time of day, ministers were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of losing any of the nation's rights for want of insisting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republish his proclamation, which will be found in the note below, that the parliament, whenever they met, might see they had done their duty, and advise the king thereupon as they should think fit.†

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. See also a very scarce and curious tract, intitled, *England's Way to win Wealth, &c.* by Tobias Gentleman, London, 1614, 4to. dedicated to the earl of Northampton, where the injuries of the British nation suffered by the Dutch fishing in our seas are described at large.

† *The Proclamation concerning Fishing.*

Whereas, we have been contented, since our coming to the

There were also some struggles in this reign with the French, about the same rights of fishery, and the

the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiscuous kind of Liberty, to all our friends whatsoever, to fish within our streams, and upon any of our coasts of Great Britain, Ireland, and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the permission, or use thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the hurt and damage of our loving subjects, whose preservation and flourishing estate, we hold ourselves principally bound to advance before all worldly respects: so finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occasion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather questioning of our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade of fishing, as (either by the multitude of strangers, which do pre-occupy those places, or by the injuries which they receive most commonly at their hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their fishing, or at least are become so discouraged in the same, as they hold it better for them to betake themselves to some other course of living, whereby not only divers of our coast towns are much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much the strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and use of navigation; we have thought it now both just and necessary, in respect that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully possessed, as well of the island of Great Britain, as of Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent; to bethink ourselves of good and lawful means to prevent those inconveniencies, and many others depending on the same. In consideration whereof, as we are desirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies those fruits and benefits of peace and friendship, which may be justly expected at our hands, in honour and reason, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of those things which may not prove prejudicial to them; so because some such convenient order may be taken in this matter as may sufficiently provide for all those important considerations which depend thereupon; we have resolved, first, to give notice to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that from the beginning of the month of August next coming, no person, of what nation or quality soever, being not our natural-born subjects, be permitted to fish upon any of our coasts and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licenses from us, or such our commissioners as we have authorised in that behalf; *viz.* at London for our realms of England and Ireland; and at Edinburgh for our realm of Scotland, which licenses

sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by Sir William Monson, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to desist from their practices of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the Scots and Irish seas, which were much infested with pirates. We need not wonder at this, if we consider, that, till King James's accession to the throne of England, there was little, indeed scarcely any naval strength in his own country, and that in Ireland, the Spaniards, by frequently practising this piratical trade during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace. The noise, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage; for when, on the first of June, Sir William Monson made the coast of Caithness, the most northern part of Scotland, he found that, instead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of whom immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of Ireland; where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea-coast from their scandalous way of living, by affording shelter and protection to pirates, furnishing them with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This service Sir William performed in three months.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and had a commission

our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for so many vessels and ships, and the tonnage thereof, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coasts and seas, as aforesaid, upon pain of such chastisement, as shall be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilfully offenders.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the 6th day of May, in the 7th year of our reign of Great Britain, *anno Dom.* 1609.

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

The disputes with the States of Holland*, in refe-

* Mr. Camden, in his Annals of the reign of this prince, says, that the deputies of the States, at their audience of the king, on the thirty-first of December, 1618, intreated that nothing might be done in respect to the herring-fishing, as it was the great sup-

rence to the right of fishing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old causes, which were plainly a very high presumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impossible, that they had a great opinion likewise of their minister's capacity, and that sooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negotiation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretensions, or repeat their own ill-founded excuses so often, till in the close they gained credit. At this time, those who hated the English ministry, treated these differences with that republic as rather criminal than honourable; but the same men living long enough to get the supreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, caused the letters of state written at that juncture to be drawn out of the dust and rubbish, and made them, without the smallest scruple, the foundation of that quarrel, which they prosecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occasion of the like nature will ever happen; but, nevertheless, as those letters are very curious, and much to the purpose, a few extracts from them cannot but be acceptable, and are therefore thrown into the notes below*.

port of their commonwealth, and the only succour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongst them.

* Extract of a Letter from Secretary Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the States-General, dated the 21st of December, 1618.

“ I must now let your lordship know, that the States' commissioners, and deputies both, having attended his Majesty at Newmarket, and there presented their letters of credence, returned to London on Saturday wasse'night, and, upon Tuesday, had audience in the council-chamber, where, being required to communicate the points of their commission, they delivered their meditated answer at length. The lords, upon perusal of it, appointed my Lord Binning and me to attend his Majesty for directions, what reply to return to this answer of theirs, which we represented to

These letters make it perfectly clear, that King James asserted his rights through the long course of

their lordships yesterday to this effect; That his Majesty found it strange, that they, having been so often required by your lordship, his Majesty's ambassador, as from himself in their public assemblies, to send over commissioners fully authorized to treat and conclude, not only of all differences grown between the subjects of both states, touching the trade to the East Indies, and the whale-fishing, and to regulate and settle a joint and an even traffic in those quarters; but withal, to take order for a more indifferent course of determining other questions, growing between our merchants and them, about their draperies and the tare; and more especially, to determine his Majesty's right for the sole fishing, upon all the coasts of his three kingdoms, into which they had of late times incroached farther than of right they could; and, lastly, for the reglement and reducing of their coins, to such a proportion and correspondence with those of his Majesty and other states, that their subjects might make no advantage to transport our monies by enhancing their valuation there. All which they confessed your lordship had instanced them for in his Majesty's name; that after all this attent on his Majesty's part, and so long deliberation on theirs, they were come at last with a proposition, to speak only to the two first points, and instructed thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which his Majesty takes for an imperious fashion of proceeding in them, as if they were come hither to treat of what themselves pleased, and to give law to his Majesty in his own kingdom, and to propose and admit of nothing but what should tend merely to their own ends.

“ To the second; whereas they would decline all debate of the fishing upon his Majesty's coasts first, by allegations of their great losses, and the fear of an esmente of their people, who are all interested in that question, and would belike break out into some combustion to the hazard of their state, which hath lately scaped naufrage, and is not yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to raise an advantage to themselves out of their disadvantage? But afterwards, they professed their lothness to call it into doubt or question, claiming an immemorial possession, seconded by the law of nations; to which his Majesty will have them told, that the kings of Spain have sought leave to fish there by treaty from this crown, and that the king of France, a nearer neighbour to our coasts than they, to this day requests leave for a few vessels to fish for provision of his own household; that they, being a state of so late date, should be the first that would presume to question his Majesty's ancient right, so many hundred years inviolably possessed by his progenitors, and acknowledged by all other ancient states and princes. That themselves, in their public letters of the

this negociation as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and brought the States themselves to ac-

last of June, sent by your lordship, seemed then to confirm their immemorial possession, as they term it, with divers treaties, as are that of the year 1550, and another between his Majesty's predecessors and Charles V. as prince of those provinces, and not by the law of nations. To which, their last plea, his Majesty would have them told, that he, being an islander prince, is not ignorant of the laws and rights of his own kingdom, nor doth expect to be taught the law of nations by them, or their Grotius, whose ill thriving might rather teach others to disavow his positions; and his honesty called in question by themselves, might render his learning as much suspected to them as his person. This his Majesty takes for an high point of his sovereignty, and will not have it slighted over in any fashion whatsoever.

“ Thus I have particulated unto you the manner of our proceeding with them. Let them advise to seek leave from his Majesty, and acknowledge in him his right, as other princes have done, and do, or it may well come to pass, that they that will needs bear all the world before them, by their *mare liberum*, may soon come to have neither *terram et solum*, nor *republicam liberam*.”

Extract of a Letter of the said Ambassador to Secretary Naunton, dated at the Hague, the 30th of December, 1618.

“ Whether the final resolution here will be according to his Majesty's desire, in that point concerning the fishing upon the coasts of his three kingdoms, I cannot say; and by somewhat which fell from the Prince of Orange, by way of discourse, when he took leave of me on Monday last, at his departure, I suspect it will not, in regard the magistrates of these towns of Holland, being newly placed, and yet scarce fast in their seats, who do authorize the deputies which come hither to the assembly of the States, in all things they are to treat and resolve, will not adventure, for fear of the people, to determine of a business on which the livelihood of fifty thousand of the inhabitants of this one single province doth depend. I told the prince, that howsoever his Majesty, both in honour of his crown and person, and interest of his kingdoms, neither could nor would any longer desist from having his right acknowledged by this state, as well as by all other princes and commonwealths, especially finding the same openly oppugned, both by their statesmen and men of war, as the writings of Grotius, and the taking of John Brown the last year, may testify; yet this acknowledgment of a right and a due, was no exclusion of grace and favour, and that the people of this country paying that small tribute upon every one of their busses, which is not so much as disputed by any other nation whatsoever, such was his Majesty's well-

knowledge, that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be inquired how it came to pass, that

wishing to this state, that I presumed of his permission to suffer them to continue their course of fishing, which they might use thereby with more freedom and less apprehension of molestation and let than before, and likewise spare the cost of some of their men of war, which they yearly send out to maintain that by force, which they may have of courtesy.

“ The prince answered, that, for himself, at his return from Utrecht, he would do his best endeavours to procure his Majesty’s contentment; but he doubted the Hollanders would apprehend the same effect in their payment for fishing as they found in the passage of the Sound, where, at first, an easy matter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but now more exacted than they can possibly bear; and, touching their men of war, he said, they must still be at the same charge with them, because of the pirates. Withal, he cast out a question to me, whether this freedom of fishing might not be redeemed with a sum of money? To which I answered, it was a matter of royalty more than of utility, though princes were not to neglect their profit.”

Extract of a Letter from Secretary Naunton to the Lord Ambassador Carleton, dated the twenty-first of January, 1618.

“ As I had dictated thus far, I received direction from his Majesty to signify to the States commissioners here, That albeit their earnest intreaty, and his gracious consideration of the present trouble of their church and state, had moved his Majesty to consent to delay the treaty of the great fishing, till the time craved by the commissioners, yet, understanding by new and fresh complaints of his mariners and fishers upon the coasts of Scotland, that, within these four or five last years, the Low-country fishers have taken so great advantages of his Majesty’s toleration, that they have grown nearer and nearer upon his Majesty’s coasts year by year, than they did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds for the country-people and natives to fish upon their prince’s coasts, and oppressed some of his subjects of intent to continue their pretended possession, and driven some of their great vessels through their nets, to deter others by fear of the like violence from fishing near them, &c. His Majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that he is so well persuaded of the equity of the States, and of the honourable respect they bear unto him, and to his subjects for his sake, that they will never allow so unjust and intolerable oppressions; for restraint whereof, and to prevent the inconveniences which must ensue upon the continuance of the same, his Majesty hath by me desired them to write to their superiors to cause proclamation to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects to fish within

after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion, the best answer that can be given to this question is, that in the midst of this dispute the Prince of Orange asked Sir Dudley Carleton a very shrewd question, *viz.* Whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created Viscount Dorchester, was certainly a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given in the last letter we have cited; but whether some men in power might not find a method, by agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than, at this distance of time, can be determined. Sir William Monson tells us, that, in reference to the disputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Salisbury; nor is it at all impossible, that they might also find an advocate in this impor-

fourteen miles of his Majesty's coasts this year, or in any time hereafter, until orders be taken by commissioners to be authorized on both sides for a final settling of the main business. His Majesty hath likewise directed me to command you from him to make the like declaration and instance to the States there, and to certify his Majesty of their answers with what convenient speed you may."

What effect the ambassador's negotiation had with the States, appears by a letter of his from the Hague, of the sixth of February, 1618, to King James himself.

"I find likewise, in the manner of proceeding, that, treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be expected but their wonted dilatory and evasive answers, their manner being to refer such propositions from the States-general to the States of Holland. The States of Holland take advice of a certain council residing at Delft, which they call the council of the fishery: from them, such an answer commonly comes as may be expected from such an oracle. The way, therefore, (under correction) to effect your Majesty's intent is, to begin with fishers themselves, by publishing, against the time of their going out, your resolution at what distance you will permit them to fish, whereby they will be forced to have recourse to their council of fishery, that council to the States of Holland, and those of Holland to the States-general, who then, in place of being sought unto, will, for contentment of their subjects, seek unto your Majesty."

tant business of the fishery; but, if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find, that, in the next reign, this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with somewhat better effect, than in that of King James.

We shall, for the same reason, refer to another place, the disputes between us and the Dutch about the right of fishing for whales on the coasts of Spitzbergen, as called by the Dutch, but by us at that time New-Greenland, of which both nations claimed to be the first discoverers; in virtue of this each of them pretended a right of excluding the other, in consequence of which annual struggles ensued, not without some bloodshed. We shall also, for the same cause, refer the measures taken in this reign to support the dominion of the sea, by declaring in what manner the Spaniards and the Dutch were to prosecute their naval hostilities, without prejudice to the neutrality of English ports, or his Majesty's prerogative.

It may not be amiss, however, to observe here, that, by whatever means things were settled and quieted at that time, in respect to the Dutch fishing, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain; for as Sir Dudley Carleton very wisely returned for answer to the question before-mentioned, that it was a royalty, so, beyond all doubt, those ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and though treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this must be always understood as done with a view to the maintaining them. These rights belong to the crown and not to the king, who, though bound by the duty of his office to support and vindicate them, yet is, at the same time, restrained by that duty from alienating them; and therefore whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, these can never be urged in

prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always subsist, though they may not always be insisted upon. This doctrine the reader has before seen was particularly urged and applied by Sir William Monson in the case of the flag, when the Dutch were desirous of availing themselves of Queen Elizabeth's waving her right under circumstances, indeed, in which it could not well be insisted upon, that is, where a Dutch squadron served as auxiliaries in a fleet commanded by an English admiral, and, consequently, during that time were treated as English subjects.

We come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, which was undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, seems not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that Count Gondomar, having gained an ascendancy over his Majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing; that the earl of Nottingham had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high-admiral; and that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the head of his successor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As Buckingham easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost probability, that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution; notwithstanding that, Sir William Monson, who has been consulted upon it, gave his judgment, supported by strong and clear arguments, that it was rash and ill-founded, and that, instead of raising the reputation of the British arms, it would only contribute to render them ridicu-

lous, because the whole world would take notice of the disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real causes, and of the little reason there was to measure the naval strength of Britain thereby.

In the month of October 1620, this fleet sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then vice-admiral of England, had the command in chief, Sir Richard Hawkins was vice, and Sir Thomas Button rear-admiral, Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love, and Samuel Argall, Esqrs. were appointed to be members of the council of war, and Edward Clarke, Esq. was secretary. On the 27th of November, they came to an anchor in Algier road, and saluted the town, but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the twenty-eighth, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkish viceroy know the cause of his coming, who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the Grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore, and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this, a negociation ensued, in which it is hard to say, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent, unless an English consul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himself of this difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good clothes, and to pass for a consul; this cheat not being discovered by the Turks, they sent forty English slaves on board the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon which, he sailed again for the Spanish coast, attended by six French men of war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the English fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage, too, that attended the whole expedition.

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

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a Christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed, which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay, they put to sea,

and, in the month of June, returned to England. This ill concerted enterprise had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none ; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the Lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh ; but both did so small service, that very few of our histories take any notice of them. Sir William Monson has made some severe but just observations upon these undertakings ; and particularly remarks, that, notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction-given them ; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna, of which I shall give a short and fair account ; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the Dutch, which subsisted so long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the Dutch should enjoy two-thirds of the trade at Amboyna, and the English one. In pursuance of this, a factory was erected in that island as well as other places ; yet, in the short space of two years, the Dutch grew weary of their company, and, under pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and, under a specious shew of clemency, discharged the rest, seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which, at that time, the English had in the Spice-Islands, and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a connivance, seems to be pretty plain, not to make use of a stronger word, from the

following circumstances, which are incontestible: The English had only a house wherein their factory resided, whereas the Dutch were possessed of a very strong fort; the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrison soldiers in the castle, and eight stout ships riding in the port. The prisoners all denied it most solemnly at their deaths, and would have taken the sacrament on the truth of what they said, but that it was refused them by the Dutch. That I may not be, however, suspected of injustice towards them, I will transcribe their own account of this matter. "This island," says a writer, who addressed his work to the States of Holland, "was a long time the subject of dispute between the Dutch and English. The East-India Company, who had made themselves masters of it, entered into a treaty with the English, for driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards; and, by one of the articles of this treaty, it was agreed, that they should furnish ten men of war for this purpose. They neglecting this armament, the Indians of Ternate took advantage of the weakness which this omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a suspension of arms with the Spaniards, and having made an alliance with the king of Tidore, who was an enemy to the Dutch, attacked several islands dependent on Amboyna, and having made themselves masters of them, resolved to attack the citadel; and the English are said to have been concerned with them in this design, which was discovered by a Japanese. The governor heard from all sides, that the English had taken his citadel. Astonished at these reports, though false, he put himself on his guard, and seized the Japanese, whom he suspected. This man confessed, that the English were engaged in a conspiracy against the governor; that, taking advantage of his absence, the citadel was to be seized, and that the Japanese in the island had engaged to execute this project. The governor, without hesitation, arrested all who

were accused of having any hand in this design. The English confessed, that their factor had sworn them upon the gospel never to reveal the secret; which, however, they did, and signed their confessions, some freely, and the rest constrained thereto by the violence of the torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called the massacre of Amboyna. The English have always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and only made use of as a pretext to sacrifice their nation to the vengeance of a governor; and, therefore, they continued to demand satisfaction for this loss from 1623 to 1672, when, through the indifferent state of their affairs, they were glad to depart from it." This Dutch account, and indeed all the accounts I have ever seen of their drawing up, sufficiently prove, that there was more of policy than of any thing else in the whole proceeding, and that what the Dutch in this black business chiefly aimed at was, the excluding us from the spice-trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is, indeed, strange, that, considering the strength of the nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and the quick sense which the English always have of any national affront, no proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous measures entered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will, in a great measure, cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of the people at that period. The king had been engaged for many years in a tedious, dishonourable, and distasteful negociation for the marriage of his son Prince Charles with the princess of Spain: to the chimerical advantages he proposed from this, he sacrificed the interest of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people, and yet could never bring the thing to bear; but was at last forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war, to which he had been always averse, especially at the close of his life and reign. Such was the situation of things when

this accident happened at Amboyna ; and, therefore, though it made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the necessity there was of managing the Dutch at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonstrances, while our competitors kept exclusively so very considerable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to settle and clear up this matter, because it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domestic dissensions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it is impossible for us to maintain our commerce in a flourishing condition, if we do not at least enjoy peace, and, with it, unanimity at home, whatever our circumstances may be abroad.

I know of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already spoken, except the sending a fleet to bring home Prince Charles from Spain may be reckoned in that number. It consisted of a few ships only, but in good order, and well manned, so that the Spaniards are said to have expressed great satisfaction at the sight of it, which, however true or false, is a matter of no great consequence. This voyage, though a short one, gave Prince Charles some idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spanish match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the English ; but, in the midst of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 23d of his reign. His pacific temper occasioned our having but little to say in this part of our work ; but, before we proceed to mention the eminent seamen who flourished in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as

well as a brief account of the colonies settled, while this prince sat upon the throne.

It has been already shewn, that, under the public-spirited administration of Queen Elizabeth, this nation first came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extensive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which, down to that period, had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen and of stout ships belonging to this kingdom; but after King James's accession, and the taking place of that peace, which they had so long and so earnestly expected, things took a new and strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships, but, instead of building them, were content to freight those of their neighbours, because a little money was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade increased, till, in the year 1615, when there were not ten ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this the Trinity-house petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have, with respect to our naval power, through the decay of seamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution some good old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil, suggesting also the example of the state of Venice, who, on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute, and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants, convinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An

extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each of the burden of 300 tons, came into the river of Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders; they saw now, that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they set out, and that, if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms.

When once people have entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with turn to their advantage. Thus, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery and other necessaries, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades that were unthought of before; and, though for some time they suffered not a little by the Algerines and other pirates of Barbary, yet in the end they got more than they lost by these accidents; for it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing and manning small ones; which had such an effect in the space of seven years, that, whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas, now there were many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports, and upwards of a hundred vessels, each of above two hundred tons burden, belonging to Newcastle alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and, before the death of King James, our trade was so far increased, that,

in the opinion of Sir William Monson, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force, to the Dutch.

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

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. When James came to the throne in 1602, the royal navy, as we have seen, consisted of 42

ships carrying 804 guns, which ships, when equipped for sea, carried 8376 men. But at the death of that monarch it consisted of 62 sail, and at that period the money annually expended for the use of the navy was 50,000*l*. In most of our naval histories we have a list of nine ships added to the royal navy of England by this prince, which list, as taken from Sir William Monson, is given in the note.*

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

“ This year, 1610, the king built a most goodly ship for war, the keel whereof was 114 feet long, and the cross-beam was 44 feet in length; she will carry 64 pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burden of 1400 tons. This royal ship is double-built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious ship the king gave unto his son Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the Lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went unto Woolwich to see it launched; but, because of the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be launched; whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after his own dignity, and called it ‘ The Prince.’ The great workmaster in building

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

this ship was Mr. Phineas Pet, gentleman, some time master of arts of Emmanuel College in Cambridge”

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

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KNIGHT.

As the fame of this gentleman's actions was sufficient to have established and given lustre to any family, so his descent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy, even in the high posts which he by his merit obtained. There were several families of the

name of Raleigh in the west, and three particularly, which were seated in several parts of the country, and bore different arms. That, from which this gentleman sprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of King John, as the Raleighs in general are beyond the conquest. His father was Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel in the county of Devon. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The last was Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devonshire, Esq. by this lady Mr. Raleigh had two sons, Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of whom we are treating, as also a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's side to those famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert.

He was born in the year 1552, at a farm called Hayes, seated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the sea, and after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was sent to Oxford while a very young man; since, according to the best authority, he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age. When he came to, and how long he staid in Oriel College is not very clear; neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently asserted, that he was afterwards of the Middle-Temple. This we may consider as sure, that, about 1569, he, in company with many young gentlemen of good families and martial dispositions, went over into France, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed. He served there a considerable time, and acquired both skill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious observations on those wars which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. Although the French

writers, as well as our own, leave us in the dark as to his particular services in France, or the time of his continuance there, yet it appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed. By what means he escaped the horrible massacre of Paris and the provinces, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, we are left in uncertainty. He probably found refuge in the ambassador's house in company with Lord Wharton, Mr. Philip Sidney and others. He returned to England about the year 1575.

Having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the Netherlands, where he served some time against the Spaniards. In these transactions he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the fashion of the times. France and the Netherlands were in those days the schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to resort who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the license of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; Raleigh, on the contrary, made the true use of his service in a foreign country, increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his skill as a soldier by experience, and so completely polished his manner of address, that at his return he was considered as one of the best bred and most accomplished gentlemen in England, at a period when this was no singular character.

On Mr. Raleigh's coming back to his native soil, in 1578, he found his half-brother Sir Humphry Gilbert engaged in a design of making discoveries in North-America, for which he had obtained a patent; and for the furtherance of which he had procured the assistance of many friends. Raleigh was much taken

with the design, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been warmly concerned drew back ; Mr. Raleigh, however, not only continued firm to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother in person. This, after all, proved an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frightened a man of less resolution than Raleigh from venturing to sea again ; for they not only missed the great discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards in their return ; and though they made a very gallant defence, had no reason to boast of success, losing one of the best ships in their small fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whose name was Miles Morgan. From this unlucky adventure Mr. Raleigh arrived safe in England, in the spring of the year 1579, and had, soon after, thoughts of serving his queen and country in Ireland, where his holiness Pope Gregory VIII. and the Spaniards had sent men, money, and blessings, to comfort and assist such as, in breach of their oaths, would take arms against their lawful sovereign, and cut the throats of the English.

It is not very clear at what time our hero crossed the seas ; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commission under the president of Munster, which was then a more honourable commission than now, because there were fewer soldiers, and consequently more care was taken in distributing commissions. The next year, Captain Raleigh served under the noble earl of Ormonde, then governor of Ulster, a person conspicuous by his illustrious birth, and a near relation to Queen Elizabeth ; but still more so by his virtues and steady adherence to his duty, in spite of greater temptations than any other man met with, and by whose directions Raleigh performed many signal services. The Spanish succours, under the command of an officer of their own, assisted by a choice body of their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified a castle which they called Del.

Ore, and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat whenever they found themselves distressed, and prove also a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected, and for which it was mighty well situated, as standing upon the bay of Smerwick, or St. Mary Wick, in the county of Kerry. The then deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a person of great courage and indefatigable industry, but withal of a very severe temper, and particularly prejudiced against the Irish, and who resolved at all hazards to dispossess them of this fort; which he accordingly besieged with his small army for some time. In this dangerous enterprise Captain Raleigh had his share, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth. Many other services he performed in Ireland, of a nature not necessary for me to relate, and these very justly recommended him to the notice of the government, who, in 1581, honoured him with a joint-commission to be governor of Munster. In this character he continued to do the state many important services, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large estate in the county which he had subdued.

Yet all his care, and all his services, did not hinder his having many enemies, and amongst them the Lord-deputy Grey; so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter end of the same year to England, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large share in her favour; and as he was forward to distinguish himself in all public services of reputation, so on the return of the duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of those who accompanied him out of England, by the

express command of Queen Elizabeth ; and on his coming to England in 1582, he brought over the prince of Orange's letters to the queen. Some months after this he resided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of contending statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother Gilbert's second attempt, and though he went not in person, yet he built a new ship, called the bark Raleigh, and furnished it completely for the voyage ; the unsuccessful end of which it seemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to Plymouth, through a contagious distemper which seized on the ship's crew. Yet did not either this accident, or the unfortunate loss of his brother Sir Humphry, which has been already related, drive from Raleigh's thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He therefore digested into writing an account of the advantages which he supposed might attend the prosecution of such a design ; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her Majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584. By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching out, and planting distant countries, which has been ever since of such infinite service to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his patent into execution ; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though entirely at his own expense, that on the twenty-seventh of April following, they set sail from the west of England for the coast of North-America, where they safely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took possession of that fine country, which has been since so famous

by the name bestowed on it by Queen Elizabeth, and not given, as is generally surmised, by Sir Walter Raleigh, of Virginia.

About this time, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Devon, in company with Sir William Courtenay, and making a considerable figure in parliament, he, upon some occasion, entering the royal presence, in his capacity as a member of the House of Commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known, but we find him styled Sir Walter Raleigh for the first time on the 24th of Feb. 1585. In the same year he fitted out a second fleet for Virginia, in which he had very good success, his ships in their return taking a Spanish prize, worth fifty thousand pounds. He was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking, for the discovery of the north-west passage; for which reason a promontory in Davis's Straights was called Mount Raleigh. In respect to these public-spirited, and very expensive projects, the queen was pleased to make him some profitable grants; particularly two, the first of wine licenses, and the other of a seigniori in Ireland, consisting of twelve thousand acres, which he planted at his own expense, and many years after sold to Richard Boyle, the first earl of Corke. Encouraged by these favours, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruise on the Spaniards near the Azores, which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them. On his return in July 1586, he brought with him the *Nicotiana*, or Tobacco, of the smoaking of which he was passionately fond. It has been said, that he informed the queen that he could tell the exact weight of the smoke which would be produced, by any given quantity of tobacco. Her Majesty had no idea of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected the truth of his assertion, and laid him a wager he could not fulfil his words. Raleigh weighed the tobacco, smoaked it and then weighed the ashes.

The queen admitted that the difference of weights had gone off in smoke, and added "many labourers in the fire turn gold into smoke, you have turned smoke into gold." His good fortune abroad, was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen now made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall, which preferments, though no more than his merit deserved, yet exposed him to the malice of such as, having no deserts of their own, despaired of attaining by their intrigues, the like advantages.

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

When the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of Spain's famous armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the council appointed to consider of ways and means for repulsing those invaders; and the application of his thoughts to this important question, at that time, produced such a scheme for defence, as may be of the greatest use to this island, while it remains such. He did not, however, confine himself to this province of giving advice; but, as he had often fitted out ships for his country's honour and his

own, so he now did the like for its defence; and, not satisfied even with that, he exposed also his person among the many noble volunteers who went to sea upon the occasion, and performed such signal services in the attack and destruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour, who granted him some additional advantages in his wine-office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal source of that wealth, which he employed so much to his honour in all public services.

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

since proved itself worthy of all the care and expence employed in the support of it.

When a proposition was made by Don Antonio, king of Portugal, to Queen Elizabeth, to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered appeared so reasonable, that her Majesty was content to bear a considerable share in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-spirited subjects to furnish the rest. Her Majesty's quota consisted of six men of war, and threescore thousand pounds; to which, the adventurers added a hundred and twenty sail of ships, and between fourteen and fifteen thousand men, soldiers and sailors. In the fitting out this fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a share himself in the expedition, of which, a large account has been given already, and, therefore, there is no need of repeating it here; especially since we meet with no particulars, which personally respect Sir Walter, worth mentioning, except it be the taking some hulks belonging to the Hanse-towns, for which he, together with some other commanders, received, as a special mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain. The next year he made a voyage to Ireland, and, towards the latter end of it, formed a grand design of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, taking the plate-fleet, and sacking Panama.

This enterprise, like that of Portugal, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private persons, among whom the principal were Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in person as commander in chief of the fleet, which consisted of two of the queen's ships, and thirteen sail besides. Many accidents happened, which detained these ships on the English coast for twelve weeks; but at last Sir Walter Raleigh sailed on the sixth of May, 1592. The very next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter to recall him; but he, thinking his honour too

deeply engaged, continued at sea, till all hopes of success, according to their intended scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir John Burgh (or Burrough,) with orders to cruize on the coast of Spain, and the islands. In pursuance of these orders, Sir John Burgh happily made himself master of the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greatest ships belonging to the crown of Portugal, which he brought safely into Dartmouth, on the seventh of September, in the same year. This is said to have been the most considerable prize, till then, taken in this war, and, therefore, it may not be amiss to give a particular account of it.

This carrack was in burden no less than sixteen hundred tons, whereof nine hundred were merchandise; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven story, one main orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck, of two floors a-piece. According to the observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent geometrician, she was in length, from the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet; its circuit at the partners, near eleven feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the fifteenth of September this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelaine, or china-ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris, with many other commodities of inferior value. It freighted ten of our ships for London, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. When this vessel was first taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four times that sum; and so, in all probability, she was: but in spite of all the care Sir John Burgh

could take, the seamen embezzled a vast quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better situation when she was brought home. Sir William Monson tells us the reason, and I choose to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure," says he, "in this voyage, was only two ships, one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the carrack; which title, joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently." Thus it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not Sir Walter, was most benefited by this capture; and there is reason to believe the like happened upon other occasions, though Sir Walter was generally left to bear the blame.

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

and he made all the reparation in his power, by marrying the object of his affection. Sir Walter meditated in his retirement a greater design than hitherto he had undertaken while in the queen's favour, and that was the discovery of the rich and spacious empire of Guiana, a noble country in South America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered.

From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever information might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as much master of the subject as books could make him, he drew up instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his resolution; and, therefore, having provided a squadron of ships at his own expence, and those of his noble friends the Lord high-admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this adventure, which he also accomplished.

On the sixth of February, 1595, he sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at the isle of Trinidado on the twenty-second of March. He there made himself easily master of St. Joseph's, a small city, and took the Spanish governor Antonio Boreo prisoner, who gave him a full and exact description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in those parts, unknown before to the English. On this information he left the ship at Trinidado, and, with a hundred men, in several little barks, proceeded up the river Oronoque, 400 miles, in search of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty kings of the country, and several others of them, resigning their sovereignties into his hand for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to

retire, being in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as crushed by the rage and power of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contribution he assigned them to pay, to save the town, he fired it, as also St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a farther progress there in a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the soil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter has left us so fair, so copious, and so well-written a relation, that, if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over so bright a prospect, we could scarce render a reason why Guiana should not at this time have been as thoroughly known, and as completely settled by the English as Virginia.

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

subdue them. This voyage Kemeys successfully performed, and, at his return, published such an account of his expedition as might have converted, to Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance, or over-weening prejudice, had not destined to remain infidels.

The next important expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged, was that famous one to Cadiz, wherein the earl of Essex and the Lord high-admiral Howard were joint commanders, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other persons of great military skill and prudence, appointed of their council. We have already given a general account of the nature and design of this expedition, and here, therefore, we shall dwell only on such particulars as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are speaking. The fleet sailed in the beginning of June 1596, and on the 20th of the same month they arrived before Cadiz. The Lord-admiral's opinion was, to attack and take the town first, that the English fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the same time. The council of war, which he called upon this occasion, concurred with him in opinion, and so a resolution was taken instantly to attack the town.

It so happened, that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this council, and the earl of Essex was actually putting his men into boats before Raleigh was acquainted with the design. As soon as he knew it, he went to the earl, and protested against it, offering such weighty reasons for their falling first on the galleons, and the ships in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the necessity of doing it, and desired Sir Walter to dissuade the Lord-admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it, and prevailed with him to consent, that the fleet should first enter the port, and fall on the Spanish galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of Essex with the news, crying out aloud in his long-boat *Entramos*, the earl flung

his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir Walter gave the lord-admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought best to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the queen's ships of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, Raleigh in the Warspight had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour and consisted of the Mary Rose commanded by Sir George Carew, the Lyon by Sir Robert Southwell, the Rainbow by Sir Francis Vere, the Swiftsure by Captain Cross, the Dreadnought by Sir Conyers Clifford, and the Nonpareil by Mr. Dudley. These were followed by the fly-boats and London hired ships, the Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ship, the Mere Honeur, to go on board the Nonpareil. Yet the action did not commence that evening, because, being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly.

On the 22d of June, Sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the Spanish fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the attack. Seventeen gallies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort-Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and some culverins scoured the channel. When the Spanish admiral, the St. Philip, perceived the English approaching under sail, she also set sail, and with her the St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great galleasses of Lisbon, three frigates, convoy to their Plate-fleet from the Havannah, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espanna, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of these the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Tho-

mas, four capital ships, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in the streight of the harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the starboard-side they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleasses of Lisbon. The argosies, and the seventeen gallies, they posted to play on the English as they entered the harbour; and behind these the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great strength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the streight from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, in the van of the English was saluted by Fort-Philip, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. Raleigh scorned their fire, and answered with a flourish of trumpets, without discharging a gun. The ships that followed him beat so thick on the gallies, that they presently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the streights. Sir Walter gave them several broadsides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy of his fire. The Lord Thomas Howard came to an anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion did the same on the one side, and the Dreadnought and the Mary Rose on the other; the Rainbow lay on Puntal side; and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the earl of Essex, vexed to hear the noise of the guns while he himself was out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ships on the larboard-side of the Warspight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as possible. Raleigh kept always closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After they had played so long on the capital ships, Sir Walter went in his skiff to the admiral, desiring that the fly-boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ship, it being the same to him whether he sunk or burnt, and

one of them would certainly be his fate. The earl of Essex and the Lord Thomas Howard had assured him they would second him.

After a long and desperate fight, Sir Walter despairing of the fly-boats, and depending on Lord Essex and Lord Thomas Howard's promises to assist him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral; which the latter no sooner perceived, than she, and the other capital ships following her example, ran ashore. The admiral and the St. Thomas they burnt; the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were saved by the English boats before they took fire. The English were merciful after their victory; but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the sword, till they were checked by the lord-admiral, and their cruelty restrained by Sir Walter Raleigh. The most remarkable circumstance in this whole affair seems to be the disproportion between the English and Spanish force, there being but seven ships of the former against seventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with such an impetuosity, as did less honour to the officers than to the soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, to have some share of this; but when he saw that all things were in confusion, he very wisely returned on board the fleet.

The next morning Sir Walter sent to the lord-admiral for orders to follow the Spanish West India fleet outward-bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not escape him; but in the hurry and confusion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was slipt, and no answer returned to his demand. In the afternoon the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to save those ships; and while the bargain hung, the duke of

Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burnt ; and thus were the galleons, gallies, frigates, argosies, and the fleets of New Spain, royal and trading, consumed, except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, which were in possession of the English. The town was very rich in merchandise and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ransom ; some had ten, some sixteen, some twenty thousand ducats for their prisoners ; others had houses and goods given them, and sold them to the owners for vast sums of money. Sir Walter got, to use his own words, “ a lame leg and deformed ; for the rest, I either spoke too late, or ’twas otherwise resolved, I have not been wanting in good words, yet had possession of nought but poverty and pain.”

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

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling Guiana. In order to further discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in the month of March 1597 ; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher country,

they returned again to the port of Plymouth the 28th of June following. This expedition seems to be an indubitable proof of two things: first, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this discovery, otherwise there can be no cause assigned, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind. Secondly, that Sir Walter's hopes were as well founded as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such an one as is liable to no just objections.

The next public service wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh is, his expedition to the Azores, called The Island-Voyage, of which we have also given a copious account formerly. In this undertaking, of which we have as full and clear memorials as of any in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, it very plainly appears, that Essex had the command, and Raleigh the abilities; which was the true reason why the former acquired so little honour, and the latter so much; though with a less jealous commander he had certainly attained more. Their disputes began early. A misfortune fell out in Raleigh's ship in the bay of Biscay, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This signal service the creatures of Essex; by a sort of logic in which they were well practised, construed into a high offence; for they pretended, that these vessels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral; but Sir Walter having convinced the earl, that these ships came to the rock of Lisbon as the rendezvous appointed by himself, and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordship, Essex had sense enough to be pacified for that time: but soon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed, in a council of war, that the general

and Sir Walter Raleigh should land jointly on the island of Fayall, where Raleigh waited four days for his lordship, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, by such as were less concerned for Essex's honour than the nation's glory, that Sir Walter should attempt by himself, what it was settled they should jointly have performed. This resolution he executed, and shewed therein as much personal courage as any private soldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wise and experienced commander; so that we need not wonder he met with success, and did all that he designed.

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

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

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

The next year we find him again in parliament, where he distinguished himself, by uniting what of late have been thought opposite characters, the patriot and the servant of the crown, but which he shewed to be very consistent. By his interest with the queen, he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced; by his weight in the house, he promoted supplies; he also obtained some indulgencies for the tin-

ners in Cornwall, and shewed himself, upon all occasions, a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleased to fit out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe, Sir Walter was appointed vice-admiral: which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a single month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence, since at that time she was no less apprehensive of tumults at home, than of an invasion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleased to send Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh to the Dutch, and after conferring with Prince Maurice of Nassau, Sir Walter returned again about the middle of the year, and, a little after, he was, by the queen, made governor of the island of Jersey; but she reserved three hundred pounds a-year out of that government to be disposed of as she thought fit.

His next great service was against Essex, in his insurrection in the February following. It would be a great deal beside our purpose to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it suffice then that we observe, after a due comparison of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that Lord Essex was his own enemy, and that he brought Sir Walter's name upon the carpet to screen his own designs. He gave out, that the cause of his arming was to defend himself against his personal enemies, pretending that Cobham and Raleigh had contrived a scheme to assassinate him: whereas Sir Christopher Blunt had in truth made a proposal of this sort to Essex with respect to Raleigh; and when this was judged impracticable, advised the propagating the other story to colour their proceedings, as himself confessed. When the mischief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that after the earl of Essex was condemned, he pressed the queen to sign a warrant for his execution, and that he shewed a particular pleasure in beholding his death; which, however, is not strictly

true ; for though he had placed himself near the scaffold before the earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light : but this he afterwards repented ; because, when the earl came to die, he expressed a great desire to have seen and spoke to him, from an expectation of which Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that post.

The point of fact as to his sentiments upon this subject, has been effectually cleared since the first publishing this work, by the appearance of the letter below, * from Sir Walter Raleigh's original, now in the collection of manuscripts belonging to the right honourable the earl of Salisbury, and printed by Dr. Murdin. It makes no great alteration, in respect to what was before asserted, since Sir Walter, though he avowed a very high personal friendship for Sir Robert Cecil, yet, at the same time, established his advice on his concern for the queen's safety. In this, which is a little strange, he had the earl of Essex's concurrence, who declared to the preacher, sent to attend, and to worm out his secrets, in prison, that the queen could never be safe while he lived.

* " SIR,

" I am not wise enough to give you advice, but if you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when it shall be too late. His malice is fixt, and will not evaporate by any of your mild courses, for he will ascribe the alteration to her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not to your good nature, knowing that you work but upon her humour, and not out of any love towards him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours. And if her Majesty's favour faile him, he will againe decline to a common person. For after-revenges fear them not. For your own father, that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions, and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the duke of Northumberland's hearers. Northumberland that now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go by all his life-time. I could name you a thousand of those, and therefore

There is nothing more shrewd and sensible in this letter, than the giving Essex the name of Bothwell. This singular person, was, in a bastard line, the grandson of James V. king of Scots. He came to the court of King James then reigning, by the name of Captain Francis Stuart, grew into favour, was created earl of Bothwell, and made lord high-admiral of Scotland. He was not only a person of boundless arrogance and ambition, but of so restless and unruly a spirit, that he kept the king and kingdom in continual confusion. He was forfeited over and over, but by his factious connection with some of the nobility, was as often recalled and pardoned. He surprised and forced the royal palace of Holy-Rood House, he had invested the castle of Fawkland, he had entered sword in hand into the king's bed-chamber, and took him out in his shirt, but eight years before, and all this purely from a spirit of dominion, and contempt of his master's ministers, which facts, then recent and notorious, must occur to Cecil's remembrance on reading his name.

It is evident, that Sir Walter, by this admonition, meant to confirm Sir Robert Cecil in his design to crush Essex absolutely ; but whether it clearly dissuades the sparing his life, the reader may judge. Raleigh's own life had been in great danger, which

after-fears are but prophesies, or rather conjectures from causes remote. Look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also matche in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree root and all. Lose not your advantage : if you do I note your destiny.

“ Let the queen hold Bothwell while she hath him. He will ever be the canker of her estate and saulty. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours, after his libertye.

“ Yours, &c. W. R.

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

was the reason when Sir Christopher Blunt came to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's pardon, and confessed the wrong that had been done him, in the reports spread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confession did not quash such reports; but from this time forward, Raleigh had more enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the queen's successor was prejudiced against him, by such accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland.

It is not at all impossible, that those artful statesmen, who had so much address as to make the populace then, and, by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world in general now believe, they were seconds only in these quarrels, and Essex and Raleigh principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming Essex against Raleigh first, which induced him to write in his prejudice to King James, with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he kept a constant correspondence, and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of those informations, that they might run no hazard (in a new reign) from Sir Walter Raleigh's abilities. The conjecture is rendered probable enough from the whole thread of the relation, nor would it be a very hard task to prove it was really so from incontestible authorities. So easy it is in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and sense.

In the summer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progress, and on the arrival of the duke de Biron, as ambassador from France, he received him, by her Majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, Sir Walter was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of

a like nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to all. This shews that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between deserving and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exportation of ordnance, which, at that time, was of mighty advantage to such as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation; because it was the source of the enemy's power at sea, the Spanish navy making use of none but English cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether so clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate use of the grants which he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to surrender his freely.

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

character of him to that prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with his neighbours. Sir Walter in return for this good office did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he shewed plainly, that the affection of the Cecils for his Majesty was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of the family that his mother lost her head, and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they saw it would take place in spite of them. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected, nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous prince saw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and so became dependant upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom for many years he trusted, but did not love. This, with his aversion to all martial enterprises, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to Sir Walter's proposals; and perhaps to do more than this, if we are so just to Cecil, as to suppose that he did not afterwards persecute Raleigh without a cause, I mean without personal offence given to him. However it was, Raleigh had the mortification to see himself, notwithstanding the pains he had taken, slighted and ill-used at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before, which, however, proved his ruin.

Among these his companions, was Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom Raleigh had a great ascendant, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various sorts of people, and talked to each in such a style as he thought would be most

agreeable to them. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman in the king of Spain's service, and who was now in England as ambassador from the arch-duke, but, in truth, with a view to negociate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and in his name proposed giving Sir Walter a large sum of money, if instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace. In the mean time some popish priests, and other disaffected and designing persons, had framed a plot against the king and royal family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying, his Majesty and his children, and with some of these people Cobham also had an intercourse, by the means of his brother Mr. Brooke. This last treason being discovered, and traced to the persons we have just mentioned, there grew a suspicion of Cobham, and in consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, there arose some doubts also as to him. Upon this they were all apprehended, and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with several things in his confession. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these treasons together, though they, or at least Cecil, knew them to be distinct things; and so he states them in a letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he shews his dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his sense at the same time of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud. The priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; so was Mr. George Rooke, who had been their associate: and on the seventeenth of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of high-treason, by the influence of the court and the bawling Billingsgate eloquence of the Attorney-general Coke, without any colour of evidence. This is that treason which was so justly

slighted in his days, and which has so much perplexed ours.*

That there was really no truth in what was alleged against Sir Walter, may be proved to a demonstration, if we consider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the surprising treason or plot to seize the king and his family, was the hearsay testimony of George Brooke, that his brother Cobham should say, "That it would never be well till the fox and cubs were taken off;" and afterwards, speaking to this Brooke, "That he, Lord Grey, and others, were only on the bye, but Raleigh and himself were on the main;" intimating, that they were only trusted with lesser matters, but that the capital scheme, before-mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Walter. Yet when Brooke came to die, as he did deservedly, upon his own confession he recalled and retracted this circumstance, owning, that he never heard his brother make use of that phrase about the fox and cubs, which takes away, consequently, the credit of that other story grounded upon it: and this we have upon the best authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil (afterwards earl of Salisbury) himself, who commends Brooke for shewing this remorse in his last moments. Thus out of his capital enemy's mouth, I have proved the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who constantly and judiciously at his trial, distinguished between the surprising treason and the conferences with Aremberg. The former he denied the least knowledge of, but, as

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

to the latter, owned, that Cobham had talked to him of a large present, in case he would be for a peace with Spain, and complained of the hardship of dying for having once heard a vain man say a few idle things.

Though the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the rest who were involved in this treason, yet the king made a great deal ; for he never signed any warrant for his execution, but on the contrary projected that strange tragi-comedy of bringing the two Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of what Cobham had alleged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aside all thoughts of taking away his life ; and, if Raleigh laboured sometime under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adversaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I discern no signs, but of the contrary to which Sir Walter himself in his letters seems to be positive. Neither do I say this with any view of excusing King James, but purely out of respect to truth, and that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a prince who suffers himself to be absolutely directed by his ministers, since not only the vices of such a monarch are destructive, but even his virtues become useless.

As there seems to be a desire in the present age to know the certainty of things, without resting in that scrupulous report of facts, which cautious historians, from a strict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, in few words, with what seems to be the reality of this mysterious business. Lord Cobham, in the preceding reign, had been connived at in carrying on a correspondence with one Lorenzi or Laurencie, a Flemish merchant at Antwerp, who was at this time in England, and

through him Cobham corresponded with the duke of Aremberg. It is not my conjecture, but that of those who lived in these times, that it was this man disclosed the secret to Sir Robert Cecil, probably by Aremberg's direction, who thought this was the surest way of ruining Raleigh, and the shortest method of coming at a peace. When Sir Walter was arrested, he saw his danger, but had no apprehension of his accuser, and therefore, in hopes of disentangling himself, directed Sir Robert Cecil by letter where to find Lorenzi and Lord Cobham. It was the shewing this letter that provoked Cobham to accuse Raleigh so deeply; but at the same time it is a proof of Sir Walter's innocence, of any thing more than that Cobham had corresponded with Aremberg; for if there had been any veracity in Cobham's charge, instead of giving up that lord and Lorenzi, Sir Walter Raleigh would in reality have been furnishing two witnesses against himself. The naked truth then seems to be, that the duke considered the plot as an idle impracticable undertaking, but at the same time judged, that he should render a very acceptable service to his court, in thus getting Sir Walter Raleigh involved in it; and in this light King James and his ministers seem afterwards to have considered it. There is no great doubt, that this heightened Sir Walter's hate to the Spaniards, which subsisted with the like force in them against him, till Count Gondomar, pursuing Duke Aremberg's blow, brought this unfortunate gentleman to the block. On many accounts, therefore, this treason might be styled, as it was in those times, RALEIGH'S RIDDLE; but in nothing more so than in this, that by the arts of two Spanish ministers the most inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end, for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correspondence with Spain against a prince, who had seen through the whole contrivance so many years before he put him to death.

In Mr. Cayley's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, pub-

lished in 1806, we have a curious letter of Lord Cecil's, then Secretary of State, to Sir Thomas Parry, the English ambassador in France, in which he gives an account of this famous conspiracy, and of the motives which led the different persons to take a part in it. Sir Walter was indicted for conspiring to deprive the king of his government, to raise up sedition within the realm, to alter religion, to bring in the Roman superstition, and to procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdom. The principal overt act laid in the indictment was, that Sir Walter had a conference with Lord Cobham as to the best means of advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown and throne of this kingdom; and that then it was agreed that Cobham should treat with Aremberg, ambassador from the archduke of Austria, to obtain of him 600.000 crowns to bring about the plan. It was farther agreed, that Cobham should go to the archduke to procure his assistance in advancing the title of Arabella; and that from thence he should go to Spain to procure the king to assist in the same. To these, and to many other circumstances, the Lord Cecil refers in the letter already referred, of which the following is an extract:

“To be short, therefore, the lord Cobham meant to go over to the Spa, thereby to have access to the archduke; to whom he meant to have intimated his discontentment, and withal, to have represented the general disposition of others in this country, on whom he would have pretended that good sums of money would have taken great hold. From thence he should have gone into Spain, and there have seen what the king would have embraced. And at his return he would have passed to Jersey, where Sir Walter Raleigh would have met him, and so have conferred together what course to take for advancement of those intentions which his overtures should have begot. Leaving it not altogether hopeless, but that some of these surprises, or some other accident,

in the mean time might have happened to have saved his labour. Alway, if no such thing had followed in the interim, such sums of money as he could have procured the king of Spain to disburse, should have been employed *selon l'occasion*.

“ If now you will ask, whether the count of Aremberg had any hand in this matter, I must answer you truly, that the lord Cobham privily resorted to him. First, to confirm former intelligence concerning the peace. And as an argument to prepare him to believe him, if he offered any greater services, he stuck not to advertise him daily how things passed at court; with as many particulars as he could come by, what success the States had at the king's hands, or were like to have. And not three days before his commitment, he wrote to the count in general terms, that if he would do his master service, he should not be inveigled with conceit of peace; for though the king had a good disposition to it, yet most of the principal councillors were obstinate for the war. Concluding, that, if the count would procure four or five hundred thousand crowns, to be disposed of as he would, he could shew him a better way to prosper than by peace. To which letter, before the count could make any direct answer, the Lord Cobham was apprehended. And, therefore, when you shall speak with the king, you may assure him, that whatsoever is advertised, more or less, of those things is false. Only the first conspirators had likewise resolved to carry the king to the Tower, to have forced him to a proclamation to justify their actions, with divers such pretences, usual in such cases.

“ Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh's commitment, this hath been the ground. I. He hath been discontented *in conspectu omnium*, ever since the king came, and yet, for those offices which are taken from him, the king gave him 300*l.* a year during his life, and forgave him a good arrearage of debt. II. His inwardness, or rather his governing the lord Cob-

ham's spirit, made great suspicion that in these treasons he had his part. Whereupon being sent for before four or five of the council, and asked of some particulars; before he was sent to prison, he wrote a letter secretly to the Lord Cobham, advising him, if he were examined of any thing, to stand peremptory, and not be afraid, for one witness could not condemn him. After which, the Lord Cobham being called in question, he did first confess his own treasons, as above said, and then did absolutely, before eleven councillors, accuse Raleigh to be privy to his Spanish course; with farther addition and exclamation, that he had never dealt herein but by his own incessant provocation. Whereupon he was committed to the Tower; where, though he was used with all humanity, lodged and attended as well as in his own house, yet, one afternoon, while divers of us were in the Tower, examining some of these prisoners, he attempted to have murdered himself. Whereof, when we were advertised, we came to him, and found him in some agony, seeming to be unable to endure his misfortunes, and protesting innocency, with carelessness of life. And in that humour he had wounded himself under the right pap, but no way mortally, being, in truth, rather a cut than a stab, and now very well cured both in body and mind. What to judge of this case yet we know not; for, how voluntarily and authentically soever the lord Cobham did before us all accuse him in all our hearing, and most constantly, yet, being newly examined, he seemeth now to clear Sir Walter in most things, and to take all the burden to himself. So, as the matter concerning the blood of a gentleman, how apparent soever it is *in foro conscientiae*, yet you may be assured that no severity shall be used toward him, for which there shall not be sufficient proof. Which is very like there will be, notwithstanding this retractation; because it is confessed, that since their being in the Tower, intelligence hath passed from one to ano-

ther, wherein Raleigh expostulated his unkind using him."

A short time previously to the date of this letter, Sir Walter had been examined by Lord Henry Howard, Lord Wotton, and Sir Edward Coke; and shortly afterwards, he addressed the following letter, declaratory of his innocence, to the earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and Lord Cecil.

Sir Walter Raleigh to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and to Lord Cecil.

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

"For the first, I beseech your lordships to weigh it seriously before there be any farther proceeding. For to leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to that *summum jus*, before both your understandings and consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be assured that there is no glory, nor any reward, that can recompense the shedding of innocent blood. And, whereas it seemeth to appear, that this money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon some other considerations than it was unto me; for myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any commission to offer it, as the Everlasting God doth witness! For if that word

amity had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the surprise. But, of any such horrible and fearful purpose, if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your lordship's favours and the king's mercy. I know that your lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But, as you have not erred like ill surgeons, to lay on plasters too narrow for so great wounds; so, I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

“For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto. But I know your lordships have a reputation of conscience as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, my Lord Cecil, know right well, that it was my letter about Keymis; and your lordships all know, whether it be maintained, or whether out of truth, and out of a christian consideration it be revoked. I know, that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel prince. But I know that the king is too merciful, to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved, or can persuade his religious heart of the equity. I know that the king thinks, with all good princes, *satius est peccare in alteram partem*. God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent 40,000 crowns of mine own against that king and nation; that I never reserved so much of all my fortunes as to purchase 40*l. per annum* land; that I have been a violent persecutor, and fatherer of all enterprises, against that nation. I have served against them in person; and how, my lord admiral, and my lord of Suffolk, can witness. I discovered myself the richest part of all his Indies. I have planted in his territories. I offered his Majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry 2000 men to invade him

without the king's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word. And, in this time when we have a generous prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion, I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation.

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

WALTER RALEIGH.

In the month of December, Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company, and by degrees obtained still greater favours; for the king was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by Sir Walter's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of

his lady and children. In a reasonable space his estate followed his goods: and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however; he was much mistaken; for a new court favourite arising, who had a mind to enrich himself by such kind of grants, discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's estate to his son, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favorite, who in 1609 had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited. This courtier was Sir Robert Carr, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Somerset, to whom Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter, wherein he stated the hardship of his own case without bitterness, expostulated freely and yet inoffensively about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compassion without any unbecoming condescension. All this, however, signified nothing; Sir Walter lost his estate, but not his hopes.

He spent a great part of his confinement in writing that shining and immortal monument of his parts and learning, *THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD*, wherein he has shewn that he consulted the wise rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent attempts, any genius but his must have sunk. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chemistry. He also turned his thoughts on various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. Of these treatises many are printed, some are still preserved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are lost. The patron of his studies was Prince Henry, the glory of the

house of Stuart, the darling of the British nation while he lived, and the object of its sincere and universal lamentation by his untimely death. After his demise Sir Walter depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and steady protectress while the earl of Somerset's power lasted, whose hate was chiefly detrimental to Raleigh; for the king trusted him now, as he had Salisbury before, with implicit confidence, even after he had lost his affection: but he, by an intemperate use of his authority, having rendered himself obnoxious to the law, Sir Walter saw him his companion in the Tower, and his estates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown. His enemies thus out of the court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the favour he had long been seeking, which was, after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the Tower, not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision, but to spend the latter part of his days, as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour, and in the service of his country, or, as he himself has with great dignity expressed it in a letter to Secretary Winwood, by whose interest chiefly this favour was obtained; "To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world."

The scheme he had now at heart was his old one of settling Guiana; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first wisely contrived, so he as constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when, considering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and indeed, so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that, too, upon the best evidence in the world, his own eye-sight and judgment, that this was the richest country on the globe, and the wor-

thiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his confinement he held a constant intercourse with Guiana, sending at his own charge every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them of coming to their assistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards; who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower, and from whom he received the clearest and most distinct intelligence of the situation and richness of the mines that he could possibly desire. Upon these informations he offered the scheme, for prosecuting his discovery, to the court, three years before he undertook it in person; nor was there then any doubt either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with Spain, otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he did even at that time; which shews that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered and taken possession of that country for the crown of England, and that consequently his subjects were justly entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the Spaniards. It may also deserve our notice, that at the time Sir Walter first moved the court upon this subject, the Spanish match was not thought of; but the wants of King James were then very pressing, and he may reasonably be presumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this discovery, as he did in that match; though, when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of conceit with Sir Walter's; so that, if he had pleased, he might, for seven hundred pounds, have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage: but he remaining firm to his purpose, and the king feeling his necessi-

ties daily increasing, was yet willing that he should proceed in his enterprise, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the prospect he then had of concluding the Spanish match. Such was the situation of Sir Walter, and such the disposition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his design, and was empowered by a royal commission, but at the expence of himself and his friends, to settle Guiana.

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

lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive, that, when this commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man; or that the lords of the privy-council, or the lord privy-seal, could think it reasonable for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and, therefore, I think that Sir Francis Bacon's opinion, when Sir Walter consulted him, whether it would not be advisable for him to give a round sum of money for a pardon in common form, answered like an honest man and a sound lawyer, "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers."

It is now time for us to inquire what force this gentleman had, when he sailed upon the expedition; for it appears clearly by the king's commission, that the whole expence of the undertaking was to be defrayed by him and his friends; which shews how sincere Sir Walter must have been in this matter; especially if we consider that he vested his whole fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his wife to sell her estate at Mitcham, for the promoting this design; in the issue of which, he interested also all his friends; and how extensive his influence in this kind was, the following list of his fleet will sufficiently inform us: First, then, was the admiral, a fine, new, stout ship, built by Raleigh himself, called the *Destiny*, of the burden of four hundred and forty tons, and carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon. On board it were Sir Walter Raleigh, general, and his son Walter, captain, besides two hundred men, whereof eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was, afterwards,

increased. Second, the Jason of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Pennington vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the Encounter, one hundred and sixty tons, seventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Hastings captain; but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunderer, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentleger captain, six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, and ten land-men. Fifth, the Flying Joan, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the Southampton, eighty tons, six pieces of ordnance, John Bayly captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass, James Barker captain, eight sailors. But before Raleigh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more; so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, beside his own ship. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ship, named the Convertine, was commanded by one Captain Keymis; another, called the Confidence, was under the charge of Captain Woolaston; there was a shallop, named the Flying Hart, under Sir John Ferne; two fly-boats, under Captain Samuel King and Captain Robert Smith; and a Caravel, with another named the Chudley, besides.

With part of this fleet Sir Walter sailed from the Thames on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617; but it was the month of July before he left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which, he was forced to put into Cork through stress of weather, and remained there till the nineteenth of August. On the sixth of September he made the Canaries, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. Thence he proceeded to Guiana,

where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this purpose, he ordered, on the fourth of December, five small ships to sail into the river Oronoque; aboard these five vessels were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by Captain Parker, the second by Captain North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chudley; Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight persons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and, therefore, wrote him the following letter:

“KEYMIS, whereas you were resolved, after your arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and six musqueteers, and to that end, desired to have Sir John Ferne’s shallop; I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the river-side may discover you, who, giving knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I, therefore, advise you to suffer the captains and companies of the English to pass up westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there is any town near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, or whether or no it will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them, if it is in his power; and drive them as far as he can: but if you

find the mine is not so rich as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to satisfy his Majesty that my design was not imaginary, but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's expectation; for the quantity of which, I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other side, if you shall find any great number of soldiers are newly sent into the Oronoque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that the passages are already enforced, so as without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not, for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of the nation."

In obedience to this order, Captain Keymis landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They presently found the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the English both with their great and small arms, and the Spaniards being the aggressors, the English landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the general's son, was killed in the action; he himself stayed at Trinidado, with the other ships, resolving rather to burn than yield, had the Spanish armada attacked him. Captain Keymis made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow: and where they could have made a descent, vollies of musket-shot came from the woods on their boats, and Keymis did not proceed to the mine, saying in his excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and impassable woods: and that, supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons, he concluded it was best not to open it at

all. The Spaniards themselves had several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes. At Keymis's return, Raleigh told him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery; which reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence soon after the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded? he said, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About two hours after he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and, upon search, it was discovered he had first shot himself, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball. Sir Walter, when he heard his son was slain, said, that he mattered not the losing of a hundred men, so his reputation had been saved. He was afraid of incurring the king's displeasure, and with grief and sickness brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himself, which his indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis searching the river, all which time his master stayed at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and disappointments he met with did not alter his resolution of returning home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England, happen what would; so, rather like a prisoner than general, he arrived with his leaky ships, first at Kinsale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth.

Immediately after his coming to Ireland, a proclamation issued, setting forth the king's disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct, and requiring that such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the eleventh of June, and though it pretends to refer

to Sir Walter's commission, yet it plainly mentions things, which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the road to London, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, vice-admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up as a prisoner. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully, for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir Walter had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the French king; but in reality, all that Sir Walter intended was, to have gone back again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage, by a happier undertaking. On his second apprehension, he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already settled he should never be released but by death. It was the earnestness of the Spanish court, by their instrument Count Gondomar, produced this heat in the English councils; and yet, if we strictly consider the matter, we shall find that the violence with which the Spanish court drove this prosecution, is one of the strongest proofs that can be alleged in favour of Sir Walter's scheme; for if Guiana was a place of no consequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If Sir Walter had been no more than a projector, who sought to restore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of those times suggested, why was not he let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its appearance, because it would have discountenanced all succeeding projects: but by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion

of every impartial judge, raise the credit of his project, though they might frighten people at that time from carrying it into execution. In short, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were positive as he was; because they knew by experience, that Guiana was rich in gold, and that, if it were once thoroughly settled by the English, there would be an end of their empire in the West Indies. But to return to Sir Walter.

It was difficult, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the court, was far from being so in the sight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treason, yet at that time of day it was not easy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to inquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late expedition. Upon this, it was resolved to call him down to judgment upon his former sentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumstances of iniquity and brutality that can well be conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and so brought to the bar of the court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission, which was immediately over-ruled: next he would have justified his conduct in Guiana, but that the court would not hear; and so execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand. That this judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often said, and, I be-

lieve, seldom doubted ; but I think it has not been made so plain as it might be, and, therefore, in respect to his memory, I will attempt it, by shewing that the judgment was absolutely illegal, as well as it was manifestly iniquitous.

It is a maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong: and most certain it is, that no king can do legal wrong, that is to say, can employ the law to unjust purposes. Sir Walter Raleigh, after his conviction, was dead in law, and therefore if King James's commission to him had not the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it empower a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have a power over the lives and estates of the living? It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law, or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no authority, then this was an act of legal wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the absurdity is in the thing, and not in my expression. A commission under the privy seal, if not under the great seal, granted by the king, with the advice of his council, to a dead man; or, to put it otherwise, a lawful commission given to a man dead in law, is nonsense not to be endured; and, therefore, to avoid this, we must conceive, as Sir Francis Bacon, and every other lawyer did, that the commission included, or rather conveyed a pardon. Indeed the same thing may be made out in much fewer words. Grace is not so strong a mark of royal favour as trust; and, therefore, where the latter appears, the law ought, and, indeed, does, presume the former. This judgment, therefore, did not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but, in this instance, subverted the constitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the basest prostitution, but as the most flagrant violation of justice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and in-

human. The very next day, being Thursday, the 29th of October, and the Lord-mayor's day, Sir Walter was carried by the sheriffs of Middlesex to suffer in the Old Palace-yard. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by Dr. Robert Tounson, then dean of Westminster, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who assisted him in his last moments. He tells us, that he had such a contempt of death, as surprised this divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed God; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet, for himself, he had rather die so, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of Christian courage, he convinced the doctor himself; "and I think," says he, "all the spectators at his death." He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected against him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of Essex, he said that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not set down by him. Sir Walter eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoaked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey. On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die: justified himself clearly from all imputations, and, like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince who thus sacrificed him to the Spaniards. Dean Tounson observes, that every body gave credit to what Sir Walter said at his death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley, and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was caught in Whitehall, clipping the gold bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it; and, having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in

the island of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after Sir Walter Raleigh.

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

As to the other seamen of note in this reign, they are either such as have been already spoken of, or living also in the next, and may more regularly be mentioned there. I shall, therefore, conclude this chapter with observing, that the death of Sir Walter Raleigh was so distasteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publish a declaration, wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real causes of his death were contained. But this piece was so far from answering the end for which it was sent abroad, that it really served to justify

Sir Walter, even beyond his own apology. After this, King James granted a new commission for settling Guiana, which shews his absolute sense of our having a right to it, and demonstrates also the falsehood of that report, that Sir Walter devised his settlement to Guiana only to repair his losses through his imprisonment. In other cases, the king was kind enough to such as projected discoveries and settlements: but, taking all things in the lights his several favourites set them, he was sometimes dilatory, and ever unsteady. As to Buckingham's management, within whose province, as lord high-admiral, these things principally lay, we shall be obliged to treat of it in the next volume.

END OF VOL. I.

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