

THE ROYAL NAVY

A HISTORY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT



*Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,
the third Duke of Norfolk, in a portrait
by Hans Holbein the Younger, 1533.*

A History

From the Earliest Times to the Present

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Mr. Theodore Roosevelt

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etc.

and

Hundreds of Full Page and other

Maps, Charts

etc.

In Five Volumes



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GENERAL PREFACE.

It is upon the Navy that, under the good providence of God, the wealth, the prosperity, and the peace of these islands, and of the Empire, mainly depend. Such, in effect, is the declaration of the preamble to the Articles of War. No thoughtful and unprejudiced Briton doubts the truth of the assertion. His knowledge, superficial though it be, of the general course of modern history, tells him that, but for the Navy, Great Britain, on numerous occasions, would have lain at the mercy of foreign powers, which, had they had their will, would have left her neither riches nor liberty. It tells him also that the Navy has played as great a *rôle* in the development as in the protection of Britain's commerce and Empire. It has been instrumental in the discovery of some colonies, and in the acquisition of many others; and it is, to this day, responsible for the maintenance of secure communication with all, and of pacific trade and traffic between the various portions of the Empire and other parts of the world. And while it has advanced in a peculiar manner the special interests of Great Britain, the Navy has been not without influence upon the progress of civilisation generally. There has been no more powerful factor in the putting down of piracy, and in the practical suppression of the slave trade.

These things are known broadly to all, and are admitted by every one. Not monarchs, not statesmen, not scientists, not reformers, not manufacturers, not even merchants or soldiers have contributed as much as the Navy has contributed towards the building up, the extension, and the preservation of the British Empire. But the nature and the working of this all-important force have been strangely neglected by the British historian, and more especially by the British student. The acts of our kings, our statesmen, our reformers, and our soldiers have been voluminously and exactly chronicled, so that he who runs may read. And for the

benefit of him who cannot read while running, and who must halt and laboriously spell out the records of which he would know something, there are brief and popular general histories, not all free, perhaps, from inaccuracies of details, yet, for the most part, full and fair enough to impart a tolerably just impression of the share borne by these kings, statesmen, reformers and soldiers in the creation of the splendid social fabric in which we live.

It is not here suggested that British readers take anything like full advantage of the vast stores of knowledge which have thus been laid open to them. Indeed, the study of history is sadly neglected among us. Speaking as Professor of History at King's College, London, Mr. J. K. Laughton has said, "I am unhappily too well acquainted with the surpassing ignorance of the average young man."¹ And other professors of history, with whom I have communicated, fully bear out the lament of Professor Laughton. The general ignorance of the facts of modern British history is particularly insisted upon by all.

Yet, even if British students were in the habit of thoroughly digesting the ordinary British histories which are within their reach, they would still know little about the nature and services of the British Navy. Our greater historians deal very sparingly with these subjects. Many of them seem to have been deterred by an exaggerated estimate of the attendant difficulties, or by an impression that naval history is far too technical to be understood by lay people. Others have altogether failed to awaken to the importance of the matter, and have, by that very failure, convicted themselves of incompetence. As for the popular historians, the compilers of school histories, text-books, and such-like, they have for the most part, and indeed almost without exception, bungled, where they have not shamefully scamped, the facts of our naval story.

This neglect is doubly strange. The modern British historians of ancient Greece and Rome have not to the same extent avoided or misrepresented the naval side of their subject. Many of us can, I am sure, echo much of Dr. Miller Maguire's complaint that in early life "he was actually obliged to learn off by heart all the little nautical incidents of the Peloponnesian War, and to study the tactics and carrying power of the vessels of the Carthaginians and the Romans, while no one ever dreamt of telling him anything

¹ 'The Study of Naval History': paper read at the R. U. S. I., March 11th, 1896.

about Hawke, or Boscawen, or Collingwood, or our other naval heroes." ¹

Yet the neglect by the general historian of the naval side of our history is but the natural result of the indifference or shortcomings of many of those who might have forced this part of his work more specially upon his attention, and who might have facilitated his labours and smoothed away his real or supposed difficulties. Until Schomberg ² wrote, the British naval officer, whose position and training gave him exceptional advantages for the understanding and presentation of the facts, and the conclusions to be drawn from them, was, for all practical purposes, almost silent on the subject. Sir William Monson, it is true, and several other officers, have left us treatises on naval subjects; and Pepys, who was a captain, R.N., has bequeathed us a mass of invaluable material for history; but these are not naval historians. Schomberg's book is so full of inaccuracy as to be almost entirely devoid of value. Then followed Brenton. Brenton's essay ³ was a failure. He understood, it may be, something of what naval history ought to be; but his numerous prejudices, national and personal, his lack of discrimination, and his ignorance of, or indifference to, the common-sense rules as to the admission or rejection of evidence, tainted his work from beginning to end. Moreover, Brenton dealt only with an historical episode.

The next naval officer to attempt the writing of British naval history was Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas. His effort ⁴ was eminently successful so far as it went, but it was rendered a comparative failure by the untimely death of the historian when he was still at the outset of his gigantic work. The scheme of it was indeed a most generous and ample one. Nicolas spared no pains in research; he was never satisfied until he had consulted the best contemporary authorities for the details of every event; and he devoted as much attention to the civil history of the Navy, and to the development of its material, as to its military exploits. The result was, that although

¹ In discussion of Prof. Laughton's paper, March 11th, 1896.

² Capt. Isaac Schomberg, R.N.: 'Naval Chronology, or an Historical Summary of Naval and Maritime Events, from the time of the Romans to the Treaty of Peace, 1802.' 5 vols. 1802.

³ Capt. Edward Pelham Brenton, R.N.: 'The Naval History of Great Britain, 1783 to 1836.' 2 vols. 1837. A revised and enlarged edition of an earlier work by the same author.

⁴ Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas: 'A History of the British Navy, from the Earliest Times to the Wars of the French Revolution,' 2 vols. 1847. I call Nicolas a naval officer, but he retired early from the Navy.

he lived to complete two volumes, he brought his story down only to the year 1422. To continue the work upon the same lines up to the year 1793, as he purposed, he would, I estimate, have needed at least fifteen, and possibly twenty, volumes more. It may be doubted whether any writer who is already in middle life is justified in undertaking, and looking forward to the single-handed completion of, a book framed on such a colossal and ambitious scale. Nicolas, however, chose to venture upon the forlorn hope. His brilliant failure is less astonishing, though scarcely less meritorious, than his success would have been.

Since Nicolas's time, there have been but two serious British naval writers on British naval history—Professor J. K. Laughton, R.N., and Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb. The former has given us a number of admirable, though short, studies, mainly biographical,¹ and has done invaluable editorial work, especially in connection with the publications of the Navy Records Society. The latter has produced a learned and useful book,² which, though it deserves mention here, belongs rather to the domain of technical criticism than to that of ordinary history.

In addition to the major writers already named, Lieutenant John Marshall, R.N.,³ Admiral Sir Charles Ekins,⁴ Lieutenant Miles, R.N.,⁵ Mr. A. Duncan, R.N.,⁶ Captain S. M. Eardley-Wilmot, R.N., Mr. Joseph Allen, R.N.,⁷ Commander C. N. Robinson, and others, besides the authors of numerous biographical volumes, compilations, controversial pamphlets, and technical treatises, belong to the category of naval men who, with more or less success, have striven to elucidate the history of their profession.

Yet, in spite of all this, the Navy has done relatively little towards making public the true story of the progress and work of the service. For this there are obvious reasons. A British naval officer, especially if he be of the executive branch, does not receive, and never has received, in early life, such training as fits him for the avocation of letters. His education does not specially en-

¹ Some of these were collected in 'Studies in Naval History,' 1887.

² 'Naval Warfare.'

³ Lieut. John Marshall, R.N.: 'Royal Naval Biography,' 12 vols. 1823-29.

⁴ Admiral Sir Charles Ekins: 'Naval Battles, from 1714 to the Peace in 1814, critically reviewed and illustrated.'

⁵ 'Epitome of the Royal Naval Service,' 1841.

⁶ 'The Mariner's Chronicle,' 6 vols. 1750; etc.

⁷ 'The Battles of the British Navy.'

courage him to study history, nor, during his active career, does he usually enjoy many opportunities for reading, still less for original research. The executive officer, therefore, who can ultimately, like Nicolas or Colomb in the British, or like Mahan in the United States Navy, free himself from the grooves of his professional vocation, and attain distinction in the new walk of life, must be a man of exceptional qualifications, and must always be a *rara avis*.

The civilian writers on British naval history have been more numerous. They include, among many—and I name only those of some eminence—Josiah Burchett, who succeeded Pepys as Secretary of the Admiralty, Samuel Colliber, John Lediard, Dr. John Campbell (and his continuators), Sir S. Berkeley, Hervey, Dr. Entick, Dr. Robert Beatson, John Charnock, Charles Derrick, William James, Southey, and others, down to Mr. M. Oppenheim, besides biographers like O'Byrne and Fox Bourne.

As a critical naval historian, we have, I am afraid, no Englishman, either naval or civil, who approaches in accuracy, lucidity, and charm of style Captain A. T. Mahan, of the United States Navy. Another American naval historian who, however, is a civilian, has, it seems to me, shown a measure of intentional honesty and fairness which, unhappily, does not always characterise those British writers who have dealt with the same subject. I mean Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the writer of the history of the war of 1812.

But it is not my intention to introduce here a naval bibliography, nor, if it were my wish to do so, would space suffice. I thus briefly summarise some little of the historical work that has been done in connection with the Royal Navy, merely in order to lead up to a statement of the chief considerations which have induced me to undertake the present book, and which have influenced me in elaborating its scheme, and in seeking assistance from others in carrying it out.

Having carefully surveyed what has been done, and having examined into the causes of failure, where failure or comparative failure has resulted, and into the causes of success, where success has been conspicuous, I have had certain convictions forced upon me. One is that a general naval history framed upon the scale of Nicolas's, is too huge for practical use. People will not now-a-days purchase a book in twenty volumes. Still less will they read it. Yet a general naval history, dealing with all the aspects of the

service, from the earliest times to the present, does not exist, and is badly needed. Another is that a naval history, planned upon lines other than the most restricted, is too great a work to be undertaken by any single writer. Pepys designed such a history, but did not get much beyond the collection of part of his material for it. Nicolas began such a history, but lived to complete only two volumes of it.

So much for the failures to complete. The failures to satisfy are more numerous. I find that Schomberg and others fail because they are grossly and carelessly inaccurate. Brenton fails because he is prejudiced and injudicial. James partially fails because, although he is painstaking and, with few exceptions, fair, he is a chronicler rather than a historian: he does not sufficiently attempt to explain causes and motives; he does not adequately dwell upon results and deductions. Lediard and others fail because, instead of depending first of all upon original sources of information, they have been content to go first of all to second-hand ones, and only occasionally or subsidiarily to the best of all authorities. And it must be admitted that nearly all British writers of naval history, Nicolas being the only prominent exception, have devoted their almost exclusive attention to recording military operations, and have left in comparative neglect such equally important matters as naval administration, the development of the *matériel* and *personnel* of the service, the progress in the arts of navigation, gunnery, etc., the social life and customs of the sea, and even, in some cases, the story of naval expeditions of discovery.

On the other hand, James and Nicolas and Mahan are eminently satisfying to this extent—James, in that he is, as a rule, laborious and conscientious; Nicolas, in that he is learned, full, and comprehensive; and Mahan, in that he is luminous and scrupulously fair, and has applied the teachings of the past to the possibilities of the present and the future.

It was naturally my desire both to complete my undertaking and to satisfy the reader; and, falling into communication on the subject with Mr. R. B. Marston, of the publishing firm, I agreed with him, after we had discussed the general project, that a work in five or six volumes of the size now in hand might be made to contain a sufficiently comprehensive account of the military history of the Royal Navy from the earliest times to the present without necessitating any undue neglect of the civil history, of the development of

the *matériel* and *personnel*, or of the story of the more peaceful yet still active triumphs of the service; and that it would be roomy enough to contain such illustrations as would be requisite for the due supplementing of the text.

But I confessed myself unwilling to embark alone upon the business. I had, for many years previously, made a special study of our naval history; but I had studied some periods more attentively than others, and in most periods there were very many events into the records of which I had made no very deep researches. I therefore deemed it advisable to seek for assistance if I was to set about the preparation of such a history as we had spoken of.

And as to the scope and plan of the work I determined, if possible, to attempt the difficult task of combining some proportion of the various qualities which, as above noted, have rendered the works of James, Nicolas, and Mahan, each in its own way, peculiarly acceptable. This scheme involved the separation of the civil and the military history of the Navy, as Nicolas has separated them, and the full treatment of both; the recourse on every possible occasion to first-hand and official sources of information, after the example set by James and by Nicolas; the pointing of such broad lessons as seem to be plainly taught by the events of the past, and to be applicable to the events of time to come, after the fashion begun by Mahan and Colomb; and, finally, the scrupulous suppression of international or personal prejudice. The importance, as a factor in the building up of the Empire, of maritime discovery and its intimate association with the Royal Navy, obliged me to enlarge the scheme, so as to include special chapters dealing with that also. And, for convenience, I determined to break up the general story into parts.

Thus digested, the plan of the History stands as follows: The work is divided into fifteen historical sections, each of which corresponds either with the duration of a dynasty or a political period, or with the endurance of a great war. The first section (Chapters I.—III.) covers the period previous to 1066; the second section, the Norman Age—1066—1154; the third section, the Angevin Age—1154—1399; the fourth section, the Lancastrian and Yorkist Age—1399—1485; the fifth section, the Tudor Age—1485—1603; the sixth section, the first Stuart Age—1603—1649; the seventh section, the time of the Commonwealth—1649—1660; the eighth section, the age of the Restoration and the Revolution

—1660–1714; the ninth section, the early Hanoverian Age—1714–1763; the tenth section, the period of American Revolution—1763–1793; the eleventh section, the wars of the French Revolution—1793–1802; the twelfth section, the Napoleonic and American wars—1802–1815; the thirteenth section, the period from 1815 to the building of the first ironclads in 1856; and the fourteenth and last section, the period since 1856.

Each of these sections is subdivided into chapters, dealing respectively with the civil history of the Navy, the military history of the Navy, and the history of voyages and maritime discovery during the period under review. In the case of certain sections, the importance of the naval campaigns in which great fleets were employed has led to a further subdivision of the portion treating of the military history. The major operations are in those cases described separately from the minor operations in which only two or three vessels, or small detachments, were engaged. In the twelfth section, moreover, a special chapter is devoted to the war with the United States.

Illustrations from contemporary and original sources, a full index to each volume, and a general subject index included in the last volume, will complete the work.

The gentlemen who have been so good as to associate their names with mine on the title-page of the book, and the chapters for which each has kindly undertaken the responsibility, are:—

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., late R.N., President of the Royal Geographical Society	} The History of Voyages and Discoveries, 1485–1898; being Chapters XVI., XIX., XXII., XXVI., XXX., XXXIV., XXXVIII., XLII., XLVII., and L.
CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, D.C.L., LL.D.: U.S. Navy (retired), author of ‘The Influence of Sea Power upon History,’ etc.	
MR. H. W. WILSON, author of ‘Ironclads in Action,’ etc.	} The History of Voyages and Discoveries up to 1485, being Chapters III., VI., IX., and XII. The History of the Minor Naval Operations, 1763–1815 (except those of the War of 1812), being Chapters XXXIII., XXXVII., and XLII.
MR. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, author of ‘The Naval War of 1812,’ etc.	
MR. EDWARD FRASER	} The History of the War with the United States, 1812–15, being Chapter XLII. The Military History of the Navy, 1603–1660, being Chapters XVIII. and XXI.

But this by no means exhausts the list of those who have co-operated with me in the work. There are two other classes of helpers to whom I am at least equally indebted. One class includes those who for months have spent their time in libraries and muniment rooms, making researches, copying documents, hunting up portraits, plans, and pictures, and verifying references on my behalf. To them, for the manner in which they have laboured, and for the numerous suggestions which they have laid before me, I cannot too deeply express my thanks. The other class, a very much larger one, includes the volunteer helpers. Among them are naval officers, British and foreign, and distinguished historical and technical authorities. My indebtedness to these will be found specially acknowledged in various places throughout the volumes, either in the footnotes, or in the introductions. I am desirous of here recording my peculiar obligations to Mr. R. B. Marston, who has unceasingly interested himself in the progress of the work, and has helped me in obtaining, or securing a sight of, many valuable documents and little-known pamphlets and books which, otherwise, must have escaped my notice.

Upon one other subject I must say a word, though I say it a little unwillingly. When it became known in the United States that my friends Captain Mahan and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt were to contribute to the book chapters dealing with our unhappy conflicts with America, a certain New York literary journal, which generally displays better taste, congratulated itself that at last English readers would be told the whole truth about those wars. It went on to insinuate with gratuitous offensiveness that, although Captain Mahan, being perhaps spoilt by British appreciation of his books, might hesitate to speak out, Mr. Roosevelt might be trusted to reflect American opinion in its most uncompromising form, and that I might live to be sorry for having secured the co-operation of that distinguished writer and administrator.

I regret this outburst, and I sincerely trust that the journal in question will, if only for the sake of international and personal comity, refrain from repeating it. Those among us who have studied the subject at all have known the truth about these wars for many a long year, and although we may not be uniformly proud of the parts which Great Britain has played as against the United States, we have no reason for desiring the suppression of any one of the facts. Like all the great characters of history, nations have

ever had their weaknesses and their shortcomings. The story of their occasional pettinesses and errors is often quite as instructive as the record of their normally great and noble actions; and he would be but a poor and short-sighted lover of his country, or of his hero, who should seek to heighten the glory of an established fame by painting out its shadows. Neither Great Britain nor the United States has uniformly behaved like an angel: neither ever will behave in that manner. But I believe that both are essentially honest, and that both, especially when time is allowed them for cool reflection, desire truth and justice with equal sincerity.

Yet, after all, that is a small matter. The point that struck me as being most ungenerous in the attack of the New York paper was the suggestion directed, not against us Britons, but against Captain Mahan and Mr. Roosevelt. To insinuate that one of these is capable of deliberately subtracting from the truth in order to pander to English vanity, and that the other is capable of deliberately adorning the truth in order to pander to American Chauvinism, is surely to outrage the honour of both and to besmirch the dignity of American history. I sought, and I welcome, the co-operation of these gentlemen because the transparent good faith of their writings has deeply impressed itself upon me, and because I have ever been of opinion that, *cæteris paribus*, Americans are alike as capable and as desirous as Englishmen of exercising impartiality. It seems to me fair, moreover, to let both sides be heard, and that I could not possibly offer surer guarantees of my anxiety to do strict justice than by inviting distinguished American writers to co-operate in this work on equal terms with Englishmen. Any historian, no matter his good faith, may err, as well in his facts as in his conclusions; but if either Captain Mahan or Mr. Roosevelt err it will not, I promise both English and American readers, be on the score of national prejudice or personal insincerity. I only wish that the two countries could be induced to permanently co-operate in the making of history with as single an aim as we Britons and our American cousins are on this occasion endeavouring to write it.

To the reader—and with him I include the critic—I must add yet another word. The task which my fellow-workers and I have undertaken is one full of difficulties and pitfalls. Some periods of our naval history are now comprehensively dealt with for the first time. Others, which have been dealt with over and over again, have been cobwebbed with myths and errors. I know not whether

it be easier to compile new records or to remove the dust and defacement from old ones, but I know by experience that the labour, if conscientiously performed, is, in each case, such as few who have not attempted it can realise. The contradictions to be found in two or more authorities, apparently of equal weight and equal trustworthiness, are often so serious and fundamental as apparently to defy reconciliation or explanation. Sometimes, indeed, two eyewitnesses, watching an operation on board the same ship, have left entirely contradictory accounts both of the sequence and of the issue of the events observed. Nor can statements even in official dispatches, State papers, and Government returns, be always accepted without corroboration. It has been our business to meet and vanquish these and other difficulties to the best of our ability, and we have spared neither time nor pains in searching for the truth. But the mass of material to be consulted is so colossal that errors of omission as well as of commission cannot but abound in a work like the present. I trust, therefore, that the book may not be too harshly judged. Such faults as may be detected in it must, in any event, be attributed least of all to prejudice. We have desired to set down facts without fear or favour, and to draw such conclusions only as are justified by the evidence offered; and it will be a great satisfaction to all of us, even although we may fail to some extent in other respects, if the sincerity of our intentions escape all impeachment.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I.

IN the preparation of the civil and military history of the Navy, prior to 1422, Nicolas, as was inevitable, has been generally followed, although important additions to, and some corrections of, his work have been deemed necessary. His references have also been verified wherever possible.

After the major part of this volume had been put in type, the appearance of Mr. M. Oppenheim's invaluable 'History of the Administration of the Royal Navy, 1509-1660' (John Lane), and of the same learned author's, 'Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII.' (Navy Records Society), called attention to several neglected sources of information. These have been utilised, and Mr. Oppenheim's two volumes have, besides, been largely quoted from. To another publication of the Navy Records Society, Professor Laughton's, 'State Papers Relating to the Spanish Armada,' a great debt is due. Both it, and Captain Duro's works dealing with affairs of the same eventful time, have, as will be seen, been freely drawn upon. To Mr. Oppenheim personally, I owe several useful suggestions. It is a matter of great regret to me that both Professor Laughton and Mr. Oppenheim were obliged to decline invitations to contribute some chapters to this volume, and that one of the grounds of the latter's refusal was the uncertainty of his health.

To Dr. W. F. Tilton, of Newport, Rhode Island, who has made a special study of the Armada period, I am particularly obliged. He has generously placed some of his very careful work at my disposal, and I have been glad to take full advantage of his kindness. My thanks are due as well to Colonel John Scott, C.B., for most interesting biographical information concerning early books on shipping and navigation. Similar acknowledgments are owing to

Mr. Coryton, of the Inner Temple, for suggestion on the same subjects. And I would gratefully thank the various noblemen and gentlemen who have allowed the publishers to reproduce pictures, charts, etc., in their possession; and last, but not least, the authorities of numerous public libraries and similar institutions at home and abroad, for the unvarying and unwearying kindness with which they have assisted both me and also those searchers who have had occasion to ask their aid on my behalf.

It is hoped that Volume II., bringing down the history to the year 1760, may be ready for delivery in September.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.



CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
CIVIL HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS TO 1066.	1

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS TO 1066	23
---	----

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES TO 1066	55
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS, 1066-1154	71
---	----

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS, 1066-1154	84
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1066-1154	93
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1154-1399	98
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1154-1399	160
---	-----

	PAGE
CHAPTER IX.	
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1154-1399.	303
CHAPTER X.	
CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1399-1485	338
CHAPTER XI.	
MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1399-1485	355
CHAPTER XII.	
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1399-1485	394
CHAPTER XIII.	
CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1485-1603	399
CHAPTER XIV.	
MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1485-1603	441
CHAPTER XV.	
THE CAMPAIGN OF THE SPANISH ARMADA	539
CHAPTER XVI.	
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1485-1603.	605
—	
INDEX	659

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I.



PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES.

	PAGE
THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY, 3RD DUKE OF NORFOLK	<i>Frontispiece</i>
ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX	<i>To face</i> 512
CHARLES, LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, HIGH ADMIRAL	,, 538
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE	,, 622
SIR WALTER RALEGH.	,, 646

FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE GOKSTAD SHIP: ELEVATION AND DECK PLAN	<i>To face</i> 18
THE GOKSTAD SHIP: VIEWS FROM THE STARBOARD AND THE PORT QUARTER	,, 20
RUYSCH'S CHART, 1508	,, 322
CHART FROM THE PTOLEMEAN CODEX OF <i>ca.</i> 1467.	,, 322
THE ZENO CHART	,, 334
THE OLAUS MAGNUS MAP OF 1539	,, 336
EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII. AT DOVER	,, 406
A GALLEY	,, 450
A GALLEY	,, 462
THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ENGLISH NEAR PORTSMOUTH, 1545	,, 464
ARRIVAL OF LEICESTER AT FLUSHING, 1586	,, 486
THE ARMADA OFF THE LIZARD, JULY 19TH, 1588	,, 560
THE ARMADA OFF FOWEY, JULY 20TH, 1588.	,, 562
THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ARMADA	,, 564
CAPTURE OF THE "SAN SALVADOR"	,, 566

	PAGE
CAPTURE OF DON PEDRO DE VALDES	<i>To face</i> 568
THE ARMADA RE-ENGAGED, JULY 23RD, 1588	,, 570
ENGAGEMENT OFF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.	,, 572
THE ARMADA CHASED TOWARDS CALAIS.	,, 574
THE ARMADA DISLODGED BY FIRESHIPS.	,, 576
THE "SAN LORENZO" AGROUND	,, 578

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

[The illustrations marked thus (1) are taken from 'A Naval Encyclopædia,' by Thomas Riley Blanchley ; with engravings by Paul Foudriner. London, 1550.]

INITIAL LETTER FROM LEDIARD'S 'NAVAL HISTORY'	1
A ROMAN GALLEY (<i>later period</i>)	8
THE GOKSTAD SHIP: DETAILS (5 cuts)	20
THE GOKSTAD SHIP: CARVING ON OAR	22
1 SHIP'S WATCH-BELL	23
ROMAN LIBURNUS, OR GALLEY WITH ONE TIER OF OARS	25
1 MOORINGS	54
1 CREEPER.	71
NORMAN WAR-VESSEL: ELEVENTH CENTURY	72
THE "MORA"	77
MISLEADING EFFIGY OF A SHIP (<i>From Jul</i>)	83
1 HANGING COMPASS	81
HAROLD'S SHIP	85
1 BILBOES	92
1 PINNACE	98
GALLEY: FOURTEENTH CENTURY	113
GOLD NOBLE OF EDWARD III.	115
PRIMITIVE WIRE-WOUND GUN	118
SEAL OF LYME REGIS.	155
SEAL OF SOUTHAMPTON	155
SEAL OF THE BARONS OF DOVER	156
ANCIENT GUNS AND SHOT	158
ANCIENT DIVIDERS OR COMPASSES	158
1 DOUBLE IRON BOUND BLOCKS	159
1 CAREENING HULK	161
CHART OF THE STRAIT OF DOVER.	188

	PAGE
MAP OF THE LOWER NETHERLANDS	252
¹ PENNANT.	302
¹ POWDER-ROOM LANTERN	303
¹ SNATCH BLOCK	337
¹ FLAG OF LORD HIGH ADMIRAL	338
SHIP: FOURTEENTH CENTURY	339
SHIPS: FOURTEENTH CENTURY	341
FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.	345
FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.	350
¹ GIN, FOR PILE-DRIVING	354
¹ PARRELLS	355
FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.	376
SEAL OF JOHN HOLLAND, DUKE OF EXETER, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL	383
¹ BRASS BOX COMPASS.	393
¹ HAGBOAT	394
¹ BITTS	398
¹ SMACK-RIGGED SLOOP	399
EARLY ASTROLABE	400
CROSS-STAFF	401
BACK-STAFF, OR DAVIS'S QUADRANT	403
THE "HENRY GRACE À DIEU" (<i>the Norris picture</i>)	406
THE "HENRY GRACE À DIEU" (<i>the Pepys picture</i>)	407
CULVERIN BASTARD: SIXTEENTH CENTURY	408
BRASS GUN FROM THE "MARY ROSE"	409
ELIZABETHAN FALCONET	412
A GENOESE CARRACK.	413
VESSELS: FOURTEENTH CENTURY	415
THE GALLEY "SUBTLE"	422
AN ELIZABETHAN SHIP OF WAR	424
SIX-ANGEL PIECE OF EDWARD VI.	426
ELIZABETHAN SEAMAN.	428
GOLD RIAL OF ELIZABETH	433
CHART OF THAMES MOUTH, 1580.	435
¹ CAREENING	442
CHART OF FERROL AND CORUNNA.	494
CHART OF LISBON	492
SIR MARTIN FROBISER	499

	PAGE
ADMIRAL JAN VAN DUJVENVOORDE	510
CHART OF CADIZ HARBOUR.	514
GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND	525
¹ WHEEL	538
¹ BOMB VESSEL	539
AN ENGLISH SHIP OF WAR, 1588	552
THE BEACONS OF KENT	563
A SHIP OF THE ARMADA	564
¹ TRIANGLES	585
¹ BRIGANTINE	605
SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY	614
SIR JOHN HAWKYNES	618
THOMAS CAVENDISH	636
¹ AZIMUTH COMPASS	658

NAVAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

CIVIL HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS TO 1066.

The primitive Briton and the sea—Early British vessels—Commercial relations with the continent—Ships of the Veneti—Maritime impotence of Britain at Caesar's invasion—*Pictæ*—Caesar's ships—Britain under the Romans—Roman harbours in Britain—The Scots and Picts—The Saxon invaders—Their origin and character—Anglo-Saxon ships—Rise of Mercia—Offa's fleet—Rise of Wessex—Alfred's maritime policy—Edgar—Danegeld—The Danish invaders—Greatness of Canute—Danish ships—Port dues—Tenures of the maritime towns—Smallness of the permanent navy—The Gokstad ship and its construction.



FROM LEDIARD'S NAVAL HISTORY,
1735.

AMONG the inhabitants of Britain, a large number have in all ages followed the sea. In the days of extreme antiquity, when the greater part of the island was covered with forests in which wild beasts, and possibly wilder human beings, roamed, knowing no law save that of the strongest; when marshes and lakes were more common, and watercourses broader, than they are now, and when there was little tillage, the seas

and rivers yielded a readier harvest than the land.

So long as society remained unorganised, the man who planted a field gave to precarious fortune most valuable hostages in the shape of his labour and his seed. Any man more powerful than he might, without much trouble, deprive him of the fruit of both by driving him from his hard-won patch, and occupying it. Yet, even while society was in its earliest infancy, there was a certain kind of safety afloat for him who knew how to manage paddle and sail. He could not easily be ousted from his chosen fishing-grounds. To oust him—nay, seriously to interfere with him afloat—required not merely brute

strength but also skill and experience. The lowest man in the scale of that dawning civilisation could handle the club and the mattock; but, from the first, the trade of seaman or fisherman was an art and mystery. The primitive Briton was, therefore, more secure in his position, as well as more independent, as a seaman, or at least as a riverman, than as a landsman. On the water he escaped having to contend with wild beasts and with much human tyranny. As for the elements, he made it the peculiar business of his life to understand and adopt them. They cannot have been more cruel than the dangers of the shore. And from river, lake, and sea he could be sure of drawing supplies of food without the trouble either of sowing or of reaping.

These considerations must have powerfully influenced the early Britons who found themselves near stream or ocean or mere, for they have profoundly influenced all primitive peoples, and especially those of the old world. They led them, not merely to seek their living on the water, but also to build their habitations on or above the water. In the neolithic period there were lake dwellings in Britain as well as in Switzerland and other parts of Europe: and many of the Irish "crannoges," or artificial islands, which were strongholds of petty chiefs as late as the sixteenth century, were structures dating back to prehistoric times. Soon, of course, as the numbers of those who lived on or by the water increased, the relative security of their calling diminished. Boats began to be stolen, nets to be destroyed, lines to be removed. Still, however, there was the substantial attraction of the never failing harvest of the waters: and still a man enjoyed more liberty afloat than he could hope to enjoy ashore, unless, indeed, he happened to be a very powerful personage.

It is impossible to determine with certainty what was the nature of the earliest British vessels. But it is established by Cæsar¹ that in his time the inhabitants made use, probably in addition to craft of stronger build, of boats very little different from the coracles which may still be occasionally seen on the upper reaches of the Severn, and from the light and unstable skiffs wherein the fishermen of Mayo and Galway venture to sea to this day in almost all weathers. They were, in effect, canoes, framed of light wood so arranged as to support and give strength to a hull of basket-work, and then covered with hides. They may have well existed long before Cæsar's time; and they probably represented the first type

¹ 'De Bell. Civ.,' i. 54.

of British vessel that was anything more than a raft. There seems to have been generally no sail or mast; and the instrument of propulsion was, almost without doubt, the paddle.

Yet, although the hide canoe appears to have been the earliest craft known to our ancestors, it is difficult to believe that, as late as the days of Cæsar, the islanders had nothing better. Pytheas,¹ about 330 B.C., found, in what is now Kent, a degree of civilisation which surprised even his highly civilised companions from Massilia. Posidonius, who was Cicero's tutor, describes the tin-workers of the island as being civilised and clever at their work, and as possessing waggons of some sort. In those times there were certainly iron-works in the valley of the Severn, and British princelings certainly coined money in distant imitation of Greek originals. Moreover, it is incredible that the Britons, who for generations had seen Phœnician ships and craft from the Greek colonies in the Mediterranean, visiting their coasts for tin, could have omitted to copy the superior foreign types. Nor is it probable that if our ancestors owned only hide canoes, they could have habitually crossed the British Channel, as Cæsar himself suggests that they did cross it.

There is no evidence that any prince of Britain, inspired by principles of general policy, organised a combination of his fellow princes, either to send maritime assistance to the mainlanders who resisted the Roman seizure of the continental shores of the Channel, or to repel the threatened invasion of his own country. Indeed, the evidence is rather to the effect that the more powerful princes were on such ill terms among themselves that they could not combine, at least for operations by sea. Yet there was some combination for offensive defence, if not among the princes of Britain, then among the merchants and shipowners of the seaboard. It was, no doubt, dictated by considerations of common interests, rather than by the formal behests of people in authority; and the probable explanation is that the fishermen and traders of the southern British coasts, who had long had some maritime traffic with the tribes ever against them on the coasts of Gaul, apprehended in some vague way that a Roman conquest would deprive them of it. We may even suppose blood ties to have existed between the two races, and the menaced mainlanders to have appealed, in their hour of peril, to the friendship of the islanders. Be this as it may, both Cæsar and Strabo, as well as native traditions, declare Britain and Gaul to have had

¹ Fragments of his 'Periplus,' ed. Arwedson.

commercial relations for a long period anterior to the Julian invasion ;¹ and we have Cæsar's word for it that when, in his advance, he came into contact with the Veneti, who dwelt near the mouth of what is now the Loire, he found that he had to fight not only them, but also a British flotilla acting with them.

Unhappily, Cæsar does not expressly describe the vessels of the British contingent. It has been seen that he elsewhere mentions certain British craft as having been made of wicker covered with hide. Of these he speaks contemptuously, when he criticises their suitability for war; and Lucan² takes up much the same position. But neither Cæsar nor Lucan applies this criticism to the craft that co-operated with the Veneti; and, when we pay regard to the fact that to enter the mouth of the Loire our ancestors, in addition to crossing the stormy Channel, must have braved the terrors of the Bay of Biscay, we are almost driven to the conclusion that the ships which helped the Veneti were not hide canoes. It is much more likely, seeing that Cæsar devotes no special description to them, that they were not very different from the ships of the Veneti themselves. These he does describe, and in some detail. "Their ships,"³ he says, "were built and fitted out in this manner. The bottoms were somewhat flatter than those of our vessels, the better to adapt them to the shallows, and to enable them to withstand without danger the ebbing of the tide. Their bows, as likewise their sterns, were very lofty and erect, the better to bear the magnitude of the waves and the violence of the tempests. The hull of each vessel was entirely of oak, to resist the shocks and assaults of that stormy sea. The benches for the rowers were made of strong beams of about a foot in breadth, and were fastened with iron bolts an inch thick. They fastened their anchors with iron chains⁴ instead of with cables; and they used skins and a sort of thin pliant leather for sails, either because they lacked canvas and were ignorant of the art of making sailcloth, or more probably because they believed that canvas sails were not so fit to bear the stress of tempests and the rage and fury of the winds, and to drive ships of that bulk and burden. Our fleet and the vessels

¹ Cæsar, 'De Bell. Gall.' iii. 21; iv. 20.

² 'Pharsal,' iv.

³ 'De Bell. Gall.' iii. 13.

⁴ An example of "nothing new under the sun." Chain cables for ships of war were again adopted in the nineteenth century, after hempen cables had served for upwards of a thousand years.

of such construction were as follows as regards fighting capabilities. In the matter of manœuvring power and ready command of oars, we had an advantage; but in other respects, looking to the situation of the coast and the stormy weather, all ran very much in their favour; for neither could our ships injure theirs with their prows, so great were the strength and solidity of the hostile craft, nor could we easily throw in our darts, because of the loftiness of the foe above us. And this last fact was also a reason why we found it extremely difficult to grapple with him, and bring him to close action. More than all, when the sea began to get up, and when the enemy was obliged to run before it, he, fearing nothing from the rocks and cliffs when the tide should ebb, could, in addition to weathering the storm better, trust himself more confidently among the shallows." A complete victory¹ was gained, nevertheless; and, no doubt, the British contingent was destroyed.

That Selden wrote primarily as a politician, and only secondarily as a historian, when he produced '*Mare Clausum*,' has been too much overlooked by later writers, and especially by Dr. John Campbell² and his editors, who follow Selden³ in finding, in a statement by Cæsar, evidence that the ancient Britons "had the dominion of their own seas in the most absolute degree." The statement is to the effect that Cæsar could get no information concerning the country or ports of Britain, because the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to visit their island, and restrained even them from travelling up the country.⁴ As well might it be argued that the Chinese of our own days "have the dominion of their own seas in the most absolute degree," because they have succeeded in limiting the intercourse of foreigners with the interior. All that we know points to a different conclusion. Whatever naval power the Britains, probably those of the western part of the island, possessed, seems to have been entirely expended in the fruitless co-operation with the Veneti. Thenceforward, the British fleet vanished from the scene; and Cæsar met with absolutely no resistance afloat.

Yet, although the Britons were weak at sea, they were not so ignorant that the cultured Romans had nothing to learn from them

¹ '*De Bell. Gall.*,' iii. 14.

² '*Lives of the British Admirals*,' edit. of 1817, ch. i.

³ '*Mare Claus.*,' ii. 2.

⁴ '*De Bell. Gall.*,' iv. 18.

concerning ship construction. We have seen what Cæsar's opinion was of the British hide canoes. But we learn elsewhere¹ that the conquerors found in Britain another type of boat which they thought it worth while to copy for their own purposes. It was a species of long, fast-sailing pinnace, known to the Romans as *pieta*. It was smeared with wax, apparently to lessen the friction while running through the water, and it carried twenty rowers. It was useful for scouting and dispatch purposes; and to decrease its visibility its sail was dyed light blue, and its crew were dressed in clothing of the same colour. Here is a very early example of something like a naval uniform for seamen. But, with regard to the science of naval architecture generally, the Romans must have been immensely ahead of the Britons. The Roman vessels were not so large, but that they could be hauled upon the beach; while they were large enough to transport, upon an average, about 125 soldiers,² with baggage in each; and if it be true that Cæsar carried with him to Britain a war elephant,³ some, at least, of his ships must have been of imposing size and strength.

The results of Cæsar's expeditions led subsequent Latin writers to use such expressions as *Britannos subjugare* and *Vincula dare oceano* almost as if they were equivalent phrases; and the fact has ever since created a false impression that the conqueror in some way wrested the dominion of the sea from the vanquished islanders. The truth is that, after he had won the action in the mouth of the Loire, Cæsar had to contend afloat with few besides natural difficulties; and that the Briton of his day was overcome not at sea but ashore. If the Britons had any ships and seamen beyond those destroyed on the coast of Gaul, they had at least no union, no common aims, no central authority strong enough to wield effectively the naval arm. The country was broken up into petty principalities and chieftainships, and while little co-operation between the jealousies and hatreds of rivals was possible on shore, none at all was to be expected at sea, where only from co-operation, guided by authority, can success be hoped for, even amid the most favourable circumstances.

The descents of Cæsar, and the fear of new invasions certainly disciplined the country to a degree previously unexampled. We

¹ Flav. Veg. 'De Re Mil.' iv. 37.

² Eighty transports conveyed two legions. 'De Bell. Gall.' iv. 22.

³ As Polynaenus says.

need not suppose that the coast populations became suddenly orderly, and hastened to give up their primitive habits of piracy; and, indeed, we find that, a little later, these habits, far from having disappeared, were more firmly rooted than ever. Yet, for the time, the Britons paid or promised tribute, in order to keep Augustus¹ at a distance; and, under Tiberius, they were wise enough to refrain from plundering certain soldiers of Germanicus,² who were wrecked on their shores. The improvement may have been partly owing to the growth of central authority within the island; for it seems probable that Cymbeline, though monarch only of a portion of the country, attained much greater power and influence than had before been reached by any British prince, and was often able, more or less, directly to control nearly the whole of the southern part of the island. Even Cymbeline,³ however, was not always powerful enough to control all his dependents, nor all the members of his own family. Just before his death, he was dragged, apparently much against his will, into a serious difficulty with Rome; and, although he did not live to witness the invasion of the Emperor Claudius, he must have known, ere he breathed his last, that Britain, which, since the time of Cæsar, had been allowed to take very much its own course, was about to lose all semblance of independence.

Claudius was not opposed by sea; nor do ships seem to have played any part in the revolt under Boadicea in the time of Suetonius Paulinus. Indeed, during more than two hundred years, the country's naval progress went on so noiselessly as to have escaped the attention of historians. But progress under the Romans there must have been; for the bold and successful enterprise of Caius Carausius could not have terminated as it did, had not the leader had at his command not only good ships but also good seamen. The exploits of Carausius, and of his successor, will be found summarised in the next chapter. Progress continued steadily in the later days of the Roman dominion, when the ports as well as the fleet received much attention. The navy nearly always proved itself strong enough to repress piracy in the surrounding seas; and among the places which sprang into naval importance as military and commercial harbours or refuges were, according to Selden:⁴ Othona, which Camden identifies with Hastings; Dubris, now Dover; Lemmanis, now either Hythe or Limehill hard by it;

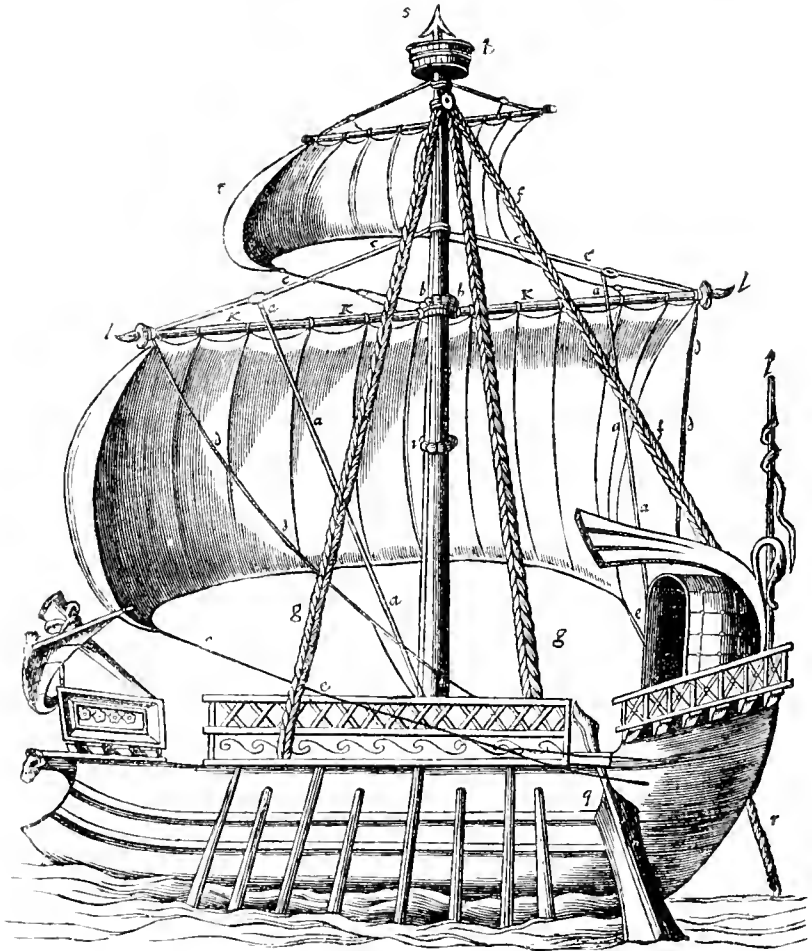
¹ Hor. 'Carui.,' i. 35.

³ 'Hist. Britan.,' iv. 12.

² Tacit., 'Ann.,' ii.

⁴ 'Mare Claus.,' ii. 6, 7.

Branodunum, now Brancaster Bay, in Norfolk; Gariannonum, now Yarmouth; Regulbium, now Reculver; Rutupiaë, now Richborough; Anderida, now perhaps Newenden, in Kent; and Adurni, now Ederington, near Shoreham. The position of many of these places



A ROMAN SHIP OF WAR (LATER PERIOD).

(From Johann Schæffer's 'De Militia Navali Veterum,' Upsala, 1654.)

a. Chalatorii funes	g. Calones.	n. Velum aliud.
b. Epitonus.	h. Thoracium	o. Anserculus cum apulstri.
c. Ceruchi.	i. Maleola.	p. Stylus cum tœnia.
d. Hyperæ.	k. Antenna.	q. Propedes.
e. Pedes.	l. Cornua.	r. Anchorale.
f. Prota.	m. Dolon.	s. Elacate.

(Whether a topsail was really used in such a vessel is very doubtful.)

is in itself indication that there was at the time an important amount of intercourse with the continent; and that trade flourished under

the Roman dominion is known. But after the departure of Gallio, about A.D. 430, the unfortunate Britons, who had been emasculated by luxury, and whose dependent position had gradually taught them to look to the Roman power and not to help themselves, even for so necessary a business as the police of their own coasts, suddenly found themselves thrown upon their own very inadequate resources. It looks as if the Romans can have left scarcely a ship behind them ; probably they did not leave an officer.

The Scots and Picts immediately became very troublesome. The Romans, almost to the last, had wielded sea power enough to oblige these freebooters to exercise great circumspection in all their operations. A Roman fleet was always at sea, ready to act upon the flanks of the pirates, and to sever their communications with their northern fastnesses. Landings could not, in consequence, be attempted without the gravest risk. But the Roman fleet being withdrawn, and there being no British fleet to take its place, all risk disappeared.

Whether the ancient Britons were ever much inclined to military pursuits may be doubted. Certain it is that the long period of more or less intimate association with the Roman empire in its decadent days did not leave them much more military than it had found them. The degree of relative security afforded by the Roman occupation encouraged them to turn their attention to agriculture and commerce, rather than to arms. Those of them who were from time to time obliged to serve under the Roman eagles must have returned, with relief, if they returned at all, to peaceful pursuits. And the increasing softness of Roman manners corrupted and demoralised them, as it demoralised the Romans themselves. The Roman influence conferred some arts and evanescent culture upon a small proportion of the people, but it did not train the Britons in habits of independence and self-reliance, nor did it leave great scope for patriotism.

Much of the detailed history of the period lies in impenetrable obscurity. Very little can be collected concerning the social life of the people. But there can be no question that at the time of the first advent of the Saxons the Britons were a feeble and even a contemptible folk, disunited to a greater degree than has ever been common, save among barbarous tribes of the lowest type, and scarcely deserving a better fate than awaited them. Their thin and sluggish blood sadly needed the iron that was eventually infused

into it by the young heroes of the wild Berserker brood from across the North Sea. Had these Saxons and the kindred Danes and Normans, pirates every one, not come, England might have grown learned, and possibly rich; but she could never have become great. She must have lacked manhood and tone. She must have lacked muscle, stomach, and daring. The successive invasions of the northern pirates slowly transformed the race from one of effeminate and disorderly weaklings into one of sternly disciplined men. The raw material may have had some latent stamina; otherwise the bitterness of those north-east blasts would surely have extinguished it altogether. But the stamina required a very long process of development ere it became good for much. It needed many centuries to change the Briton into the Englishman, and during all those centuries, the sea, and the men and influences from across it, did more than any other factors towards completing the transformation.

The so-called Saxon¹ invaders represented at least three tribes. There were the Saxons proper who, originally from Holstein, had spread inland over what are now Hannover and Oldenburg, and had established themselves among the northern Frisian islands. There were the Angles, originally from beyond the Elbe, who had established themselves in what is now Schleswig; and there were the Jutes, probably from the modern Jutland. The British traveller in the Denmark and Holstein of to-day will scarcely fail to be struck with the great general resemblance of the racial type still prevalent in those countries to the type characteristic of eastern and southern England. Nay, he will even find other things to remind him of his native land. In few parts of the world save England and Schleswig-Holstein are hedges an ordinary feature of the rural landscape; and in no non-English speaking community in the world will the Englishman feel so much at home, and so completely able to sympathise with and enter into the habits and ideas of the people, as in this Dano-German district. It is really, as Ethelward,² the tenth century chronicler, called it, *Anglia Vetus*.

All these tribes were piratical, if we use the word in its fullest modern sense; but with them piracy was not a shameful but a noble and dignified employment. The might of Rome had failed to

¹ Elton's 'Origins of English History,' xii.; Kemble's 'Saxons'; Freeman's 'Norman Conquest.'

² Chronicle printed in Savile's 'Scriptores post Bedam,' and in 'Momm. Hist. Brit.'

conquer these tribes, and had only succeeded in driving them into undying hostility to it, and to Roman civilisation. Wealth, polish, and luxury were what the decadent Romans set store by. They were exactly the things which the Saxons most cordially despised. These last prided themselves upon the manner in which they endured hardships and surmounted difficulties; they regarded bluntness and roughness as manly virtues rather than as defects, and they held it disgraceful and womanish for a man to seek to lie soft, or to idle at home, when there were spoils to be won abroad by good seamanship, and by axe and sword. Brutal they were; dissolute they were; drunken they were; but their brutality was the brutality of strength and high spirits, and not of premeditation; their dissoluteness sprang from natural cravings and not from artificial vices; and though they drank deep, they did not allow their orgies to interfere with their work in the world.

The Anglo-Saxon ships¹ seem to have been nothing more than long, deep, undecked boats, sometimes, perhaps, of as much as fifty tons' burden, yet never having more than a single mast, provided with a single lug-shaped sail. There was no rudder. The steersman sat in the stern, holding on his right or "steerboard" side a paddle, with which he controlled the vessel's course. This paddle was probably fixed by a thong, or by a thole-pin passing through it, so as to preserve it from loss, and to assist the steersman, whose other hand held the gathered up end of the sail. The arrangement was, thus, much like that of still earlier ships, and it recalls, strikingly enough, Virgil's description:²

"Ipse sedens clavumque regit, velisque ministrat."

It is unlikely that the crew ever exceeded fifty or sixty men. The ships³ were usually, if not invariably, clincher built, that is, they were covered with planks so disposed that the lower edges of the superior ones overlapped the upper edges of the inferior ones. The bow was raised, and generally bore, as a figure-head, a carved model of the upper part of some fierce or fabulous beast. The stern also was raised, and occasionally ornamented, though less elaborately

¹ 'Mémoires des Belles Lettres,' Stockholm, 1783; 'Mems. of Roy. Soc. of Copenhagen,' viii.; Charnock's 'Mar. Architecture.' But see more detailed account, at end of chapter, of the Gokstad boat.

² Applied by Mr. Dallaway in 'Archæologia,' xxi. 81.

³ Some ships of this period are called "ceols" (keels), others "hulks," others "long ships," and still others "ases." It seems impossible to say exactly what each was.

than the bow, and the sail was often striped in two or more colours. A few of the larger vessels may have been half-decked, or covered in at the extremities; but this is not certain. All were propelled by oars as well as by sail power. All were constructed with a view to being drawn up on shore, where they lay when not in use. Arrangements of pulleys, perhaps not very different from the rough capstans employed by modern English fishermen for their smaller boats, were arranged on the beach to facilitate the dragging of the vessels up and down. There is evidence, also, that some boats, intended exclusively for war purposes, were fitted with iron gunwales, or had their gunwales covered with iron.

At first the Anglo-Saxons in Britain were continually reinforced from the continent, but after a time they discouraged immigration. They grudged sharing with newcomers the advantages which they had already won, and they began a system of coast fortification designed to keep out further arrivals.

In the meanwhile, various chiefs reduced the interior of the island, and little by little a number of petty kingdoms sprang into existence. These, actuated by inevitable jealousies, were almost perpetually at war one with another, and, perhaps because sea warfare was at first more congenial than land warfare to the Saxon races, the internecine struggle seems to have weakened the seaboard kingdoms more rapidly than it weakened the inland ones.

The central kingdom of Mercia, which marched with the Welsh border behind which, thanks to the natural difficulties of the country, the fugitive Britons still held out, was, in the interval, gaining valuable experience in land warfare, and when the coast kingdoms began to be exhausted by their feuds, and had frittered away their naval strength, the opportunity of Mercia arose. First Penda, some time in alliance with the Welsh, and then Ethelbald and Offa in succession, enlarged the borders of the middle kingdom until they touched the sea in more places than one; and when Offa, by the exercise of his strong personality and indomitable energy, had made himself by far the most potent prince in England, he was wise enough to do what none of the more petty Anglo-Saxon princes had done before him—he created a great fleet. The possession of this enabled him to treat on equal terms with even so powerful a monarch as Charlemagne,¹ and it convinced him so clearly of the value of a powerful navy, that, according to the Saxon

¹ Will. of Malmesbury, i. 5; and Alcuin.

Chronicle, he left to his successors the maxim that "he who would be secure on land must be supreme at sea."

Mercian ascendancy presently made way for West Saxon, under Egbert, and West Saxon influence, though much hindered by continual incursions of the Danes, as well as by Anglo-Saxon feuds, and by British irreconcilableness, gradually increased, particularly under Alfred and Edward the Elder, until it became no longer West Saxon but English; and so, for the first time, England was, in some sort, a state.

But the unity of England was still little more than nominal. Alfred came to the throne of a country which had been ravaged and despoiled in all directions by Danish raiders, operating with the sea as their base, and which was impoverished to the last degree. Had he been a Briton and not a Saxon, he must surely have despaired of his ragged inheritance. But he did not despair for a moment. When he could employ force, he employed it; when his only available weapons were gold and diplomacy, he employed them. He was never inactive, nor did he ever lose sight of Offa's maxim. Steadily, even in his darkest days, he applied himself to the creation of a naval force. He seems indeed to have realised the nature of sea power in something like a scientific manner.¹ He continually put in force the principle of offensive defence as being the best, and in fact, the only sound one. Whenever it was possible, he sought his enemy at sea, instead of waiting for him to attack or to land. Nor was he content to employ merely such ships as had been employed by his ancestors. He invented new types. His "long ships" embodied improvements upon any war vessels that had previously been seen in England. Says the Saxon Chronicle:—"They were full twice as long as the others; some had sixty² oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others; they were shaped neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient." Moreover, he paid much attention to the selection and seasoning of his materials, to the victualling, and to the supply of arms, as well as to the training of his seamen; and, being in desperate straits, and regarding the Danes as pirates, he forbade the granting to them of quarter.³

¹ Will. of Malmesbury, ii. 4; Henry of Hunt., v.; Ethelward, iv. 3; Sax. Chron.

² Henry of Hunt. says "forty oars or more."

³ Henry of Hunt., v.; Will. of Malmesbury, ii. 4, etc.

All these innovations by the strong and fearless hand of Alfred conduced to the general disciplining of the nation, for the condition of the fleet could not but react upon the condition of the coast towns, and the condition of the coast towns, then the most important, and, with one or two exceptions, the most populous in the kingdom, naturally influenced the state of the entire country. All luxuries—all things, indeed, that ranked much above the bare necessities of life—reached the interior from the coast towns, and it is notorious that even in much earlier ages the ports, civilised by intercourse with abroad, and full of rich merchants, set a fashion in all sorts of matters to the inland towns and villages. There came a time when the ports were rougher and less polished than the inland districts, but that was not until external influences had been digested by the country.

At the end of the ninth century, when Alfred lived and ruled, the king was still a man chosen to rule on account of his bravery and capacity. That he generally inherited his office was an accident. When he failed to prove himself worthy of it, he was seldom able to retain it for long. Alfred set up an unusually high standard of kingship, and it is greatly to the credit of his immediate successors that, viewed even by the side of him, they loom large as men well worthy of their position. Of Edward, Freeman truly enough says: “It is only the unequalled glory of his father which has condemned this prince, one of the greatest rulers that England ever beheld, to a smaller degree of popular fame than he deserves.” As for Athelstan,¹ he exacted tribute from the Danish pirates, who, in spite of the efforts of Alfred and Edward, still held Northumbria; and, first of the English kings, he caused his alliance to be seriously valued and sought for abroad.

Both these monarchs fostered the fleet, which, indeed, under the latter of them must have reached unusual efficiency, as well as great numerical strength, if it be true, as the Saxon Chronicle relates, that Anlaff (Olaf), the Danish king in Ireland, carried to the aid of the Scots a larger fleet than had previously been seen in their waters, yet, with his allies, was crushingly defeated by Athelstan.

The reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, were less brilliant; but they can have witnessed little or no change in the prosecution of Offa's and Alfred's naval policy, for they immediately preceded the

¹ Will. of Malmesbury, ii. 6; Roger Hoveden.

reign of Edgar,¹ who found the fleet in fair order. He vastly increased it, and although he had happily but small occasion to use it—for strong navies make unwilling enemies— it is generally admitted that he raised it to a point of excellence which it had never before approached. His fault was too great a love of peace. Instead of chastising and driving off the Danish freebooters who clung tenaciously to English soil in several places, he admitted them to equality before the law with his Angles and Saxons, and by his unwise mildness he prepared the way for many subsequent troubles to his country. Such mildness was not understood in those times. It did not induce the Danes in England to become Englishmen; it led them rather to despise a people who could be voluntarily and deliberately guilty of the weakness of clemency. Edgar was too strong for them to strike at, but they foresaw that Edgar would not always rule, and that, pending the arrival of the day when it might be safe to strike, the advantages conceded to them would enable them to enormously improve their chances of ultimately subjugating the whole country.

He was, nevertheless, a great king. The wording of the charter, cited by Selden² as having been granted by him in 964 to the Church of Worcester, is probably spurious; but we do not depend upon that instrument, in which Edgar is made to claim lordship of “the islands, and of the ocean lying around Britain,” for an estimate of the position to which the king—alas, only temporarily—raised his country at sea. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, quoting a metrical eulogy:—

“ Was no fleet so insolent,
No host so strong,
That, mid the English race,
Took from him aught,
The while the noble king
Reigned on his throne.”³

We need not attach implicit credence to Hoveden’s statement⁴ that Edgar’s fleet consisted of three thousand six hundred sail, all “very

¹ Flor. of Winch.; Roger Hoveden; Brompton.

² ‘Mare Clausum,’ ii. 12; Will. of Malmesbury, ii. Kenble considers it a forgery: ‘Cod. Dipl. Æv. Sax.’ ii. 401. The wording, translated from the Latin, runs: “Edgar, King of England, and of all the Kings of the Islands, and of the Ocean lying around Britain, and of all the Nations included within the circuit thereof, Supreme Lord and Governor,” etc. It is also found in ‘Patent Rolls,’ 1 Edw. IV., m. 23.

³ Sax. Chron. 395.

⁴ Hoveden, 244.

stout ones"; nor to Bromton's,¹ that it comprised four thousand; not to Matthew of Westminster's,² that it was four thousand eight hundred strong; but we may well believe an assertion which is made in substance by more than one writer, that, during his sixteen years' reign, no thief was found in his realm on shore, and no pirate heard of in the surrounding seas. Under him, the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England reached its highest pitch of power. When the hand of Edgar was relaxed by death, the fabric which Alfred and his successors had so laboriously created collapsed with startling rapidity.

Edward the Martyr never reached manhood, and in his name the land was governed by weak women and self-seeking priests. Ethelred the Purposeless was also, during great part of his reign, in the same hands. In Edgar, one strong man had stood for the nation. Babies, *fainéants*, and women could not take Edgar's place; and there was no national life to carry on his work. All became confusion. Six years after the death of Edgar, the Danes³ did as they liked in the narrow seas; and by 991 the spirit of the country was so crushed that Ethelred agreed to buy off the freebooters with an annual tribute of ten thousand pounds, which was raised, under the name of Danegeld,⁴ by a tax of two shillings⁵ per hide on land.

It was then that Edgar's mild unwisdom bore fruit. The Danes contemptuously accepted the tribute; but, holding a strong position in that part of the country known as the Danelagh, where the inhabitants were largely of Danish blood, and still full of Scandinavian sympathies; and despising a race which thus ignobly confessed its inability to defend itself, they did not for one moment desist from their course of raid and rapine. England had corrupted its once hardy Saxon conquerors, who were no longer a match for Norse pirates, led by men who never slept beneath a rafted roof, and never sat down to drink by a sheltered hearth. The Danish scourge was needed to do for the Saxons what the Saxon scourge had done for the Britons; but it was none the less terrible while it was being applied. Ethelred bought off one viking only to find

¹ Bromton, 870.

² Matt. of West., 192.

³ Sax. Chron., *anno* 981.

⁴ Sax. Chron., *anno* 991; Will. of Malmesbury, ii. 10. See especially Webb's 'Treatise on Danegeld,' 1756.

⁵ Later, apparently, twelvepence, Church property being excepted.

another pirate clamouring, sword in hand, for similar treatment. Even his own court betrayed him repeatedly. Nearly every year larger sums were paid to the foe; every year the foe became bolder and more exacting. Recognising the impotence of the king, the English nobles raised a fleet of their own, but, being mismanaged, it did nothing beyond contribute to the general exhaustion. Everywhere there were treachery and desertion. To add to the confusion, difficulties arose with Normandy. The year 1002 saw English desperation seeking relief by means of a general massacre of the Danes throughout the realm.

This provoked Sweyn, Prince of Denmark, to throw himself officially into a quarrel which previously had been chiefly waged by the more irresponsible and adventurous of his father's nominal subjects, including Sweyn himself, when a young man. Upon his accession to the Danish throne, the attainment of the sovereignty of England became his main object in life.

The Danegeld seems to have been diverted at this time from its original and shameful purpose, and to have been employed for the more creditable and legitimate end of raising and maintaining a fleet wherewith to offer some sort of opposition to the national enemy. It temporarily became Heregeld, or money for the support of a fighting force. But it was too late. The collapse had made too great progress; Ethelred, after a brief struggle, fled to Normandy; and, by 1013, England was practically at the feet of the conqueror. When Sweyn died, Ethelred returned, and gained some successes, as did also his son, the gallant Edmund Ironside; but Edmund's death left Canute's son master of the whole kingdom.

Canute began his government with a series of the hardest severities. He nearly annihilated the English royal family; and he squeezed from the impoverished country a levy of £83,000, most of which sum he gave, as a pirate chief's largesse, to his Danish seamen. Yet, when he had established himself, he ruled well, and even generously. He abolished distinctions between Danes and Englishmen; he put Englishmen, like Godwin and Leofric, into positions of trust; he favoured the church, although his father had been an apostate; and, while he also ruled Denmark, and Norway, which he conquered in 1028, and had Scotland and Sweden as his vassals, he was essentially and primarily a great king of England.

There can be no doubt that the British collapse resulted rather from British disunion and mismanagement than from paucity of

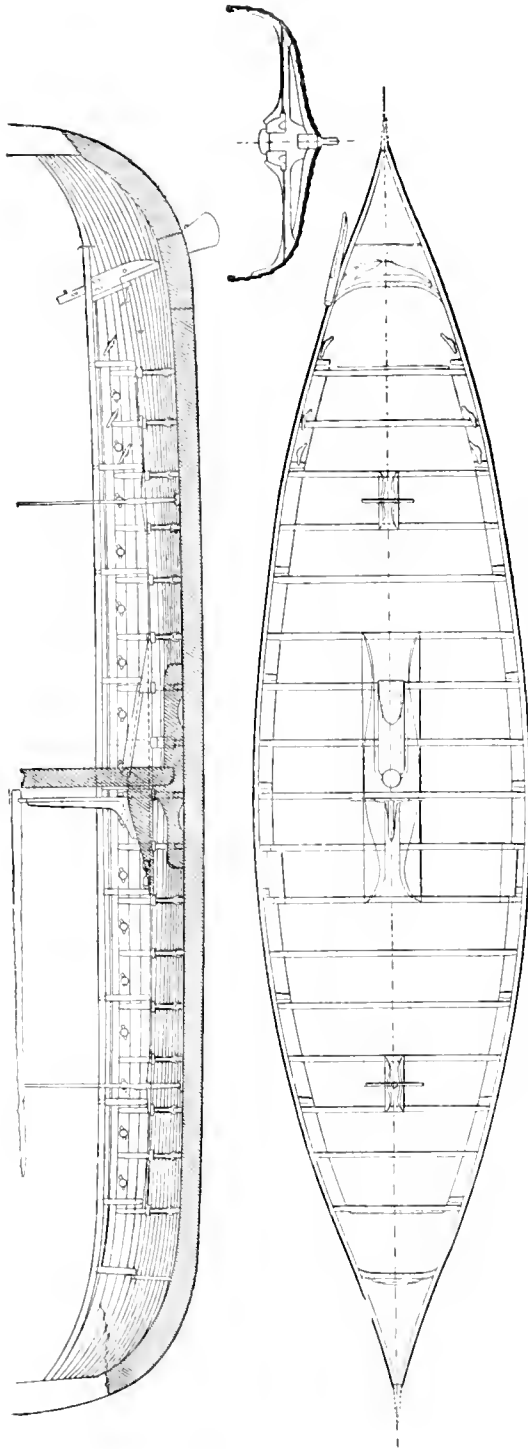
means wherewith to make resistance. All Edgar's successors had fleets; some of them at times had very large ones; but every squadron, and almost every ship, seem to have been jealous and distrustful of every other. Many of the English leaders at the most critical period of the struggle must have had Danish connections, if not Danish blood in their veins; and the mere presence in England of a tolerated Danelagh, or Danish pale, acted as a perpetual reminder to every weak-kneed Englishman that a large extension of the Danish power was not only possible, but probable. Hence, there were encouragements to half-heartedness, and, indeed, to continual double dealing. Many sought to stand well with both English and Danes, not certain which of the two would eventually gain the upper hand. Resistance, consequently, was partial and inefficient on the side of almost all, except those few whose fortunes were inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the royal house of Wessex.

Edgar was able, and probably understood how, to employ sea power: but his Anglo-Saxon successors certainly failed in the task, even if they comprehended the nature of it. It is abundantly clear that from the year of Edgar's death sea power in the narrow seas belonged almost exclusively to the Danes. What some of the Danish ships of the period were like we know from the 'Heims Kringla,'¹ in Snorri Sturluson's 'Edda.' They were high-decked, and each bore the emblem of her commander. The prow was ornamented with a figurehead of gilt copper, and at the truck was a vane. The vessels were painted externally, and carried around their bulwarks the polished steel shields of the crew. Sweyn's own ship, in 1004, called the *Great Dragon*, was in the form of the legendary animal of that name. His standard,² a black raven embroidered on white silk, was not hoisted on board, and was only displayed when English soil was reached. The importance of the Danish navy in the economy of the State may be gauged by the fact that Canute, though only a younger son, owed his election to the fleet,³ and that although his elder brother Harold seized the throne of Denmark, the latter could not have held it had the sailor prince cared to take it. Until Harold's early death, Canute, a pirate king in the true sense of the words, swept the seas, and afterwards he succeeded in Denmark without opposition.

¹ 'Heims Kringla,' ii. 125.

² Said to have been embroidered in one night by three of Sweyn's sisters.

³ Sax. Chron., 420 (ed. Ingram).



[To face page 18.]

THE GOKSTAD SHIP. ELEVATION AND DECK PLAN.

It is probable that the Danes of this period built ships for war purposes only, though they may have incidentally used some of them for trade. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, possessed two distinct classes of vessels, one expressly designed for each object. In Ethelred's laws¹ the distinction is often alluded to. And commerce was specially encouraged by the Saxons after they had fairly settled down in England; for, after having made certain commercial ventures on his own account, and in his own ship, a churl might, by right, attain the rank of thane, or a thane that of earl.

There was already a regular system of tolls or port dues.² At Billingsgate, a small vessel paid one halfpenny, and a sailing craft one penny. If a ceol, or hulk—apparently something still bigger—arrived, she paid fourpence. From a vessel laden with planks, a toll of one plank was exacted.³ It is evident that there was much trade with the continent in wool, cloth, wine, and fish.

The Saxon war navy was supported by pecuniary levies, or Heregeld, raised upon the cultivated land, and was reinforced by contingents obligatorily furnished, in accordance with their tenures, by the chief ports;⁴ which also provided a certain number of men. Other towns, including inland ones, had to provide men and stores.⁵ But there seems to have been only a very small permanent war navy. Canute, and Harold I. following him, maintained a somewhat larger one; but all approach to a permanent naval establishment was ill regarded in the Midlands, and payment of Heregeld for the purpose was there frequently resisted, up to the time when it was abolished by Edward the Confessor.⁶

General descriptions have already been given of the ships of the Saxons and of the Danes, but the subject is of sufficient interest to warrant a return to it; and space may well be found here for an account of the vessel⁷ which, in 1880, was dug up from beneath

¹ 'Anct. Laws and Instits. of Eng.,' ii. 2, and v. 27.

² The dues of Sandwich were granted by Canute to Christ Church, Canterbury.

³ For other rules, see 'Anct. Laws and Instits. of Eng.,' p. 127; and Brompton, 897.

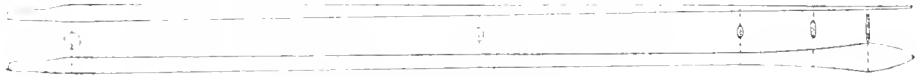
⁴ Domesday, i. 3. Dover and Sandwich each furnished the king with twenty ships for fifteen days once a year, each vessel carrying twenty-one men. Probably other ports, notably those later known as Cinque Ports, had similar obligations.

⁵ There are numerous examples, some very curious, in Domesday.

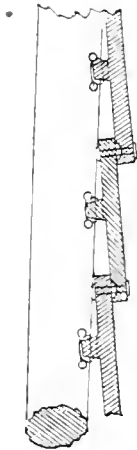
⁶ Sax. Chron., p. 415 (ed. Ingram). It was afterwards revived. See 'Anct. Laws and Instits. of Eng.,' pp. 217, 221, 228.

⁷ The particulars are summarised from a paper on 'The Viking Ship,' by John S. White, in *Scribner's Magazine*, Nov. 1887. To Messrs. Scribner I am indebted for permission to reproduce the accompanying illustrations.

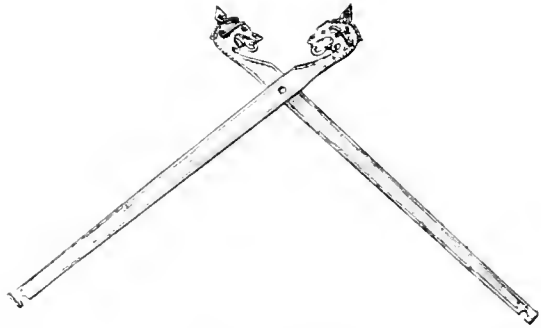
a sepulchral tumulus known as the King's Mound, in Lower Gokstad, on a peninsula of Southern Norway. It cannot be decided with certainty when the vessel was buried; though Mr. N. Nicolay-sen, who was then President of the Antiquarian Society of Christiana, assigned the craft to the later iron age, or between A.D. 700 and 1000, and inclined to the belief that she was of the ninth century. Nor can it be determined whose ship she was, and where built. She may have formed the tomb of some leader who died while on a foray far from home. On the other hand, she may have belonged to a chief whose home was at Gokstad. Other so-called Viking ships



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.
(Plan of Oar.)



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.
(Details of Planking.)

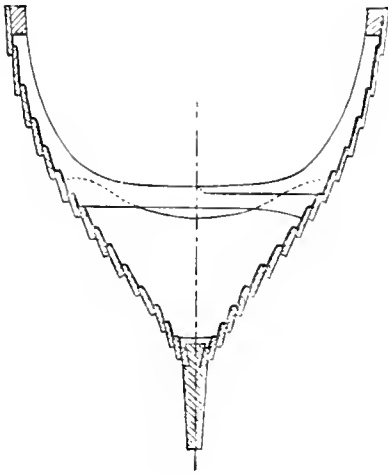


THE GOKSTAD SHIP.
(Supporters for the Awning.)

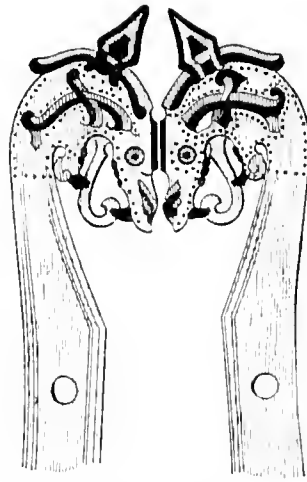
have been discovered, but none larger or finer than the one in question; and we may, perhaps, safely take it that this Gokstad relic fairly represents the type of vessel that was ordinarily employed by the northern pirates, whether Danish or Saxon, of the days of Alfred the Great.

The dimensions of the ship are: length over all, seventy-eight feet; length on keel, sixty-six feet; beam, sixteen feet six inches, and depth, four feet. The hull is of oak, unpainted, but the stem and sternposts are decorated. The planking is laid clincher-wise over the frame timbers, and the planks are fastened to one another

with iron bolts, and to the frames by lashings of cord made from the roots of trees. The seams are caulked with hair made into three-strand cord; but this, instead of being driven in, was laid in during the process of construction. The decorations of the prow, gunwale, and sternpost seem to suggest early Irish influence. On each side are sixteen strakes of planking, and, in the third strake from the top, are holes, sixteen on each beam, or thirty-two in all, for the reception of oars. The planks thus pierced are nearly twice as thick as the rest; and at the sides of the apertures there are slits to admit of the passage of the blades of the oars. The oars varied in size, the larger ones being amidships, and the smaller at the

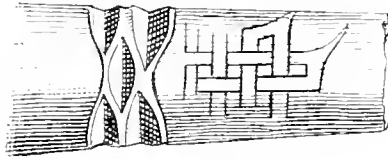


SECTION OF THE GOKSTAD SHIP.

THE GOKSTAD SHIP.
(Details of Supporters for the
Awning.)

extremities. When not in use, the rowlocks or ports could be stopped by means of ingeniously constructed wooden shutters. The vessel is double-ended, with great sharpness of build and fine sheer; and amidships the bottom is flattened. The rudder is in effect a fixed paddle, pivoted near the stern on the starboard side. The ship carried at least three small boats, was fitted with a single mast, and, as she must have needed two men at each of the oars, which are heavy, had sixty-four rowers, besides officers and, probably, fighting men. The shields ranged round the ship are circular, and are painted alternately black and yellow. There is a wooden framework, over which an awning seems to have been stretched at night,

and there is a flooring, but no deck; and this last fact suggests that the Gokstad ship was not of the largest size known to the period, for some of her contemporaries were certainly decked. Unfortunately, no arms were found with the ship, the tumulus having evidently been already rifled for valuables; but a large copper caldron, a tub of pine staves, and the chief's skeleton, that of a man six feet three inches in height, were discovered, together with many other remains.



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.
(Carving on Oar.)

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS TO 1066.

Cæsar and the Veneti—Battle at the mouth of the Loire—British co-operation against the Romans—Cæsar's invasions—Submission of the Britons—Relations with the Roman Empire—Carausius—Relations with the Mediterranean pirates—Siege of Boulogne—Treachery of Allectus—Decline of the Roman power—Defencelessness of the Britons—The Scots and Picts—The pirates as saviours—Hengest and Horsa—Norse invasions—Foundation of the Saxon states—Their dissensions—Danish successes—Naval battle off Sandwich—Alfred and the sea—Hasting in the Thames—Treatment of Danish pirates—Athelstan and continental politics—His naval victories—Naval organisation under Edgar—Successes of Olaf Trygvesson—The Danes bought off, but in vain—Untrustworthiness of Ethelred's navy—Massacre of the Danes—Sweyn's invasions—Desertion of Wulfnoth—Invasion of Thuretyel—Thuretyel as a mercenary—Treachery of Eadric Streona—Triumph of the Danes—Canute—English participation in the conquest of Norway—The Husecarls—Rise of the house of Godwin—Hardicanute's invasion—Irksoneness of Heregeld—Edward the Confessor—Godwin, and England for the English—His popularity and naval ability—Norse piracies—Futility of Edward's naval armaments—Turbulence of Godwin and his family—Godwin as rebel—Harold at sea—Edward's surrender to Godwin and Harold—Harold as mayor of the palace—His naval successes—Harold's popularity and energy as king.



IN the course of his reduction of Gaul, Cæsar encountered few more determined and troublesome opponents than the Veneti, a people living in and around what is now the town of Vannes, about thirty miles to the north of the estuary of the River Loire. The Veneti were formidable, not only because they were good fighting men, but also because they were a maritime folk, well supplied with shipping. Moreover, their fleet was reinforced to a strength of two hundred and twenty sail by a contingent from Britain. Thus, for the first time did Britain and Rome face one another, and the result was ominous. The vessels of the allies seem, upon the whole, to have been more powerful, and much loftier than the vessels which Cæsar had hastily constructed in the Loire for the purpose of dealing with the enemy, and had the Romans fought merely with their ordinary weapons, they might possibly have been defeated. The Venetan

ships, on account of their great solidity, could not be successfully attacked by the rams of the weaker craft; nor could the people on their decks be reached by the Romans, who lay several feet lower. Even when turrets or platforms were raised for the purpose, the high Venetan sterns still towered too far above the legionaries, and it was only by affixing scythes to poles, and using them to cut away the Venetan rigging, that the Romans disabled their opponents. Thus deprived of their ability both to manœuvre and to escape, the allies became panic-stricken and almost helpless, and Cæsar destroyed or took them at his leisure.¹ In this battle the fighting fleet of Britain seems to have been annihilated.

But the annihilation of their fleet was not the only evil brought upon the Britons by their interposition in favour of the Veneti. They had inopportunately reminded Cæsar of their existence, within sight of the shores which he was then engaged in pacifying, and as soon as he had made sufficient progress with that part of his task, he turned his attention to the island across the Strait of Dover. This was in B.C. 55.²

Learning or suspecting the designs of Cæsar, the Britons dispatched an embassy to him professing friendliness, and offering hostages. He returned an answer which, while it encouraged them to be peaceful, did not commit him, and soon afterwards he sent Caius Volusenus in a light craft to reconnoitre the shores of the island, and collected transport for two legions. In five days Volusenus returned with information, and Cæsar, ordering the troops on board, sailed at about one o'clock one morning from *Portus Iccius*, now probably *Wissant Bay*,³ and at ten found himself under high cliffs, which were crowned by numbers of the enemy in arms. The whole of his fleet had not then come up, nor did he deem it prudent to attempt a landing where the superior position held by the defence would have told heavily against the assailants. Indeed, if, as is most probable, he struck the coast between Dover and the South Foreland, it would have been impossible for him, had he landed on the beach, to gain the top of the cliff, for even to-day there is no way thither. He therefore anchored so as to allow his flotilla to collect, and after a brief delay, called a council of war,

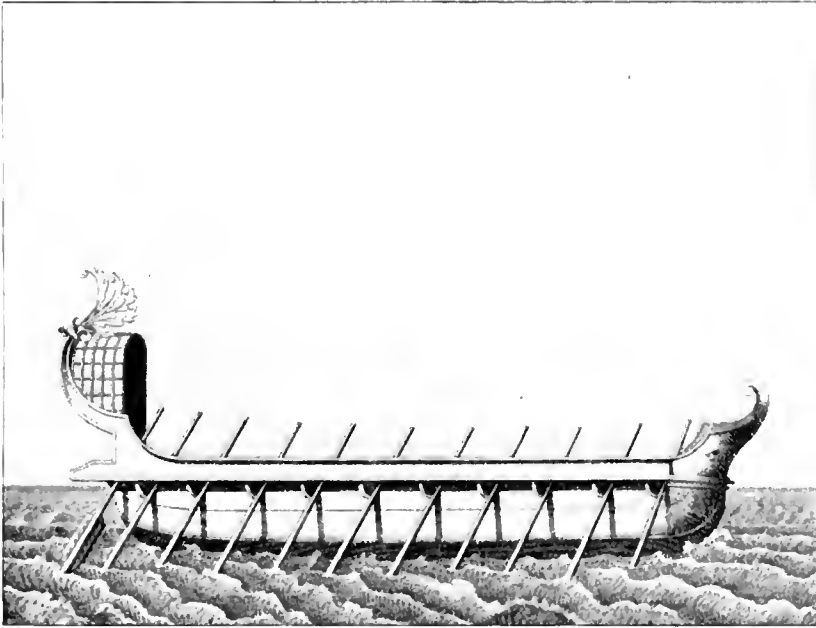
¹ 'De Bell. Gall.' iii. 11.

² The account follows Cæsar: 'De Bell. Gall.,' iv. v.

³ According to D'Auville; but some identify it with Calais, some with Boulogne, and some with Ambletense.

communicated and doubtless discussed the intelligence brought him by Volusenus, and, as soon as wind and tide served, weighed to the north-east.

A few miles farther he discovered a plain and open shore to suit his purpose. The spot was probably a little to the southward of where now stands Walmer Castle.¹ The Britons seem to have followed along the coast as the fleet advanced, with their cavalry and chariots in the van, and their infantry in the rear, and to have arrived as soon as the ships, and occupied the beach in force.



ROMAN LIBURNA, OR GALLEY, WITH ONE TIER OF OARS.

(After Basius.)

Landing was difficult, the draught of the transports not permitting them to draw very near the land; and the men, laden with arms and armour, were obliged to jump into comparatively deep water and wade ashore, harassed not only by the breakers but also by the foe, who rode their horses down to the edge of the surf, or waded in afoot to meet the Romans. Under this kind of treatment the attack wavered, whereupon Caesar sent his lightest galleys as close in as possible, and so stationed them that with their slings and other engines they took the Britons in flank. The effect was soon felt.

¹ For discussion of this subject, see 'Archæologia,' xxi. 501.

The defence began to give way, and when the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion invoked the gods, and dashed into the water shouting, "Follow me, comrades, unless you would abandon your eagle to the enemy, for I, on my part, am determined to do my duty to my country and my general"; he did not appeal in vain. Soon many of the legionaries reached dry ground, and presently the Britons fled, and from a safe distance sent ambassadors with hostages to sue for peace. On the fourth day a treaty was concluded.

Cæsar encamped, apparently, near his place of landing. He was expecting reinforcements in the shape of cavalry, the eighteen transports assigned to which had not been ready to sail with the rest of the fleet. The squadron was within sight of the camp when it was dispersed and ultimately driven back by a sudden and violent storm. Nor was this the only cause of anxiety. On the same night there was a spring tide, which the invaders had omitted to provide against, and this, together with the storm, damaged the lighter vessels which were hauled up on the beach, and drove from their anchors several of those which were riding off shore, causing some of them to founder, and dismasting others. Cæsar had with him no facilities for refitting his vessels, and no provision for wintering in Britain, and the British chiefs, conscious of this, did not scruple to break the treaty, and to attack with their whole force. The Roman position was precarious, but two or three indecisive skirmishes led up to a pitched battle, in which the Britons were completely defeated. Once more they begged for peace. Cæsar ordered them to send to Gaul twice as many hostages as had before contented him, and then, feeling that, as the autumn equinox was upon him, further delay would be dangerous, took advantage of the first fair wind, and, weighing with the remnants of his fleet, returned safely to Gaul after a few hours' passage.

Such was the first descent of the Romans. It showed how easy and open lay the way to this country, when only the white cliffs and the exertions of people on land perplexed the enemy. Had the Britons been able to oppose fleet with fleet, the result might have been very different; for Cæsar's ships were crowded, could not have been in the best fighting trim, and while crossing the Channel, did not keep in company, and might perhaps have been dealt with in detail. But the British fleet had been expended at the mouth of the Loire before Cæsar had formed any definite designs against Britain. Still, it is remarkable that there was no opposition

whatsoever afloat. Not a single British ship is reported to have been so much as sighted. It is impossible to conceive that no ship remained in the country, and what happened can only be explained upon the assumption that the seafaring districts, which were then chiefly, so far as can be gathered, to the westward, were either at enmity with the men of Kent, or received no intelligence of the intentions of the Romans. That even Kent did possess vessels of some kind, though perhaps no warships, is evident from the fact that it sent over an embassy before Cæsar quitted the Gallic coasts, and that almost immediately after his first invasion, it dispatched to Gaul some, but not all, of the hostages whom he had demanded.

Cæsar caused preparations to be made during the autumn for another descent in B.C. 54. He himself went to Illyria: his troops wintered in Belgic Gaul; his old ships were repaired at Portus Iccius, and new ones of shallower draught and broader beam, suitable for carrying burden as well for being hauled ashore, were built. Rigging and stores for these was ordered from Spain. Returning in the spring, Cæsar found all ready, and as the Britons had not sent over all the hostages whom they had agreed to send, he had a pretext for an immediate renewal of operations. He left Labienus with three legions and two thousand horse to hold Portus Iccius, and to watch the Gauls, and, himself embarking with a similar force of cavalry and five legions, he weighed at about sunset with a light gale from the south-west, which, however, died away towards midnight. The consequence was that he found at break of day that the tide or the currents had taken him too far to the eastward; but thanks to the hard work of the men at the oars, he gained the British coast at about noon, and landed at the same place as before.

He had with him six hundred transports, besides other vessels, some of which had been fitted out by private persons for their own use, making upwards of eight hundred in all. No enemy was visible, either afloat or on shore, but it afterwards appeared from the reports of prisoners that the Britons had assembled in great numbers on the coast, and had been prepared to resist until they realised the imposing nature of the armada arrayed against them. They had then retired to the hills.¹ Cæsar therefore landed without opposition, marked out a camp close to the shore, and, having discovered the whereabouts of the foe, left Quintus Atrius with twelve cohorts and

¹ 'De Bell. Gall.,' v. 8.

three hundred horse to guard the base, and attend to the fleet, which was anchored off shore, and himself advanced by night. He found the enemy about twelve miles inland, posted with horses and chariots on the banks of a river, which must have been the Stour at or near what is now Sandwich. An effort was made to prevent Cæsar's passage, but the Roman cavalry quickly dispersed the Britons, and drove them into the woods. Pursuit was not permitted, but scouting parties were sent out in various directions, and a camp was in process of construction, when news arrived from the base that a storm had done great damage to the fleet.

Cæsar at once recalled his men, and returned to Atrius to find that about forty vessels had been lost, and that the rest were so much disabled as to need extensive repair. He began the work immediately, sending meanwhile to Labienus for additional ships; and then, unwilling to trust the sea any longer, he with much labour and difficulty hauled every one of his craft ashore, and included all within the lines of his camp. This work occupied the troops night and day for ten days.¹ At the end of that period Cæsar again left a detachment at the base, and advanced with the bulk of his forces into the country. Near the ford where the first engagement had taken place, the Britons were found in greater strength than before, under the general command of Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, king of the Cassi. After several actions the Britons retired, apparently to the westward. Cæsar followed, keeping the Thames on his right flank until he reached a place believed by some to be Cowey Stakes, at Walton, where he saw a large body of the enemy on the opposite side of the river behind an improvised stockade, and found a ford obstructed by sharp piles. Nevertheless the Romans crossed and defeated the enemy, inflicting such punishment on Caswallon that he was obliged thereafter to restrict himself to minor operations, and to a sort of guerilla warfare. In the meantime, the Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, and even the Cassi, besides other tribes, submitted; and as an attempt by the Kentish chiefs upon the camp at the base had failed, Caswallon at length saw fit to treat. Cæsar, who was desirous of wintering in Gaul, accepted his opponent's submission, demanded and received hostages, arranged for the payment to Rome of a yearly tribute, and withdrew to the coast. His ships had been refitted, but all the fresh ones ordered from Labienus had not arrived, and the prisoners were numerous,

¹ 'De Bell. Gall.,' v. 11.



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.

View looking forward from the starboard quarter.



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.

View looking forward from the port quarter.

[To face page 20.]

so that it was only by crowding his vessels that Cæsar managed to transport all his forces back to Gaul in one voyage. He made a good passage without mishap.

As in the previous year, the Britons employed no naval force against the Romans, either with a view to preventing the landing or with a view to severing Cæsar's communications with Gaul, and to obstructing the reinforcements from Labienus. The only possible conclusion is that at that time the maritime strength of south-eastern Britain was insignificant.

After Cæsar's second withdrawal, nothing further was done for many years towards the extension of Roman power in Britain. On three separate occasions Augustus meditated an expedition to the island, but he was as often prevented, either by necessity for his presence elsewhere, or by the diplomatic action of British emissaries, who met him in Gaul and promised to pay the tribute with greater regularity. Once, indeed, the ambassadors went as far as Rome itself to make their submission.¹ Again, when Cunobelinus, or Cymbeline, reigned at Camulodunum, and Caligula was Emperor, a Roman invasion appeared to be imminent; but the insane vanity of Caligula was contented with a theatrical and ridiculous demonstration on the opposite coasts;² and not until the time of Claudius, in A.D. 43, was any step taken towards an effective conquest of Britain.

The successive campaigns of Aulus Plautius, of Claudius himself, of Ostorius Scapula, in A.D. 50, of Suetonius Paulinus, in A.D. 58, of Petilius Cerealis, in A.D. 70, of Julius Frontinus, about A.D. 77, of Julius Agricola, from A.D. 78 to 85, and of many other leaders, were almost entirely military, and require little notice here. It will suffice to say that under Agricola,³ the Roman naval commanders ascertained that Britain was an island; and that for a long time afterwards the Roman naval power in Britain appears to have been steadily increased, in order to secure the coasts and the surrounding seas against the Teutonic tribes, which were already distinguished for their piratical boldness, and which were later to exercise so important an influence upon the fortunes of the island.

For the repression of the Teutonic intruders, a special officer was at length appointed by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian,

¹ Hor. 'Carm.' i. 35; iii. 5.

² Sueton. in Calig. 44.

³ Tacit. in Agric. : Juven., Sat. II.

probably at the beginning of their reign in 284. The first holder of the office was Caius Carausius, a man whose naval prowess had already been proved, and who was given the title of *Comes Littoris Saronici*,¹ Count of the Saxon Shore. He is generally said to have been a Menapian, or, as we should say, a Fleming of mean birth; but some Scots writers claim him as a Scotsman.²

Frankish as well as Saxon pirates scoured the North Sea and the Channel, and extraordinary powers were conferred upon Carausius to enable him to cope with them. He appears to have himself been half pirate at heart, and he may possibly have been selected in pursuance of the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief. He probably did his work well; but he did it in his own way, partly by sheer might, much more, as was declared in Rome, by subtleties of no very honourable kind; and he applied most of the spoils for his own aggrandisement.

By those methods he accumulated so much wealth and power that in 286 Maximian grew jealous of him, and employed a man to assassinate him.

The project failed, and Carausius, driven into open hostility to the Emperor, and finding a bold stroke necessary for the preservation of his liberty, determined to be an Emperor himself. He was gladly acclaimed by the local forces, both military and naval, and, acting with the energy which characterised all he did, he not only secured the whole Roman fleet of which he had held command, but also built a large number of new ships, and seized the important naval arsenal of Gesoriacum, now Boulogne, which he held as a continental outwork of his British dominions. So vigorously did he harass the empire with his squadrons, that presently, according to some writers, Maximian was glad to purchase peace at the price of formal recognition of Carausius as Emperor in Britain. There is some doubt as to the recognition; and if it was ever conceded, it was conceded only to give time to the Empire to concentrate its resources, and to create new fleets.

In the interim Britain achieved, and for a time retained, a position as a naval power of some serious importance. Carausius not only kept, but also extended, his influence, chiefly by the wise employment of his maritime strength; but, having concluded a treaty of confederation with certain rovers on the Mediterranean

¹ Coote's 'Romans in Britain'; Rhys's 'Celtic Britain'; Guest's 'Origines Celticae.'

² 'Scotchchron.' ii. 38; Stukeley's 'Medallie Hist. of Carausius.'

littoral, he frightened Maximian and his brother emperor Constantius into a renewal of active hostility.

Maximian built a large fleet in the mouths of the Rhine, and undertook the naval, while Constantius made himself responsible for the military, conduct of operations. The Emperors besieged their rival in Boulogne. They could do little on the land side, and at first, the sea being open to Carausius, he was in no danger from failure of supplies. But after a time, the besiegers found means to block up the mouth of the harbour with earth and sand, supported by trees driven in as piles; and when Carausius realised his position, he made his way by night through the camp of the enemy, and, going on board one of his own vessels, escaped to Britain, where his strength was greatest. He must have been much annoyed when he learnt that on the day after his escape a storm had destroyed the elaborate works of his foes, and that Boulogne harbour was once more open.

It has been already noted that Carausius had entered into treaties with certain Mediterranean rovers. These people were the descendants of the Franks who, under the Emperor Probus, had been sent as colonists to the shores of the Euxine to keep down the Scythians and other barbarians of those districts. The Franks, instead of withstanding the Scythians, in time made common cause with them against Rome, and, entering the Mediterranean, harassed it from end to end, burnt Syraeuse, devastated the coasts of Spain and Africa, and terrified the Empire. In them Carausius recognised congenial spirits. It was arranged that the Frank pirates should come into the Atlantic, effect a junction with the British fleet, and fall upon the armada which Maximian had collected in the Rhine. Had the project been successful, Carausius might have become the most powerful prince of his day, and the whole Empire might possibly have been his.

But the piratical alliance found in Constantius a worthy opponent. Maximian, a man of very inferior capacity, had not been ready in time to take part in the operations against Boulogne; and Constantius, perhaps apprehensive of further delay, assumed the command of the thousand ships which were at length in a condition to sail, assembled and hastily built yet others, and, having stationed squadrons to observe Carausius and keep him in check, took the main body of his fleet towards the Straits of Gibraltar. Somewhere near the mouth of the Mediterranean, he met the Franks,

and crushingly defeated them.¹ He then returned to Gaul in order to organise an expedition against Carausius in Britain. But while the preparations were still in progress, Carausius was treacherously assassinated by his friend and general, Allectus.

Constantius, with an inferior fleet, lay at the mouth of the Seine. Allectus assembled a superior one off the Isle of Wight, and, when all was ready, sailed with the intention of falling upon his enemy. But, by a strange coincidence, Constantius also sailed at about the same time; and it chanced that a fog came on in mid-channel. In the fog the fleets missed one another; and so fortune gave to Constantius an advantage which he could scarcely have gained for himself, seeing that Allectus was probably strong enough to have annihilated the Roman force had he encountered it. The influence of sea power was neutralised as it has seldom been before or since. Constantius, having thus accidentally got across the Channel unopposed, landed before Allectus could return, and burnt his ships, partly in order to inspire his people with the courage of despair, and partly, perhaps, because he realised that in an engagement at sea he was no match for the enemy, and that he must either win Britain or perish.

As soon as he suspected what had happened, Allectus also landed. His policy had alienated the people on shore, and though he was very strong at sea, he had but a comparatively feeble following on land. When, therefore, he fell in with one of Constantius' lieutenants, and attacked him with rash fury, he produced no impression, and, making a gallant fight, was killed. A further curious circumstance characterised the conclusion of this campaign, which had been so greatly affected by accidents. After the death of Allectus, his followers, chiefly seamen, seized London, and were upon the point of sacking it, when part of the Roman fleet, which had lost the main body in the fog, and had entered the Thames by chance, opportunely arrived on the scene, and landed a strong party which cut the pirates, many of whom were foreigners, to pieces.

In the decadence of the Western Empire, Lupicinus,² a lieutenant of Julian, repressed the piracies of the Scots; Theodosius, and Maximus, who was acclaimed Emperor by the army, did the same at a later date, and repeatedly chastised the Saxon marauders

¹ Eutrop. ix.; Bede, i. 6; Aurel. Vict. 39, etc., give 'History of Carausius and Allectus.' See also Speed's Chronicle.

² Bede, i. 1; Amm. Marcell. xx.

at sea; and even under Honorius, Victorinus and Gallio were able to drive back the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, and to preserve some sort of order and security in the narrow seas. But towards the end of the period of Roman rule, the protection of the Roman fleets and armies was only occasionally and irregularly vouchsafed; and when at length the Britons, in reply to their prayers for assistance against the northern pirates, were told to defend themselves, they indignantly rose and drove out the last few official representatives of the effete Empire. For the moment the islanders were free; but they were totally defenceless, and the Picts pressed them sorely.

The Picts,¹ properly the Caledonii and Meatae, were the tribes dwelling north of the Roman walls, and were probably Celts of Goidelic type. They were never subjugated by the Romans. The Scots were Ulster Gaels of predatory habits, who at the end of the fifth century colonised Argyle and established there a Scottish kingdom of Dalriada, which was for some time in alliance with the Irish Dalriada, whence the colonists had come. So much for strict definitions. But the Picts and Scots of the period immediately following the Roman abandonment of Britain, stand, in the language of early historians, for any of the freebooters who, coming from the north and west, harassed the southern and more civilised part of the main island. After the Roman withdrawal, they appear to have broken down the fortified walls which for many generations had limited their operations in the north; and, when the Britons attacked them in that quarter, the invaders seem, utilising their unchallenged sea power, to have landed an army in rear of the defence, and to have completely disheartened and confounded their opponents. But the period is one of turmoil, darkness, and myth.

Endeavours to unravel the confusing tangle of fact and fiction left us by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Nennius, Bede, Gildas, and the annalists, lead to the conclusion that, after the first period of chaos consequent upon the Roman desertion, one Vortigern, a prince of the Demetae, by murder and fraud, acquired a leading position in the island; but that, finding himself opposed, on the one hand, by a considerable Roman party, under Ambrosius Aurelianus,² a prince of the Damnonii, and, on the other, by the Picts, and having little in view beyond his own personal welfare, he called in a roving band of

¹ Skene's 'Celtic Scotland'; Rhys's 'Celtic Britain.'

² Gildas, 25; Bede's 'Eccles. Hist.,' i. 16.

Saxon pirates to assist him in supporting his threatened position. These pirates were under the brothers Hengest and Horsa,¹ said to have been sons of Wihtgils and great-great-grandsons of Wodan; and if it be true that they came with three ships only, and that nevertheless they were strong enough to effect the re-establishment of Vortigern's power in Britain, we are forced to believe that not only the British fighting capacity, but also the Pictish navy, must have been at a very low ebb in those days.

The brothers were probably younger sons, who, in accordance with the German custom of the time, were sent forth to seek their fortunes by any means which chanced to commend themselves to them. They were adventurers, and irresponsible. They landed at Ebbsfleet,² about the year 450, did Vortigern's work successfully, and, by way of reward, were permitted to establish themselves in Thanet. Ere long, they fell out with their old employer, one of whose sons, Vortimer, gained several successes over them, both afloat and ashore, and finally defeated them at Aylesford, where Horsa was killed.³ But Vortimer soon afterwards died, the Britons found no leader to take his place, Saxon reinforcements came over, and the party of Hengest regained its ascendancy. Ambrosius Aurelianus is reported to have defeated and slain Hengest⁴ himself; but Hengest left behind him a good leader in the person of his son Æse, who, at length, achieved the complete conquest of Kent.

But the descent of Hengest and Horsa, important though it was in its consequences, was only the precursor of many other Saxon expeditions to Britain.

Ella,⁵ with his three sons, Cymon, Whencing, and Cissa, and three ships, landed in 477 at a spot identified by Lappenberg with Keynor in Selsea, and, after a long struggle, obtained reinforcements and took and burnt the stronghold of Anderida, probably the modern Pevensey,⁶ in 491. He established a Saxon kingdom in Sussex.

In 495, Cerdic,⁷ with his son Cynric and five ships, landed,

¹ Sax. Chron., *anno* 449; Green's 'Making of England.'

² With three "long ships," otherwise "ceols" (keels). Sax. Chron., 298.

³ In 455. Close to Aylesford, in Kent, is Kit's Coty House, a cromlech, said to commemorate one Catigern, who also fell.

⁴ In 489 (?).

⁵ Sax. Chron., 300.

⁶ But Camden says Newenden, Kent; others think near Eastbourne.

⁷ Sax. Chron., 300.

apparently in Hampshire, and, though at first he was not successful, obtained at length the assistance of Æsc and Ella, and defeated the Britons. Like the other invading chiefs, he received reinforcements in course of time from the continent, and then, extending his operations, founded the kingdom of the West Saxons, and conquered the Isle of Wight as the result of a great victory at Whitgaesburh, now perhaps Carisbrooke. From this distinguished rover, all the sovereigns of England, except Canute, Hardicanute, Harold the Dane, Harold II., and William the Conqueror, can undoubtedly trace their descent; and Cerdic¹ himself is fabled to have been ninth in direct line from the god Wodan.

Thus the invasion of the Saxons, including the Angles and the Jutes, continued, by wave upon wave of healthy barbarians from Germany, until nearly all what is now England, and Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde, was covered by Saxon states. These fought among one another for the leadership. The tide of success ebbed and flowed, now one way and now another, until at length the only two important competitors for supremacy were the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex.

For some time it seemed as if the struggle would terminate in favour of Mercia, especially during the reign of its great king Offa (757 to 796). Up to his day the Saxon princes in England, not being much troubled by foes from oversea, and having plenty of enemies inland, had paid little attention to the maintenance of that sea power whereby they had gained their new empire. But Offa looked without as well as within, and created a considerable navy, which found its justification in 787, when, for the first time, the Danes made an incursion with three ships "from Hæretha land,"² and plundered part of Northumbria, and in 794,³ when a monastery at the mouth of the Don was sacked. The Vikings did not fare well on either occasion. On the former, they were easily driven off with loss; on the latter, some of their vessels were wrecked. If Offa's successors had been as prudent as he was, and if internal dissensions had not opened the door to the enemy, these first efforts of the Danes might, perhaps, have been also their last for a long series of years. Unfortunately, the various Saxon kingdoms were still fighting among themselves, and, as for the Britons, they were glad to welcome the co-operation of any one,

¹ He died about 534.

² Ingram says "the land of robbers."

³ Simeon of Durham, 112; Sax. Chron., 338.

pirate or not, against their conquerors. They hated the Danes, but they hated the Saxons more; and when, not long after Offa's death, another Danish foraying party landed in Northumbria, it met with assistance from the dissatisfied Britons. Nor were the Danes effectively withstood again until the question of supremacy among the Saxon kingdoms had been finally decided by the victories of Wessex under Egbert.

But even Egbert, the wise monarch of a more or less consolidated England, was able to make the Danes respect him only in the last few years of his life, when all domestic enemies had been silenced. While he was still building up his power, the pirates sorely troubled the fringes of the country. In 800, the year of his accession to the throne of Wessex, bodies of Danes landed twice. One party pillaged the Isle of Portland, and the other ravaged the districts in the neighbourhood of the Humber but was driven off by the country people. In 801 a body landed on Lindisfarne, and having defeated the Saxons there, re-embarked, proceeded round the south coast to Wales, and joined the Britons who were still unconquered in the part of the country lying to the west of Offa's Dyke. Egbert, however, met and beat them, yet not so badly as to deter them from making a fresh descent in 802, when heavily reinforced they entered the mouth of the Thames, seized Sheppey, and ravaged parts of Kent and Essex, up to within sight of the gates of London, where Egbert again met and beat them.

These forays were repeated, sometimes with more and sometimes with less success, nearly every year, and in 833 the crews of thirty-five Danish vessels inflicted a bloody defeat upon Egbert at Charmouth.¹ In 835, however, Egbert retaliated, coming up at Hengestesdun, now Hingston Down, with a combined horde of Danes and Cornish Britons, and nearly annihilating it.²

In the following year Egbert died. Under his successor Ethelwulf the same kind of thing continued. In 837 the Danes were defeated at Southampton,³ but gained a success at Port in Dorsetshire. In 840 they defeated the king at Charmouth,⁴ and in 851 worse befel. Athelstan,⁵ a son of Egbert, assisted by the ealdorman Ealchere, seems to have fought a naval action with a Danish force off Sandwich, and to have defeated it, taking nine vessels; but another and much stronger Danish force, consisting of three

¹ Sax. Chron., 344.

² *Ib.*, 344.

³ *Ib.*, 345.

⁴ *Ib.*, 346.

⁵ He held sway over the South Saxons.

hundred and fifty ships, arrived in the mouth of the Thames, landed an army, stormed both Canterbury and London, defeated an army headed by the King of Mercia, and was moving through Surrey, when it was encountered by Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, and routed with immense slaughter at Ockley.¹ Nevertheless, that year the Danes wintered for the first time in Thanet.²

It is noteworthy that of the numerous actions recorded as having been fought between the Saxons and the Danes thus far, one only, namely, that in which Athelstan was victorious off Sandwich, is clearly indicated as having been a sea-fight. From this it might be supposed that the Saxons had an inadequate navy; but by far the more probable explanation is, that they did not properly utilise such navy as they had. They seem, before the days of Alfred, to have thought more of guarding their coasts than of finding and defeating the enemy at sea; and as the usual policy of the Danes was to make a sudden raid, land a force, and allow it to shift for itself, and subsist upon the resources of the country until it could find opportunity to re-embark at another point, the Saxon tactics of stationing their vessels in or near the important ports may well have been very ineffective.

Ethelbert, who reigned from 860 to 866, was not more fortunate than his predecessors, and at one time his capital, Winchester, was attacked by his northern enemies. The reign, too, of Ethelred, from 866 to 871, was disastrous. The Danes made themselves masters of Northumbria and part of Mercia, seized Nottingham, completely conquered East Anglia, and advancing for the attack on Wessex, made Reading their headquarters. Led by Bagseeg and Halfdene, they fought no fewer than nine great battles in that neighbourhood in the course of the year 871, and were on several occasions successful; but King Ethelred and his brother Alfred beat them badly at Ashdown, near Dideot, and killed Halfdene. Ethelred, who seems to have been wounded there or in one of the subsequent and less successful fights at Basing and Merton, died soon afterwards, and Alfred, then probably in his twenty-ninth or thirtieth year, came to the imperilled crown.

Alfred's reign began badly. In the early summer of 871 he was defeated by the Danes at Wilton, and apparently so dispirited that he came to terms with the invaders, and offered them that which

¹ Sax. Chron., 346.

² *Ib.*, 345.

induced them to leave his part of the kingdom in the following year. But he secured this humiliating respite only to derive the greatest possible advantage from it. He at once devoted himself to naval matters, and in 875¹ he met seven Danish ships at sea, and scattered them, capturing one. Thereafter, for several years, he busied himself with the recovery of Wessex. In 882,² he was again afloat with a squadron, capturing four Danish ships after a very obstinate action. In 885, his vessels took sixteen Danish pirates³ at the mouth of the Stour, but were afterwards themselves defeated by another Danish force. Until 893, however, Danish activity was less than it had been for many years previously, and Alfred had a considerable amount of leisure for attending to the improvement of the arts of peace.

Many of the Danes who had been driven from England by the energy of Alfred were, in the meanwhile, ravaging parts of the Low Countries and the north of France, under a leader of great ability named Hasting. Their continental successes tempted them to think again of England, and assembling at Boulogne, they built or procured a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, embarked with their horses, and crossed the Channel to "Lemenemouth,"⁴ where part of them landed. Some are of opinion that Lemenemouth was the mouth of the Rother. Be this as it may, the landed party stormed a fort and took up a position at Appledore, while Hasting, retaining with him eighty ships, proceeded to the mouth of the Thames, and landed at Milton,⁵ where he formed a camp.

There is no record of what Alfred's fleet was doing at this period, but it does not appear to have met the enemy, and Hasting, in the next year, crossed the Thames into Essex, and fortified himself at South Benfleet, while two bodies of his friends co-operated with him, one, consisting of forty ships, going round by the north into the Bristol Channel and landing a force on the north coast of Devonshire, and the other, of one hundred ships, going down Channel, and landing a force for the siege of Exeter. Alfred divided his army into two parts, sending one against Hasting at Benfleet, and himself leading the other against his enemies in the west. Hasting was driven from Benfleet, and his fleet was part taken and part destroyed, but he fell back on South Shoebury, and was there

¹ Sax. Chron., 355.

² *Ib.*, 358.

³ *Ib.*, 359.

⁴ Difficult to identify. See Southey's ed. of 'Lives of Admirals,' i. 35.

⁵ Sax. Chron., 363, 364.

joined by ships from East Anglia and Northumbria. In the west the appearance of Alfred caused the invaders to raise the siege of Exeter and re-embark, but going eastward, they landed again and attacked Chichester. There they were driven off, with the loss of a few ships.¹ Hasting made further unsuccessful efforts to push his fortunes in England, and struggled on until the summer of 897; but he then gave up the task as hopeless, and disbanded his remaining forces.

It was in 897 apparently, that the ships of the new and improved type² designed by Alfred were first tried in action. Six Danish vessels were ravaging the coasts of Devonshire and of the Isle of Wight, and the King ordered out against them nine of his novel craft, manning them partly with English and partly with Frisians, who were reputed the best seamen of that time. The Danes were found, three afloat and three aground. The three which were in a condition to move immediately issued from their haven, and fought very gallantly, two, however, being captured and their crews put to death, in accordance with the King's principle for dealing with such freebooters. The third escaped, with but five men remaining on board. Going into the haven to attack the other vessels, the royal ships all managed to run aground, too, three lying close to the three stranded Danes, and the rest at some distance on the other side of the harbour. When the tide had run out, the Danes furiously attacked the Saxon ships near them, killing seventy-two of their people, but themselves losing as many as one hundred and twenty. At length the tide rose again, and it would have enabled the English on the other side of the haven to intervene with decisive effect, but for the fact that it floated the Danes first. They plied their oars, and escaped from the immediate danger, but so badly damaged were they, that two of them went ashore elsewhere and were captured, and their crews, being conducted to Winchester, were there hanged by the King's command.³

Having been, as is supposed, the first English sovereign to command a squadron in action at sea, Alfred has been called the first English admiral. There is, perhaps, danger of overrating the importance of his exploits afloat. He won no decisive victory there; and it is easy to form an exaggerated estimate of the efficiency to which the fleet attained under him, and of the material improve-

¹ Sax. Chron., 364-369. ² *Ib.*, 371. See *ante*, Chap. I. p. 13.

³ *Ib.*, 370, 371.

ments which he introduced. But it stands to his credit that he appreciated the value of offensive defence, and was one of the first Englishmen to employ it.

Under Edward the Elder (901–925), the son and successor of Alfred, but two notable naval events took place, although during most of the reign the Danes were troublesome, both on the coasts and inland. In 904, Ethelwald, a son of Ethelred, having put forward his claim to the crown, obtained Danish assistance from Northumbria, and, with as many ships as he was able to collect, effected a descent in Essex,¹ subdued it and persuaded the East Anglian Danes to invade Mercia; but he was killed in a skirmish in the course of the following year. In 915 or, according to others, in 918, a large piratical fleet from Brittany² fell upon the coasts of Wales and carried off the Bishop of Llandaff, who was subsequently ransomed by Edward for forty pounds.

Athelstan (925–941), Edward's son, took more interest than most of his predecessors in foreign politics, and had a share³ in the restoration of Louis d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, to the throne of France. In 933 he invaded Scotland,⁴ both by sea and land; but his great exploit was the crushing, in 937, of the formidable alliance arrayed against him by Constantine, King of Scots, Olaf (or Anlaff) son of Guthfrith, Danish king of Northumbria, Olaf (or Anlaff), Cuaran, the Danish king of Dublin, and several British princes, including Owen of Cumberland. This combination was arranged in retaliation for Athelstan's action against Scotland, and especially for the manner in which his fleet had ravaged the coasts of Caithness. The campaign, which seems to have been to a considerable extent a naval one, was decided by the victory of Brunanburh, where Athelstan routed all his opponents. A translation of the Saxon war song, composed in honour of the event, will be found in Freeman's 'Old-English History.'

The site of Brunanburh is undetermined. Some place it in the Lothians, some in Northumberland, some in Yorkshire and others at Brumby, in Lincolnshire. Simeon of Durham⁵ makes Olaf Guthfrithsson's fleet, without the fleets of his allies, to have consisted, on the occasion of this descent, of no fewer than 615 vessels; so that Athelstan's power must have been, indeed, enormous.

¹ Sax. Chron., 372.

² *Ib.*, 377.

³ Floedard, quoted by Daniel, ii. 647.

⁴ Sax. Chron., 383–385.

⁵ p. 25.

Edmund the Elder (941-946), Edred (946-955) and Edwy (955-959), seem to have all been capable monarchs, although the character of the last, owing to his attitude on matters of ecclesiastical policy, is bitterly attacked by contemporary monkish historians. They held their own against the Danes who were already established in the island; but there are no records of their having had to cope with serious Danish irruptions from over sea.

Edgar (959-975), like his immediate predecessors, was little troubled from abroad, and utilised the comparative peacefulness of his reign in organising his navy. It is related that he divided his fleet into three permanent squadrons of equal force, stationing one in the North Sea, a second in the Irish Channel, and the third on the north coasts of Scotland; and that every year, after Easter, he made a tour of inspection round his realm by sea, joining the North Sea Squadron first, cruising with it from the mouth of the Thames to the Land's End, and there dismissing it to its station, and joining the Irish Channel Squadron. With this he cruised as far as the Hebrides, where he met the Northern Squadron and, joining it, was conveyed by it round the north of Scotland and back to the mouth of the Thames.¹ In these annual evolutionary cruises he visited all the ports and estuaries, made provision for the security of the coasts, and occasionally attacked his enemies.

In the course of one expedition he is said to have reduced the Irish Danes, and to have taken Dublin. In the course of another, in 973, he is said to have been met at Chester by the kings, Kenneth of Scots, Malcolm of Cumbria, Maccus of Man, Dunwallon of Strathelyde, Inchill of Westmoreland, and Siferth, Iago, and Howell of Wales, who, in token of subjection to him, manned his barge and, Edgar steering, rowed him on the River Dee.²

But it must be remembered that Edgar, unlike Edwy, was on excellent terms with Dunstan and the ecclesiastical party, and that the ecclesiastics were practically the sole historians of those times; and it may be regarded as certain that Edgar's naval glory, which was no doubt considerable, was, if anything, rather exaggerated than minimised by the chroniclers. Ethelward, one of the few contemporary writers who possibly was not an ecclesiastic, and who,

¹ Matt. of West.

² Will. of Malmesbury, i. 236 (ed. Hardy); Flor. of Worc., 578 (ed. Petrie); Hoveden, 244, etc.; but the names of the kings are variously given. See also 'Libel of English Policie.'

according to his own account, was nearly related to the royal house, drops hints that, after all, Edwy may not have been inferior as a monarch to Edgar. Be this as it may, the monkish estimate of Edgar as one of the greatest of British naval reformers has received general acceptance; and, with very few intervals, there has, in consequence, always been a large British man-of-war bearing the king's name since the day in 1668, when it was conferred upon a two-decker at the instance of James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, who had previously given the name to one of his sons who died in infancy.

The brief reign of the boy Edward, miscalled The Martyr, (975-979), was uneventful; but the latter part of the reign of his half-brother, Ethelred the Purposeless (979-1016), was full of naval incident; and, indeed, even the earlier part, from its very beginning, witnessed a marked revival of Danish aggression from across the North Sea. Not however, until 988 did the Danes renew their attempts to settle in the country. Up to that date their expeditions were merely raids and forays.

It was in 988 that Olaf Tryggvesson, one of the most formidable, bloody and revengeful of the Vikings, harassed Watchet and killed Gova, the Thane of Devon. Olaf was the son of a Norwegian sea king, but may have been born in Britain. In 991 he led a fleet of 450 ships to Stone, thence to Sandwich, and thence to Ipswich, and, pressing as far as Maldon, there defeated and slew the eardorman Brihtnoth, who had been sent against him. Ethelred made some attempts to assemble a fleet, so as to cut off the enemy, but his plans were betrayed by the eardorman Elfrie, and only a very partial success by sea was secured. In 994 Olaf allied himself with Sweyn¹ of Denmark, son of Harold Blaaland, and the two, with ninety-four ships, made an abortive attempt on London.² Driven thence by the townsmen they devastated Kent, Sussex and Hampshire, both along the coast and for some distance inland; and on an evil day Ethelred agreed to buy them off by payment of £16,000 and the provision for them of food and winter quarters at Southampton, Olaf promising never again to visit England, unless peacefully.³ In the spring he departed for Norway, which he wrested from Earl Hacon and ruled for several years; but, though he personally kept his word, his promise bound no one save himself, and the Vikings presently began their incursions anew.

¹ More properly Swegen.

² Sax. Chron., 402.

³ *Ib.*, 402, 403.

In 997¹ a Danish fleet entered the Tamar, went up to Lidford, crossed to Tavistock, burned the church there, and carried off an immense amount of booty. In 998 the Danes ravaged Dorsetshire and Hampshire; and though English armies were sent against them, the pirates were invariably victorious. In 999 they sailed up the Medway, disembarked at Rochester, defeated the local forces, and ravaged West Kent. Ethelred collected a fleet as well as an army; but the latter did no good to his cause, and the former, owing to delay on the part of the leaders, was not ready until too late.² It is probable that this expedition, like several previous descents, was bought off, and that the refusal of Malcolm of Cumbria to contribute money for the purpose was the cause of the hostilities which Ethelred waged against him with success in the following year.

But a nearly contemporaneous descent upon Normandy, whither some of the Danes had retired, was a failure; nor is this to be wondered at. It is tolerably clear that Ethelred's naval forces were no longer in hand, and were in fact in a state bordering upon mutiny. A fleet destined to support the king on his Cumbrian expedition, instead of accompanying him, had gone away on its own account and ravaged Maenige, which some take to have been Man and others Anglesey.³

In 1001 the Danes reappeared, this time at Exmouth, where they were joined by a foreigner named Pallig, who had received favours from Ethelred, and had sworn fealty to him. Great havoc was wrought in Devon and Somerset, and, the forces of the realm having failed to eject the pirates, a humiliating bribe of £24,000 was given them to induce them to depart in the following year.⁴

Then it was that Ethelred bethought himself of getting rid of the bloodsuckers who were preying upon his everweakening inheritance by murdering all the Danes resident in England. The crime, or as much of it as was possible, was perpetrated on St. Brice's Day, November 13th, 1002,⁵ and in the massacre a sister of Sweyn, Prince of Denmark, who had banded himself with Olaf in 994, perished. This circumstance seems to have sealed the fate of England. The massacre thinned out the Danes who lived in what had in earlier times been the Danelagh, and who had for generations fitted out piratical expeditions against the rest of the

¹ Sax. Chron., 406.² *Ib.*, 407.³ *Ib.*, 407.⁴ *Ib.*, 408, 409.⁵ *Ib.*

country and provided bases of operations for their kinsmen foraying hither from Denmark; but, on the other hand, it exasperated the Danes at home, and especially Sweyn, to madness.

Sweyn's immediate reply was a descent, in the course of which he stormed Exeter and captured Salisbury,¹ and, in fact, met with little resistance, except in East Anglia. This was in 1003. In 1004, after having drawn off for the winter, he returned, sailing up the Yare to Norwich. While some of his lieutenants amused the people by pretending to treat with them, he advanced surreptitiously to Thetford. Ulfeytel, Ethelred's officer at Norwich, ordered the Danish ships to be destroyed; but his directions were not attended to. He himself, with a force of men, followed Sweyn, and met him on his way back. A fierce battle resulted, but Ulfeytel was killed, and the Danes were able to re-embark. In 1006 they came again, in greater strength than ever, capturing and sacking Sandwich. Ethelred bought them off with provisions and £36,000 in money.² Then he made tardy efforts to reorganise a fleet,³ and in 1008 levied for the purpose a tax which, says Nicolas,⁴ "is considered the first impost of the kind and the earliest precedent of ship-money." Great numbers of vessels were built, some authorities say 800; and probably about 30,000 men were armed for service; and in 1009 the fleet was ordered to make rendezvous at Sandwich. But treachery, mismanagement and misfortune brought the armada to nought.

A man named Wulfnoth, a South Saxon, head of a family which subsequently made a great naval reputation for itself, and father of Earl Godwin, then a young man in his teens, induced twenty of Ethelred's ships to follow him, and carried them away, probably with the design of turning pirate. Brihtric was despatched in pursuit of him with eighty vessels; but this squadron fell in with a violent gale of wind and, being dispersed, was turned upon in its distress by Wulfnoth, who burnt every one of the ships. When the news reached the rendezvous a panic seized everyone there, the king and nobility fled to London, and the squadron was either abandoned or scattered.

The Danes took instant advantage of the confusion. Thureytel⁵ the Tall, leader of a piratical community which had for some time been established at Iona, and which had just been broken up,

¹ Sax. Chron., 410, 411.

² *Ib.*, 412, 413.

³ *Ib.*, 413.

⁴ Nicolas, 'Hist. of Roy. Nav.,' i. 43.

⁵ Or Thurkel.

had an understanding with Sweyn, and arrived with fifty ships at Greenwich. He plundered great part of the south of England, extorted heavy sums by way of ransom, captured Canterbury, thanks to the treachery of Elfinar, sacked that city, and murdered Archbishop Alphege at a drunken orgie on Easter Saturday, 1012. Meanwhile London was ineffectually attacked,¹ and Oxford was burnt. Ethelred could do nothing. He was tired of buying off invaders. He hired Thurecytel, and forty-five of his ships,² to assist in the protection of the kingdom. Sweyn came once more, in 1013, accompanied by his son Canute, and landed at Sandwich. Thence he went to the mouth of the Humber, and thence along the Trent as far as Gainsborough. Northern England submitted to him; and when he had horsed his army he marched southward, leaving his prisoners and his ships under the care of Canute. London was attacked, but Thurecytel contributed to the defence; and Ethelred was able to repulse the Danes,³ who thereupon turned their attention to the reduction of the West of England, which quickly acknowledged Sweyn as king. This defection decided the wretched Ethelred to abandon his country. Once more Thurecytel proved useful, for they were his ships that escorted the unfortunate monarch to Normandy; but Thurecytel's fidelity was only hired, and, three years later, the soldier of fortune was fighting for Sweyn's son Canute against Ethelred's son Edmund Ironside. He died Regent of Denmark.

Canute succeeded his father in 1014.⁴ At the news of the old king's death Ethelred returned, with Edmund Ironside, and was acclaimed by the Saxon portion of the people, who declared "that no lord was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them rightlier than he had before done." Ethelred made promises freely, and entered into a kind of compact with his subjects, the first of the kind on record in English history. One of the first things he did, however, was to levy £21,000 for the army,⁵ with which he marched against Canute, who was at Lindsey, and who retired in his ships to Sandwich, where, after mutilating them by cutting off their hands, ears, and noses, he landed the hostages who had been entrusted to his father Sweyn. With Sandwich⁶ as his

¹ Sax. Chron., 414. †

² *Ib.*, 418.

³ *Ib.*, 418, 419.

⁴ *Ib.*, 420.

⁵ *Ib.*, 420, 421.

⁶ Later, on his safe return from a pilgrimage to Rome, Canute gave the port of Sandwich, and the dues arising from it, to Christ Church, Canterbury.

base, Canute ravaged Kent, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire; later, he laid waste Mercia and Northumbria, and subdued them; but while he was still preparing for the final reconquest of Wessex, his rival Ethelred died on April 23rd, 1016.

Edmund Ironside was chosen king by the citizens of London, who were at that moment threatened by the presence of Canute in the Thames. Canute had been reinforced by the desertion from Edmund of Edric Streona, one of Ethelred's oldest, most trusted, and most deceitful advisers, with forty ships.¹ Edric subsequently deserted back to Edmund, and again, at the battle of Assandun, back to Canute—all within a year. Edmund was in the west when in May or June Canute's fleet approached London; and the invaders were able, by digging a canal round the south side of the city, so to station their vessels that they could act both above and below bridge. The place was held by the inhabitants, but it was closely blockaded by water and invested by land, until Edmund, after much fighting, returned, and obliged the Danes to raise the siege and retire down the river. Various successes² were gained by each side until towards the close of 1016, when the Danes won so conclusive a victory at Assandun, supposed to be Aslington in Essex, that the Saxon Witan itself proposed the division of the country between the rivals. This solution had scarcely been agreed to ere Edmund died, after a reign of only seven months, and Canute became sole monarch of England.

The naval exploits of Canute after 1016 scarcely belong to English history, for although this great king spent most of his time in this country, and reckoned it the chief of his numerous possessions, England was at peace during most of his reign. Nicolas³ thus summarises from the Saxon Chronicle his goings and comings: "In 1018 he sent part of his forces back to Denmark; but he retained forty ships until the following year, when he went with them to that kingdom. Canute returned to England early in 1020, and in 1022 he is said to have accompanied his fleet to the Isle of Wight; but, as in 1023, he is stated to have 'come again to England,' it would seem that he had made a more distant voyage, probably to Denmark. In 1025 Canute again visited Denmark with his ships, and being attacked at the Holm by a Swedish fleet and army, after a sanguinary conflict the Swedes remained in

¹ Sax. Chron., 422.

² *Ib.*, 422-424.

³ Nicolas, i. 48; from Sax. Chron., 426-429.

possession of the field. His return to England is not noticed; but in 1028 he went from England 'with fifty ships of English thanes' to Norway, and having driven King Olaf out of the country, took possession of his dominions."

In one sense, therefore, we may reckon Norway as England's first foreign conquest, in that it was made, partially at least, by Englishmen, though for the Danish rather than for the English crown. In another direction also the country made a new departure under Canute, who established the Huscarls, a permanent force of fighting men governed under a military code. They were either 3000 or 6000 in number, and constituted the earliest approach to a standing army in England. The invasion of Scotland in 1031 was a naval as well as a military expedition, but few details of it have been handed down to us; and after it, until Canute's death at Shaftesbury in November, 1035, there was peace.

Upon Canute's death, his son by Emma,¹ widow of King Ethelred, seized Denmark, while his reputed son by Elgiva of Northampton was generally supported in England, though not by the West Saxons nor by Godwin, who was already powerful. In consequence, the former, Hardicanute, became for a time King of Denmark and Wessex, and the latter, Harold I., King of England north of the Thames. An attempt in 1036 by two of Ethelred's sons to recover their father's kingdom failed, and was bloodily punished by Harold; and in the following year the people, becoming disgusted with Hardicanute's long absence abroad, forsook him, and gave in their general adhesion to Harold, who thus reunited the kingdom into a whole, which has never since been split up. Emma was banished to Flanders; but Harold prudently reconciled himself with Godwin, who had put himself at the head of a respectable English party. Hardicanute was little inclined to submit to this arrangement, and in 1039 joined his mother at Bruges, and began preparations for an invasion of England. But before he could carry out his plans Harold died, on March 17th, 1040.

Hardicanute at once crossed the Channel, arriving at Sandwich before midsummer with sixty ships, for the support of the crews of which he levied a tax at the heavy rate of eight marks per rower. This and his large subsequent levies of Heregeld, as well as his severities, gained him much unpopularity; and in the hope of bettering his position in the minds of the people, he sent over to

¹ Also known as Edith.

Normandy for his half-brother Edward, son of Emma by Ethelred, and installed him at court as heir to the throne. Accordingly, when Hardicanute died in June, 1042, Edward, later known as the Confessor, succeeded without serious opposition.

There were not wanting other pretenders to the crown. One was Sweyn Estrithson, a nephew of Canute; but Godwin was on the side of Edward, and Godwin was the most powerful man in the country. Magnus, King of Norway and Denmark, also put forward claims, and would have endeavoured to enforce them in 1045, had his attention not been distracted by the attack upon him of Harold Hardrada and Sweyn, his rivals at home.¹ Meanwhile Emma, who still coquetted with the Danish party, and who seems to have preferred her connections by her second to those by her first marriage, was disgraced; and later, several of the more dangerous Danish lords in England were banished as a measure of precaution. Thus Edward's position was made secure. But Edward had been educated at the Norman court, and had Norman sympathies and Norman favourites. Danish influence gave place, not, as should have been the case, to English, but to Norman; and there was much English discontent.

A man to lead the national party was happily at hand in the person of Godwin, Earl of the West Saxons, the strongest, most wealthy, and most able subject of his day, and a very distinguished seaman. He seems to have successively misunderstood the tendencies both of Emma and of Edward. He certainly rendered valuable assistance to the plans of each, vastly, it is true, increasing his own importance and social dignity in the process. He had married Gytha, a niece of Canute; his daughter Edith married Edward the Confessor; his sons and nephews were all advanced to high posts. But at length he aroused himself to the growing seriousness of the foreign aggressions, and took up a definite position in the van of the national movement. Godwin forced upon the English monarchy almost the first of the long series of constitutional compromises which have given us our liberties. He may have been a selfseeker; undoubtedly he was, in some stages of his career, very much like a pirate. But he initiated a good work. When foreign influence, grown to an unexampled height, at length procured the outlawry of him and his family, he retired to Flanders, to reappear at the head of a fleet. He was beloved and admired by the people, and Edward, the most overrated of the English kings, was supported

¹ Sax. Chron., 435.

only by the clergy and the foreigners. Opposition was hopeless; the king's forces refused to fight against the English hero, and Edward had to give way on nearly all points, and to get rid of the more objectionable of his Norman advisers and sycophants. Here the sea helped in the striking of a heavy blow for the cause of freedom; and although Godwin survived his triumph for only a year, he died victor in a great constitutional struggle.

But the naval events of the reign must be noted in their order. Godwin's victory came late.

The fleet seems to have been cared for throughout. In 1044 Edward was at Sandwich with thirty-five ships, and in 1045, when the invasion of Magnus was expected, as large a fleet as had ever been seen in England was collected at the same port. Edward was asked by Sweyn to assist him with a squadron of fifty vessels against Magnus, but the request was refused.¹ Magnus's navy being reputed to be exceedingly powerful, and popular opinion being apparently doubtful whether that of England would be justified in going far from its own coasts to intervene in a foreign quarrel. Nor was the refusal unwise, for there was plenty for the fleet to do at home. Not long afterwards Sandwich itself was attacked by the pirates Lothing and Yrling,² with twenty-five ships, and a large amount of booty was carried away. Thanet also was attacked, but drove off its assailants. Essex fared less fortunately, and was ravaged, the pirates taking their spoils to Flanders and there selling them. The king was at sea during this time, but did not succeed in falling in with the freebooters.

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, had protected the operations of these and other sea-robbers, and consequently, when, in 1049, Baldwin was at war with the emperor, and the latter invited Edward to assist in blockading the territories of the Count, the King of England was disposed to comply, and once more collected his fleet at Sandwich.³ But he appears to have had no time to put to sea with it ere Baldwin and the emperor came to terms, and then, deeming that so large a force was unnecessary, Edward sent his Mercian contingent home.

The rest of the fleet he designed to utilise for another object. Osgod Clapa, a Dane who had been in Edward's service, but who had been banished in 1046 for suspected complicity in the machinations of Magnus, had taken to piracy, and was reported to be at Ulp

¹ Sax. Chron., 437, 438.

² *Ib.*, 438.

³ *Ib.*, 438, 439.

with thirty-nine ships; whereupon Edward dispatched part of his force in chase of the rover, who ran for Flanders with six ships only, leaving the rest to plunder Essex; and as the English force seems to have been completely deceived and to have pursued Osgod, the plunderers did their work almost unmolested, and re-embarked in safety.¹ Thus the great armament at Sandwich did little good.

While the king was still at Sandwich, Godwin's eldest son Sweyn, who, in consequence of having been refused permission to marry the Abbess of Leominster, whom he had abducted, had thrown up his earldom and retired in a huff to Denmark, decided to endeavour to make his peace with Edward, and arrived with seven ships at Bosham for that purpose. Upon his appearance off the English coasts he was apparently treated as an enemy, for the men of Hastings took two of his vessels and brought them to the king after having killed their crews.² During his absence his earldom had been divided between his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn. Both Harold and Beorn were consequently opposed to the return of Sweyn, and directed him to put to sea again, giving him four days wherein to do so. This, no doubt, incensed Sweyn. Soon afterwards an English squadron, consisting of two "king's ships" and forty-two "people's ships," under Godwin, and another of his sons, Tostig, with, apparently, Beorn on board, was driven by stress of weather into Pevensey while in pursuit of pirates. Sweyn went thither, and begged Beorn to accompany him to Sandwich and to intercede for him with the king. Beorn agreed, and seems to have started in a vessel of his own, or overland. But Sweyn presently seized him, and took him by boat to his own vessel, which proceeded to Dartmouth, where Sweyn murdered his cousin and buried his body in the church. It was subsequently removed to Winchester, and interred near that of Canute; and Sweyn³ escaped to Flanders, to be pardoned in 1050, and restored to all his possessions by Edward.

Another naval event of 1049 was the arrival of thirty-six ships from Ireland to assist Griffith of Wales. Towards the end of the year Edward "discharged nine ships from pay, and they went away, ships and all; and five ships remained behind, and the king promised them twelve months' pay."⁴

At this time matters were rapidly coming to a head between

¹ Sax. Chron., 440.

² *Ib.*, 441.

³ *Ib.*, 440, 441.

⁴ *Ib.*, 441, 442.

Godwin and Edward. In 1051 the king, contrary to the desire of the earl and of the monks of Canterbury, saw fit to advance to the Archbishopric a Norman, Robert of Jumièges, who had previously been for six years Bishop of London. Another Norman had been made Bishop of Dorchester, and the English party was greatly annoyed. It was then that Godwin was ordered to Dover to punish the townsmen for their behaviour to some piratical followers of Baldwin of Flanders. Godwin declined to do this unless the men were first given a fair trial. It was then also that complaints were made by the people of Sweyn's earldom of Hereford that some Normans or French had established themselves there, and were illtreating the country folk.

Godwin and his family seem to have thought that the moment had come for stern resistance to Edward's unreasonable preference of foreigners. Sweyn and Harold, and even Tostig, who had lately married a sister of Baldwin, were of one mind. The Witan at Gloucester summoned Godwin to attend before it. The earl replied by collecting his friends at Beverstone, near Malmesbury. The Witan removed to London, and outlawed Sweyn, but contented itself with again summoning the earl and Harold, to whom, however, safe conduct and hostages were refused; so that their only course was flight.

Godwin and Sweyn went to Bosham, embarked thence for Flanders, and stayed abroad during the winter.¹ Harold embarked at Bristol for Ireland. Sweyn, recollecting the abducted abbess and the murder of Beorn, departed on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died while on his way back; but early in 1052 the other members of the exiled family began active operations with a view to return.

Harold, with a squadron, appeared off the mouth of the Severn, sacked some places in Somersetshire and Devonshire, and killed a number of people, including "more than thirty good thanes." The threat of an invasion from Flanders by Godwin prevented interference; for forty ships² of Edward's fleet, probably nearly all the vessels then in commission, lay at Sandwich under the Earls Ralf and Odda, or cruised in the offing, on the look-out for the enemy. Godwin evaded them and landed at Romney, where, in his own territories, his popularity raised him a large force, all the "butse-earls," or boatmen, of Hastings and the neighbouring ports joining him enthusiastically. It is less than forty miles by sea from Sand-

¹ Sax. Chron., 444.

² Ingram has 'smacks.'

wich to Romney Bay, but the king's ships did not succeed in getting to the latter place in time to prevent the earl from sailing thence to the westward. Ralf and Odda returned to Sandwich, and went thence to London, where it is not astonishing that they were superseded. As for Godwin, he went no farther west than the Isle of Wight, and was there joined by Harold, with nine ships from Ireland. The combined force returned up Channel, picking up more butsecarls at Romney and Folkestone, and reached Sandwich "with an overflowing army."¹ The royal fleet had quitted Sandwich, and Godwin pressed on for the Thames. He mounted as far as Southwark, found the people there well disposed towards him, entered into an understanding with them, landed some troops, and advanced cautiously through the south arch of London Bridge. The royal fleet, increased to fifty ships, seems to have lain somewhere below the spot where now stands St. Paul's; and Godwin was upon the point of attacking it, when, happily, an arrangement was come to, and bloodshed was prevented.²

Thus Godwin triumphed. His victory led to the outlawry of Robert of Jumieges, Bishop Ulf, and other Norman place-holders, who escaped with considerable difficulty to Normandy; and English influences became predominant at court. But in the following year the great earl died. He had, however, a worthy successor as chief of the party of England for the English, in the person of his eldest surviving son, Harold, a true West Saxon, yet also, on his mother's side, a grand-nephew of Canute. Harold, while his brother-in-law, Edward the Confessor, lived, was a strong and patriotic mayor of the palace to a *roi fainéant*, and at first he was zealously supported by all the members of his house, including his brothers Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, Gyrth, Earl of East Anglia, and Leofwin, who held sway in Kent, Essex, and adjoining counties. The two last, indeed, remained faithful to their kinsman to the death.

In 1062, Griffith of Wales once more became troublesome; and Harold and Tostig combined to repress him. The campaign was chiefly military; but its issue was much influenced by the brilliant naval success of Harold, in 1063, at Rudeland, where the Welsh fleet was destroyed. Griffith was assassinated by one of his own followers, and both his head and the prow of his ship were sent as trophies to Edward.³ Then came the defection of Tostig, in some sense the gloomiest actor in the events which were fast crowding

¹ Sax. Chron., 446-448.

² *Ib.*, 448, 449.

³ *Ib.*, 458.

upon England. He had governed ill in Northumbria, and his people revolted, deposed him, and set up Morkere in his stead. Edward, advised by Harold, admitted the demands of the insurgents, recognised Morkere, and banished Tostig, who retired to nurse schemes of revenge at Bruges. Morkere, it should be said in explanation, was brother of Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and of Aldgyth, wife of Harold, and widow of Griffith of Wales; so that the transfer of power in Northumbria did not necessarily reduce the predominance of the family interests of the House of Godwin.

On January 6th, 1066, the Confessor died, after bequeathing his kingdom to Harold. The old king left no children of his own, and although there was a nearer heir in the person of Edgar Atheling,



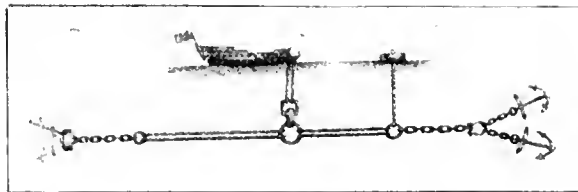
SHIP OF HAROLD'S FLEET.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

grandson of Edmund Ironside, and although he had a certain following, he was but a child of eight, and, of course, was not in a position either to press his claims or to mount the throne in those turbulent times. Indeed, it seems to have been so clearly recognised, even by his friends, that the burden of the crown would have been too heavy for the boy, that no serious efforts were made to secure it for him. On the other hand, Harold was strong, vigorous, popular, and in the prime of life. The only serious cloud upon his prospects was one which Harold, who was best aware of its existence, did not regard as threatening. It had been his misfortune, years earlier, to be wrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and to be handed over by the noble upon whose territory he was cast, to William, Duke of Normandy, who had exacted as price of release a sworn promise that Harold would support William's claim to the inheritance of Edward. Harold either looked upon the

whole affair as a grim jest, or considered that no promise made under duress was binding upon him ; and, when Edward died, took the crown, apparently with confidence.

He underrated William's ambition and pertinacity. But before the moment came for him to reckon with his most dangerous enemy, he had to deal with his troublesome brother Tostig, who, upon learning of Harold's accession, appeared with a fleet off the Isle of Wight, and levied money and provisions. Tostig's offer to co-operate with William was rejected ; and, quitting the south coast, the outlaw went, with sixty ships, to the Humber, whence, however, he was driven by Edwin of Mercia. Never very popular, he was thereupon forsaken by most of his followers, and proceeded with only twelve vessels to Scotland. Harold Hardrada of Norway, also at that time cherished vague designs against England, and was at the Orkneys with a large force. The king and the outlaw met, and agreed to work together. They sailed to the Humber, landed, defeated Edwin and Morkere at Fulford, and seized York ; but King Harold of England, the most energetic leader of his age, marched rapidly north, and on the 25th of September, 1066, fell upon the invaders at Stamford Bridge,¹ on the Derwent, and gained a bloody, but complete victory, Harold himself being wounded, but Harold Hardrada and Tostig being slain. The pursuit was hot, and comparatively few of the enemy gained their ships, many of which were burnt.

¹ Sax. Chron., 462-465.



CHAPTER III.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES TO 1066.

H. W. WILSON.

Pre-Roman voyages of the Britons—Early ships—Agricola's voyages—Intercourse with Ireland—With the continent—The Saxons—Irish voyages—Evidence—Cormac Mac Art—Niall—Irish ships—Two kinds of voyages—The mythical—The religions—To the Orkneys—To Iceland—Irish discovery of America—Evidence of Sagas—Ireland the Great—Story of Bjorn Asbrandsson—Testimony of Edisius—Were the Mexicans Irish?—Offa and his ships—Athelstan—The Vikings—Othere—Wulfstan voyages to the Baltic—The Norsemen on the British coast—The Orkney-men—Their manner of fighting—Ravages of the Norsemen—The Manxmen.



THE history of British voyages and discoveries must of necessity begin with Cæsar. The stories of Brutus' or Brute's sailing to Albion in the days of Æneas, with the attendant fables, may be dismissed as the figment of some ingenious monk's brain. They appear to have had little basis in legend and none in history. The visit of Pytheas of Marseilles to the British Isles in the fourth century B.C., and the casual mention of the Phœnician tin trade with the Cassiterides—which may or may not be some part of England—are the only references to our history in these dark ages. The indirect evidence of British seafaring in these times is, however, considerable. A cork plug, discovered in a canoe of very early date disinterred from the silt at Glasgow,¹ points to intercourse with Spain; Italian earthenware has been discovered in Lanarkshire; the red amber, so largely found in early barrows, indicates a trade with the Baltic countries;² whilst torques of gold and strings of bright-coloured glass beads, which cannot have been made in the island, are equally good evidence of commerce with the Phœnicians and the land of the south.³ Strabo alludes to the fact that the Romans imposed customs duties upon the British imports from Celtica, which consisted of ivory, bracelets, amber, and glass.⁴

It is not quite certain that the Britons of this date voyaged

¹ Elton, 'Origins of Eng. Hist.,' 2nd ed. 231; Burton, 'Hist. Scotland,' i. 51.

² *Ib.*, 63.

³ *Ib.*, 111.

⁴ *iv.*, *circ.* 180 A.D.

themselves, though it is on the whole probable. They were not all savages; on the contrary, the inhabitants to the south of the Thames appear to have been civilised, and to have made considerable progress in the arts. It is, of course, possible that these various imports were conveyed to them in the ships of Venetan or German traders. This is the supposition of those who doubt whether the early Britons had ships at all, or anything more than the coracle.¹ But some coracles, as we shall see, were capable of long voyages.

The Latin writers never explicitly state that the Britons had ships; on the other hand, they constantly mention the Britons as using coracles. Cæsar, when he had to cross a river in Spain, remembered the coracles he had seen in Britain, and ordered his soldiers to make them.² Lucan³ and Pliny,⁴ and the later Festus Avienus⁵ are as positive. That the British had ships of stout construction may, as hinted in a previous chapter, be inferred from the passage in Cæsar, where he says "the Veneti obtained help from Britain,"⁶ as well as from a mention in the Welsh Triads of "roving British fleets," and from the fact of the building of a ship with sail and oar by one Ceri. Surer testimony is afforded by the two boats discovered at Glasgow, both of which are built of planks, apparently clinker fashion, and fastened together with

¹ For descriptions of the coracle, see page 3 and 60, n.

² 'Bell. Civil.' i. 54.

³ 'Pharsal.' iv. 131, thus translated in Nedham's 'Selden':

"Of twigs and willow board
They made small boats, covered with bullock's hide,
In which they reached the river's further side,
So sail the Veneti if Padus flow,
The Britons sail on their calm ocean so."

⁴ iv. 30, *utilibus nauigiis*.

⁵ 'Oræ Marit.' v. 103:

"Non hi carinas quippe pima texere
Acereve norunt, non abiete ut usus est
Curvant phaselos, sed rei ad miraculum
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus."

⁶ 'Bell. Gall.' iii. 9. The word for "help" is "auxilia," which might perfectly well mean "troops," not ships. The ships of the Veneti are described by Cæsar as flat-keeled, of light draught, built of strong oak with high fore'sles and poops. The banks for the oars had beams a foot square, bolted at each end with iron pins as thick as a man's thumb. Elton, 'Origins,' 231; Burton, 'Scotland,' i. 308; Cæsar, 'Bell Gall.' iii. 9-13. Cæsar asserts that Great Britain was almost unknown to the Gauls—only merchants went there. The Gauls may, however, have concealed their intercourse with Britain from him.

oaken pins and nails of metal. The more elaborate of these boats were 18 feet long.¹ Vegetius, in his treatise on military art, tells us that the British ships were painted blue, in order that they might escape notice.²

On the subjugation of Britain by the Romans, which followed the expeditions of Claudius and Agricola, a considerable trade, as we have seen, existed with Gaul.³ Agricola sent his fleet as far as the Orkneys, which he discovered and subdued. "Thule" was seen in the distance, but was not approached,⁴ and Great Britain was circumnavigated. He may have sent his ships to the Isle of Man, as inscriptions and remains testify to the presence of the Romans there.⁵ At the same time he made preparations to attack Ireland, where, he had learnt from traders and merchants, there were excellent harbours. It is thus to be inferred that there was, at this date (A.D. 81), intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain. London is noticed by Tacitus as now very much frequented by traders, which again is evidence of travel. The commerce was apparently in oysters, slaves, dogs, tin, and lead, and was carried on from the ports of Southampton and Richborough, besides London. Strabo tells us that the favourite ports in France for the traffic with England were Boulogne, and the mouths of the Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne.⁶ To reach the last two some very difficult and dangerous navigation would be necessary past Ushant and the Raz de Sein, demanding seaworthy ships. In the reign of Julian (A.D. 360) we are told that there were eight hundred ships engaged in the corn trade between Briton and Gaul. The Britons of that time had, however, to suffer terribly when the Romans withdrew.

The budding civilisation of the island was abandoned to bar-

¹ Elton, 'Origins,' 231. The stem of the larger boat was a triangular piece of oak, fitted in as in our day. In one boat was a fine axe of greenstone. The prow of the larger vessel was galley shaped. Early representations of ships are also found on Scotch sculptured stones. In these the rigging is quite complicated. Burton, 'Scotland,' i. 308. No such early representations are, however, to be found in the 'Spalding Club Book.' Jas. Stuart, Aberdeen.

² 'De Re Militari,' iv. 37.

³ Claudius gave by law privileges to those who built ships of 10,000 modii, or about 60 tons burden. Suet. Claud. 18.

⁴ Tacitus, 'Agricola,' 10. "Thule" was probably the Shetland group. Tacitus alludes to the strong tides and races thus: "The waters are heavy and yield with difficulty to the oars: they are not raised by the winds as on other seas."

⁵ Train, 'History of the Isle of Man,' i. 43.

⁶ The passage is given. 'Monumenta Britan.' Scriptores, Gr. atque Lat. vi.

barism and outer darkness. There is the scantiest historical record for the years which followed. The *Comes Littoris Saronici* and the *Comes Britannicæ* could no longer protect the island from the inroads of Saxon and Celt. Commerce would necessarily decline and the sea be abandoned by the weaker Britons, who fled to Brittany, or were driven from the British coasts by the depredations of the northern pirates.¹

The new arrivals were expert seamen. They came from the Saxon islands near the Elbe mouth in "ceols,"² and were in the strictest sense pirates or adventurers. Besides these "ceols," which seem to have been small ships built of wood, they had also skin boats. Whilst they harassed the east the Irish were equally busy on the west burning and plundering. To their early voyages we may now appropriately turn.

The Celtic inhabitants of Ireland appear to have been bold navigators at a very early date. Unlike their kinsmen the Welsh, and like the Bretons, Cornishmen, Menevians, and West Coastmen of Scotland, they have always shown a taste for the sea, which has declined, but not disappeared, with the lapse of time. A large proportion of the sailors serving in our fleet during the great French war were Irishmen,³ and the fishermen of Commaught are good seamen to this day. They are, in fact, very similar in character and daring to the Bretons.

Of Irish voyages in the early Roman and pre-Roman times we know absolutely nothing. There is, however, evidence of intercourse with the Roman Empire in the Roman coins which have been found along the east coast of Ireland. They date from the time of the Republic to A.D. 160.⁴ Whether they came from Gaul in Irish boats, or whether from Britain, cannot be determined. There is in Spain a tradition of voyages from the Basque country,

¹ In this period fall the voyages of Arthur, which are probably mythical, reflecting the tradition of the Irish anchorites' travels. He is said by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose chronicle has no historical value for this period, to have subdued Ireland and Iceland, and to have extorted homage from the kings of Orkney, Gotland, Norway, and Denmark. Lambard (*Temp.* 1568; see Hakluyt, B.L. i. 3) adds Greenland to the catalogue of his possessions. It is significant that contemporary writers never mention Arthur or any of these truly remarkable voyages. Malgo, whose voyages are also recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is probably not more historical.

² Or "keels."

³ Lecky, 'Hist. England.'

⁴ Stokes, 'Ireland and the Celtic Church' (London, 1886), p. 16. Skene, 'Celtic Scotland' (Edinburgh, 1890), iii. 115, doubts their historic existence.

about 200 B.C., to Ireland,¹ the ships employed being made of tree-trunks hollowed out and covered with leather. This may be reflected in the Irish story of the "Milesian" invasion. The dark complexion of the west coast population gives some countenance to the story, and a careful comparison of Basque and Irish skulls has further confirmed it.² There is some slight interest to the student of naval evolution in the glimpse of early Biscayan ships which it affords.

In 222 A.D., according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' a large fleet went from Ireland over sea, and did not return for three years. During that time Cormac MacArt, its commander and the titular king of Ireland, was ravaging the coasts of England. The grip of the Romans on Britian had been weakened by the failure of Severus to quell a Celtic insurrection between the years 208-211 A.D., and this probably was what encouraged Cormac's inroads. By 369 the Irish ships had become so dangerous that Theodosius, on his reconquest of Great Britain, appointed a *Comes Britanniarum*, besides a *Dux Britannicæ* and a *Comes Littoris Saronici*, to protect the western coast from the Irish.³ The victories of Theodosius are commemorated in Claudian's verses when the poet sings of "icy Ierne lamenting the heaps of slaughtered Scots," "the Orkneys reeking with Saxon gore," and Thule "growing warm with the blood of the Picts."⁴ If this be anything more than poetic licence, the fleets on either side must have gone far afield. Less than a half century later, Niall of the Nine Hostages, a direct ancestor of our Queen, as it is claimed, was plundering in the English Channel, and fell in battle, probably off Boulogne.⁵ The Saxons and Scots, as the inhabitants of Ireland were called at an early date, were often confused by the Romans, which may explain why we do not hear even more of the Irish.

Sidonius Apollinaris mentions these pirates as "ploughing the British sea in a skin, and cleaving the grey waters in a sewn skiff."⁶ These phrases can only refer to coracles, which were the earliest form of boat known to have existed in this country. At the same time, it is difficult to suppose that the Irish Celts had

¹ Alvarez de Colmenar, 'Annales d'Espagne,' ii. 55 (1741).

² Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' i. 169-174.

³ Cf. Elton, 'Origines,' 2nd ed. 338; Nedham's 'Sehlen,' 211; Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' i. 101.

⁴ Claudian, Flinders and Petrie, 'Mon. Brit.' xeviii.

⁵ Stokes, 38.

⁶ Sid. Apoll.

coracles and nothing else. The 'Tripartite Life of S. Patrick,' which is of the tenth or eleventh century, mentions several kinds of ships: "*noc*," or ship; "*curach*," or coracle; "*ethar*;" "*long*," or vessel; and "*coblach*;"¹ whilst Adamnan, in his 'Life of Columba,' which was certainly written in the seventh century, and which is therefore older and so much the more valuable, mentions nine kinds of ships: "*abus*," "*barca*," "*caupallas*," "*curuca*," "*navis longa*," "*navis oneraria*," "*navicula*," and "*seapha*."² From this it is perfectly clear that by 650 A.D. the Irish had made considerable progress in the art of ship construction. They were a civilised race, and must not be confused with the painted barbarians of the early Roman writers.

There are two distinct sets of Irish voyages. The first, which are fully narrated, mythical; the second, true, but only to be inferred from facts which are not recorded in connection with the voyages themselves. In addition, the claim of Ireland to the discovery of America must also be considered, as it has been put forward of late years with renewed energy. It stands somewhat apart from the other two classes of voyages.

Of the mythical voyages—which all point vaguely to a dim knowledge of land beyond the Atlantic—the best known are those of the sons of Ua Corra, who, three in number, sailed with five others forty days and forty nights out into the Atlantic, till they came to a land of men moaning and lamenting.³ After many wild adventures and a visit to an Odyssean inferno, they at last arrived at Spain. The date given for the voyage is 540. A little later St. Brandan, Abbot of Cluainfert, was visited by a friend, Barontus, who told him of an island far off in the ocean, which had been promised to the saints. For this island St. Brandan set sail with seventy-five monks and spent seven years in seafaring and adventure. He found the island, which was no sooner seen than it vanished.⁴

¹ 'Tripartite Life of S. Patrick' (Chronicles and Records Series), vol. i. cxlix.

² A full description of this kind of ancient coracle is to be found in the early 'Life of S. Brendan,' quoted in Reeves, W., 'Vita S. Columbæ Auctore Adamnâno' (Dublin, 1857), pp. 169, 170. This coracle was made of greased skins fastened to an osier frame. Large coracles had two or even three thicknesses of skin. They carried masts and sails, which shows they must have been of tolerably stout construction.

³ O'Curry, 'Manuscript Materials for Irish History,' 289.

⁴ This vanishing island was in later years often reported to have been seen from the Canaries, and very numerous expeditions were sent in search of it. See also page 63.

Though not so named in the narrative, this was identified with the fabulous island of Brazil or O'Brazile, which was supposed to lie to the west of Ireland, and which is marked in all early maps. The St. Brendan story is a late legend and cannot be traced in early Irish history. So also Maildun, in the eighth century, sailed to the west in a triple-hide coracle with sixty men, and saw many marvels, sea monsters, demon horses, red-hot animals, burning rivers, speaking birds, and submerged cities. But these tales savour rather of fairyland than of fact.

Secondly come the true or probable voyages, which are for the most part connected with the missionary enterprise of the Irish. Nothing is more remarkable than the vigour and energy of the Irish church in the seventh and eighth centuries, before the Norsemen's coming. Irishmen went everywhere, preaching the gospel. We hear of them in South Italy, France, Lower Austria, Switzerland, and Germany.¹ The centre of activity was the lonely little island of Iona, from which bold monks crossed in boats to Lismore, Gairloch, Tiree, Eigg, Skye, and Applecross, voyaging fearlessly upon tempestuous seas. A peculiar feature of this early Irish Church was the asceticism which led its votaries to seek silence and solitude. They spread up the west coast of Scotland and reached the Orkneys at so early a date as Columba's time. Thus Adamnan relates how Columba bids the ruler of the Orkneys treat the Irish pilgrims gently.² He also gives the voyage of Cormac, who was nearly put to death in the Orkneys, and afterwards was driven from his course by a south wind fourteen days' and nights' voyage northwards to land, which may have been the Faroes or Iceland. On the way he was nearly lost, as "foul and dangerous beasts smote his coracle so hard that he thought they would pierce the skin covering of the boat." Through the prayers of Columba he was saved.³ With this fourteen days' voyage in a coracle may be compared one of seven days' length, mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle. Three "Scots," we read under the year 891, came to Alfred in a hide boat without oars, from Iceland, after a seven days' passage on a stormy sea. They went on to Rome and Jerusalem, being probably Munstermen, who about this time pilgrimaged much

¹ Bryant, 'Celtic Ireland,' 55; Stokes, 'Celtic Church,' 131. Columbanus even ascends the Rhine, and voyages on Lake Constance.

² Adamn. 'Vit. Columb.' ii. 42. Columba was born 521, and died 597, A.D.

³ *Op. cit.*

to Rome. Possibly the use of the coracle may have been required to satisfy asceticism.¹

But the Irish monks did not stop short at the Orkneys. Dicuil,² an Irishman, who wrote in the ninth century, tells us, "There are many other islands in the northern British Ocean which can be approached from the north of Great Britain with full sail and a fair wind in two days and nights. An upright monk told me that in a small boat he made his way to one of these. The islands are small . . . and our anchorites sailed to them from Scotia and dwelt on them . . . but they are now deserted, because of the Norse pirates." These islands are probably the Shetlands and Faroes, and in the latter still survives a tradition of holy men who dwelt there before the Norsemen.³ In the Shetlands the names Papa Stour, Papa Litla, and Papa Sund recall the Norse word for a priest—"Papa." The Norse settlers appeared in the Faroes about the middle of the ninth century, and this would place the voyages of the Irish about the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.

So, too, if we may believe the 'Íslandingabók,' at the coming of the Norsemen there were Irish priests or anchorites in Iceland.⁴ "There were there," says Ari, its compiler, "Christians of those whom the Norsemen call 'Papas'; but they straightway retired because they did not wish to abide there with Pagans. They left behind them Irish books and bells and crosses, whence one may gather that they were Irish." Ari is equally emphatic in another passage: "Before Iceland was settled by the Norsemen . . . there were Christians there, and it is thought that they came from countries to the west, for Irish books, bells, and crosses have been found . . . at Papey and Papýle in the east [of Iceland]." Finally Dicuil asserts that "monks have dwelt thirty years in the Isle of Thule between February and August."⁵ He speaks of the short-

¹ Cf. Sax. Chron., year 891, and the poem quoted in Reeves' 'Adanman,' 285:

"Delightful to be on Benn-Edar
After coming o'er the white-bosomed sea,
To row one's little coracle
O'hone! on the swift-waved shore,
How rapid the speed of my coracle,
And its stem turned upon Derry."

² Dicuil, author of 'De Mensura Orbis,' *circa*, 825 A.D.

³ Beauvois, 'Compte Rendu: Congrès des Américanistes' (Nancy, 1875), p. 68.

⁴ The 'Íslandingabók' was written about 1120, or a little later, by Ari Froði, *vide* Chapter I.

⁵ 'De Mens. Orbis,' vii. 2.

ness of the summer nights, denies that the island is surrounded by ice, and mentions a frozen sea one day's sail to the north. It appears from his words that the monks voyaged to Iceland even in winter. The strength of this testimony finds corroboration in what we read elsewhere of the Irish anchorites, and it is difficult to refuse them the credit of discovering Iceland during the eighth century.

Whether they went farther still afield is a matter for speculation. From Iceland to Greenland is only a short passage—not very much longer than that from the Shetlands to the Faroes or from the Faroes to Iceland. There may too have been land at some time between, as the early Norse voyagers mention “Gunnibjorn's” skerries, whilst an early map marks a *terra quae fuit totaliter combusta*. There are hints and stories of earlier white settlers, both on the Greenland coast and farther south towards Winland, in the Norse Sagas. On these has been based the Irish claim to the discovery of America. It does not appear to the writer that there is intrinsic improbability in such a claim, but the evidence with the lapse of time must necessarily be vague, shadowy and inconclusive.¹

The passages in the Sagas which may refer to these Irish missionaries or settlers are as follows: “Leif Eriksson sailed to Greenland, and found men upon a wreck at sea, and succoured them² . . . Then likewise he discovered Winland the Good.” This is probably the event to which allusion is made elsewhere—“Leif found Winland . . . and he then found merchants in evil plight at sea, and restored them to life by God's mercy.” There is nothing whatever to show that they were not daring Norsemen; indeed, the Plateybook would lead us to suppose this. Karlsefni, sailing south on a later voyage, discovered—if we can believe the Saga—new-sown wheat in Vinland,³ and also came upon the keel of a ship on the coast.⁴ Thorwald, brother of Leif, saw in the same place a “wooden shelter for grain.”⁵ In “Markland,” he captured five

¹ Beauvois is the most devoted apostle of the Irish claim. Reeves, the most recent authority, considers the stories puzzling, and not to be readily explained away. Torfœus, Rafn, Zesterman, and De Costa are amongst the other believers. Winsor, ‘Hist. America,’ i. 83, appears sceptical, as also is Laing, editor of ‘Heimskringla.’ Cunningham, W., ‘Growth of English Industry’ (i. 86), is favourable.

² Saga of Eric the Red. Reeves, ‘Finding of Winland,’ 37.

³ *Ib.*, 47. Reeves translates “self-sown wheat,” and believes it to have been wild rice.

⁴ *Ib.*, 43. Reeves supposes it was the remains of one of Red Erik's ships carried south by the current.

⁵ *Ib.*, 68.

“Skrellings,” or probably Eskimos, of whom one was bearded. “They told him that there was a land on the other side over against their country which was inhabited by people who wore white garments, and yelled loudly, and carried poles before them to which rags were attached; and people believe that this must have been White-man’s-land, or Ireland the Great.”¹ In the ‘Íslendingabók’ comes a story of Ari Marsson, who, in the tenth century, “was driven out of his course at sea to ‘White-man’s-land,’ which is called by some people Ireland the Great: it lies westward in the sea near Winland the Good: it is said to be six days’ sail west of Ireland. Ari could not depart thence and was baptised there. The first account of this was given by Rafn . . . who sailed to Limerick, and abode a long time at Limerick.”² And Thorkill states that Icelanders reported Ari had been recognised there and was not permitted to leave, but was treated with great respect.”³

In the Eyrbyggja Saga,⁴ which is of far less historic value, is a tale that has usually been connected with Ireland the Great. According to this, a certain chief, Bjorn Asbrandsson, sailed from Iceland in a ship and vanished. Some years later, early in the eleventh century, Gudleif was “engaged in a trading voyage westward to Dublin, and when he sailed from the west it was his intention to proceed to Iceland.” Sailing west from Ireland, north-east winds caught him and his men, and drove them far from their course to the south, and all trace of land was lost. The summer was nearly over when they came in sight of a great country, which they did not know, and entered a good harbour, and men came to them who seemed to them to speak Irish. They were seized and carried inland, when a council was held to determine their fate. But whilst the council was being held, a body of men rode up with a chief and a banner in their midst. This chief was tall and warlike, advanced in years and white of hair. The people honoured

¹ The Saga of Red Erik is probably as old as the thirteenth century in its present form. *Op. cit.*, 23, 24. The discovery of Winland by the Norsemen took place about 1000 A.D.

² Limerick was at an early date the seat of a Norse kingdom.

³ ‘Íslendingabók,’ 10, 11. ‘Landnámabók,’ ii. xxii.

⁴ The Eyrbyggja Saga dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, and contains much that is evidently fabulous. It covers the period from the colonisation of Iceland by the Norsemen to the middle of the eleventh century. It contains the history of the notable men of the Thorsness peninsula in West Ireland, and of the Eyrbyggjes who were the lords of Eyre.

him greatly. He accosted the Northmen in their own tongue and showed a knowledge of Iceland. Finally he permitted the Norsemen to go, with the warning that they had better leave the country and never return. He gave Gudleif a gold ring which, when he went back to Iceland, the people to whom it was shown knew 'to be Bjorn's, who had vanished years before.'¹ In this passage there is nothing to identify the strange land with Ireland the Great, except the allusion to the Irish tongue. The identification has been the work of later scribes, and the story has much of the fabulous and improbable about it; for example, the portentous length of the voyage, and the presence of horses on the American mainland.²

With these Norse passages may be given the vague tradition, said to be recorded in the early Irish chronicles, that "Ireland the Great was known to the west, a great country"; and the mention in the Arabian geographer Edrisius in the twelfth century of "Irandah-al-Kabirah," or Ireland the Great, as lying a day's sail beyond "Rsklandah," which is assumed to be a copyist's error for "Islandah."³

Enthusiasts for the Irish discovery have made the most of these passages, and there has been the usual attempt to find philological resemblances to the Gaelic in the languages of the American natives. Ireland the Great has been variously assumed to lie about the mouth of the St. Lawrence, south of this on the Floridian coast, in Mexico, in Cuba, Brazil, and the Azores. There is no ground in history for any of these identifications. Beauvois, indeed, has seen in the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, who came from Tula, some allusion to Irish missionaries from Thule, and has found in Mexican rites traces of Celtic Christian ritual.⁴ But all this is guess-work, however ingenious. It is sufficient to know for certain that the Irish, about the time when the Norsemen were beginning to appear on their coast, or even earlier, had sailed to the Orkneys, Shetlands, Faroes, and Iceland, and that there was a general tradition amongst the Norsemen, and even in Ireland, long before the voyages of Columbus, to the effect that beyond the Atlantic lay a country

¹ *Op. cit.* 84-87.

² Efforts have been made to evade this difficulty by supposing that Bjorn and his companions rode or were carried in litters.

³ Beauvois, 'Compte Rendu: Congrès de Américanistes' (1875), p. 81. "Three days' navigation from the northern point of Scotland is Rsklandah, 400 miles long and 150 broad: thence to Irandah-el-Kabirah is one day's sail."

⁴ Beauvois, 'Compte Rendu: Congrès de Américanistes' (1883), p. 86.

peopled with white men, who spoke a tongue which sounded like Irish. Some have argued that Ireland the Great was only Spain, but this is hardly probable: others have seen in the legend a reflection of the Gaelic voyages to Iceland, with which they would identify Ireland the Great. The story of the Zeni has been called in as testimony, and "Estotiland" has been converted into "Escotiland," or Scotland, the old name for Ireland. The white-robed priests waving banners, chanting, and carrying with them bells and books to these far distant shores, have shared the common fate of the bulk of mankind and vanished without leaving a trace of their name or race in Ireland the Great. Their names still abide in the lonely Orkneys, where also may be seen to this day their cells, and in far Iceland. It may even be that their blood flows in the fast-vanishing Red Indian of to-day. But guesses and conjectures can ill supply the place of historical record and evidence, though if the Irish could sail to Iceland in coracles there are few feats of navigation which we could pronounce impossible for them.

It is a curious fact that when the Saxons had settled down in England they appear to have lost their skill in seamanship.¹ The influence of Christianity, to which they were rapidly converted, was in some degree against the ferocious piracy of those days, which alone made sea-faring profitable. None the less, they held trade in high honour, and all through the centuries of their domination the wealth of England was increasing. Offa, King of Mercia, endeavoured to end the reliance upon foreign transport and encouraged his people to build ships and carry their goods themselves.² He also concluded treaties of reciprocity for the protection of his merchants; but quarrels with Charlemagne interfered with his objects.³ Alfred greatly improved the art of shipbuilding, constructing larger and more serviceable vessels;⁴ whilst Athelstan ordained that any merchant who made three successful voyages should be a Thane.⁵

In Alfred's reign⁶ the presence of the Danes and Norwegians,

¹ Northumbria had a considerable fleet, which, under Edwin (*circa* 620), subdued the isles of Anglesey and Man. See Bede, 'Ecc. Hist.' ii. v.

² Lindsay, W., 'Merchant Shipping,' i. 341.

³ Matt. Paris, 'Chron. Majora,' Chron. and Rolls Series, i. 348; Lappenberg, 'England,' 231, 232.

⁴ Sax. Chron. A.D. 897.

⁵ 'Auct. Laws,' 81; cf. Strutt, 'Chronicles,' i. 337.

⁶ The "voyages" of Arculf and Willibald about 690 and 720 are interesting—though a great part of their journey was certainly performed on land—as showing the

who were appearing on the coast, plundering and burning, as the Saxons had done centuries before, reawakened an interest in geography and exploration. Alfred's anxiety to learn of distant countries led him to send for two hardy Danish sailors, Ohthere, or Oddr, and Wulfstan. The former was a nobleman of great wealth and power. He told the king that he lived farthest to the north of all Norsemen. "The land thence is very far to the north, but it is all waste. And on a certain time he wished to find how far to the north land lay. So he sailed north as far as whale hunters ever go and thence north again three days. Then the land bent east, and he sailed along it four days till the land bent south, and he sailed also to the south five days till he came to a great river, up which he dared not sail, for it was all inhabited."¹ On a second voyage he went to "Sciringesheal,"² and thence to Haddeby [in Schleswig]. On this voyage he passed Iceland on the right and then the islands which are between Iceland and Britain.

Wulfstan³ said that he went from Haddeby to Trusö in seven days and nights, and that the ship was running all the way with sail. He had Weonodland (Mecklenburg and Pomerania) on the right, and Langland Falstey and Sconey (Skanör, S. Sweden) on his left. Then he passed Bornhohn, the people of which had their own king, Bleking, Oland, and Gotland, which belonged to Sweden. Next he came to the land of the Wends and the great river Vistula, near which lies Witland of the Esthonians. He notes that the Vistula runs into the Frische Haff, and gives the dimensions of the latter correctly, showing clearly his personal knowledge. Esthonia

early lines of navigation in the Mediterranean. Areulf was not certainly English; he was a bishop, and perhaps a French bishop. He visited Adanman, Abbot of Iona (see p. 60), who wrote his travels. It appears that he was a pilgrim to the Holy Land. He sailed from Palestine—how he got there is not stated—to Alexandria, Crete, Constantinople, and thence by Sicily to Rome. Willibald, Bishop of Eichstadt, *obit* 786, was a native of Hampshire, and father of S. Walpurgis. In 718 he travelled overland to Rome, and thence went to Palestine, voyaging in a ship from Gaëta to Naples, Reggio, Catania, Samos, and Ephesus. Thence he went on foot to Patera, where again he took ship for Miletus, Cyprus, and Tarsus. He proceeded to Palestine on foot, and returning embarked at Tyre, whence he sailed for Constantinople, Sicily, and Naples. No interesting details are given of the voyage, for which, see 'Early Travels in Palestine' (Bohn, 1847), pp. 13-22.

¹ Alfred's 'Orosius' (Bohn), 219. He evidently sailed into the White Sea and the mouth of the Dwina.

² Not certainly identified. Possibly Christiania.

³ Bosworth, J., 'Alfred the Great's Description of Europe' (London, fol. 1855), pp. 18-24 of the translation.

is described as very large, with numerous towns and a king in each. There is much honey, and no stint of fish, whilst the nobles drink mare's milk and the poor mead. The dead are burnt after days or months of wassail.¹ The relatives preserve the bodies during this period by "bringing the cold upon them," or by the use of ice.²

Alfred is also said to have sent Sighelm, apparently a layman of distinction, to the tombs of SS. Thomas and Bartholemew in India. He had, according to the Saxon Chronicle, made a vow to this effect,³ probably when England was in possession of the Danes. Sighelm, with Athelstan, carried royal gifts to Rome, and then must have taken ship for Egypt. After that they would follow the eastern trade route through the Red Sea. No details of the voyage survive, except that the ambassadors returned safely, bringing rich presents of gems and spices to Alfred. Evidence of increasing navigation is afforded by Alfred's laws, of which the thirtieth lays down certain regulations for passengers arriving in England.

Throughout the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries the Norsemen and the Danes, a terrible race of freebooters, were arriving and settling on our coasts. The boldest and most successful of navigators, for whom the sea had no terrors, it is to them perhaps that the England of to-day most owes its love of the sea. As they successively occupied the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and the fairest spots on the coasts of England and Ireland, and became dwellers in Britain, their feats concern us. They were of two races, dark and light; the first, the Danes proper; the second, the Norsemen or Norwegians. They fared over-sea from the iron-bound and barren coasts of Norway, or from the flat sandy plains of Denmark, guided by the stars, as the compass was then unknown; and when near, but out of sight of land, loosed birds to know in which direction to steer.⁴

¹ It is known that the ancient Prussians burnt their dead. Bosworth, p. 23, note 32. This truth shows that Wulfstan was not romancing.

² Wulfstan is called an Englishman in Hakluyt, but this appears to be only an assertion.

³ Sax. Chron., A.D. 883. Cunningham, W., in 'Growth of English Industry,' i. 81, gives Sigeburt, Bishop of Sherbourne, for Sighelm. The credibility of the voyage has been questioned, but unjustly it would seem. It is not mentioned in Asser. A close intercourse with Rome was kept up in Alfred's days; travellers, of course, going overland. Æthelhelm was sent 887, Beocca 888; *vide* Saxon Chronicle. The Northmen at an early date had a trade route to the East, as a great number of Arabian coins have been dug up in Sweden. Cunningham, 81.

⁴ Forster, 'Voyages and Discoveries in the North,' considers that the Norsemen discovered the art of sailing *near* the wind (pp. 77, 78).

The first attacks of the Norsemen were directed mainly against the religious houses. They took Lindesfarne in 793; in 794 parties were in the Wear, whilst others were wasting the Western Isles and South Wales. In 802 and 806 they burnt the monastery at Iona; in 807 they were on the west and south coast of Ireland; in 815 they had planted a settlement at Armagh; in 835 they were on the Cornish coast, and thenceforward their irruptions were continuous. The Orkneys became practically part of Norway: this was their base, whence they sailed to Iceland, Ireland, England, and France. The voyages of the Orkney-men fill the Sagas, and these islanders sailed with the Viking fleets to Barcelona, Pisa, Rome, and Constantinople in the ninth century.¹ Rolf, who led the Northmen in their conquest of Normandy, was himself an Orkneyman, son of Rogvald, Earl of Orkney.

The Norseman and Dane, when in course of time they settled down and were absorbed into the population, must have imparted something of their enterprise and skill in navigation to the Anglo-Saxon. Commerce between the Scandinavians in England and the Scandinavians of Norway and Iceland would arise. Chester and Bristol began to trade with Dublin and the Far North, though the insecurity of the seas, which were infested by vikings, probably not too careful to spare their own countrymen, must have at first restricted the volume of commerce. The Christian Northmen, too, voyaged to the Holy Land; a journey of Canute's to Rome is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031, but it is not said whether he travelled overland.

A fine picture of an Orkney voyage and fight in the last year before the conversion to Christianity is given in the Earl's Saga. Thorfinn of Orkney and King Karl of Scotland had a feud, and Thorfinn harried Karl's land, but was surprised by Karl with eleven long ships when he had only five. The eleven ships rowed up against the five, when, as the poet sings—

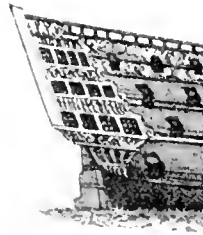
“With war snakes five the wrathful chief
Rushed 'gainst eleven of the king,
And hating flight, himself held on
His course with constant heart.
The seamen laid their ships aboard,
Along the thwarts the foemen fell.
Sharp-edged steel in blood was bathed,
Black blood of Scottish men.”

¹ Harde Sigurdsson sailed to Micklegarth.

Thorfinn's men when they landed were not gentle to their enemies. "They so fared amongst thorpes and farms, and so burned everything that not a eot stood after them. They slew, too, all the fighting men they found, but women and old men dragged themselves off to woods and wastes with weeping and wailing. Much folk, too, they made captives of war, and put them in bonds, and so drove them before them." This same Thorfinn harried Ireland, Galloway, and even North England; where, however, the English captured a band of his men and slew all but the runagates, whom they considerately returned. Thorfinn took to peace and the fear of God in his old age. The Norsemen of the Orkneys and the Södereyar, or Hebrides, and Western Isles appear to have been the boldest and most warlike of their race; whilst in the Isle of Man was a powerful Norse colony, the king of which, Hakon, is said in the Chronicles to have sailed round Britain with three thousand six hundred ships. The Manxmen are not mentioned during these early years as pirates or voyagers, though they must have been both.¹ They were soon converted to Christianity, which may have interfered with the profession of plunder.²

¹ In 973, says Oswald, 'Vestigia Manniæ insulæ antiquiora.' (Douglas, 1860, p. 117.) Macon, King of Man, was appointed Edgar's admiral on the British seas, and sailed on them with three hundred and sixty ships. This is not noticed in the Saxon Chronicle, unless Macon were one of the six kings who came to Edgar at Chester, and no authority is given.

² It must be remembered, however, that the term "pirate" carries no reproach as late as the sixteenth century, and that the most pious Christians reconciled robbery of the stranger with their facile consciences in the days of Elizabeth.



CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS, 1066-1154.

Ships of the eleventh century—The *Long Serpent*—Harold's fleet—Reasons for its failure to oppose William I.—The Normans—William I. as pirate—His claims to the English crown—His preparations—His ships—The *Mora*—The Danegeld revived—William as conqueror—The admiral's court—The law of wrecks—Ships of the twelfth century—Loss of the *White Ship*—Size of ancient vessels probably underrated—Rarity of trustworthy representations of them—M. Jal's remarks.



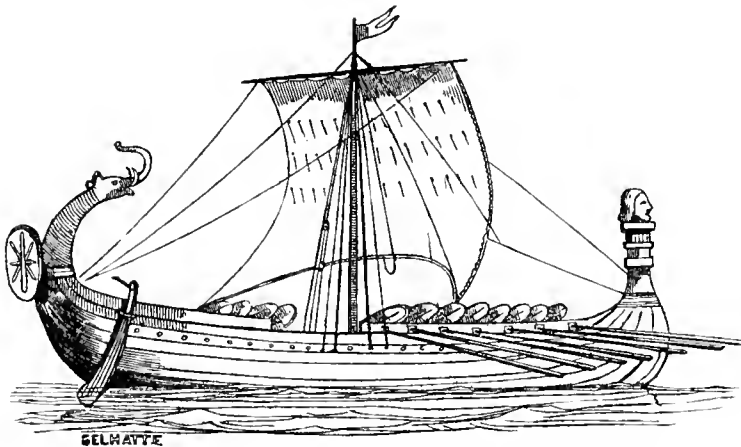
THE Anglo-Saxon ships of the period of the Norman conquest did not, in all probability, differ materially from those of a somewhat earlier date, save in that they were larger. The warships can scarcely have been very different from those of the contemporary Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, with whom the Anglo-Saxons of the first half of the eleventh century came into such frequent and unpleasant contact. The dimensions of the Gokstad ship have been given. In the eleventh century, they were largely exceeded. Even Olaf Tryggvesson, who died or disappeared about the year 1000, had a ship, the *Long Serpent*, measuring no less than 117 feet in length, and carrying 600 men. Such a vessel¹ was, of course, decked; and the usual division of the hull was into five cabins or compartments. The foremost one was the "lokit," in which, in a royal vessel, the king's standard-bearers were quartered. Next came the "sax," probably a general store-room, and the "krap-room," where sails and tackle were kept. Aft this was the "fore-room," containing the arms-chest, and forming the living-room of the warriors; and astern of all was the "lofting" or great cabin, which was devoted to the commander. In port, at night, the deck was covered with a "tilt" or ridge-pole with pillars and rafters, supporting a cloth, the ends of which seem to have been

¹ See Nicolaysen's paper on the Viking Ship.

fastened with cords to the ship's side at a level with the deck. Beneath this the rowers may have slept.

The build of merchantmen was much like that of men-of-war, except that the latter had more length in proportion to beam. A saga tells how at Nidaros¹ in 1199, King Sverre Sigurdsson seized some trading ships, hewed them in two transversely, and lengthened out their keels and sides that they might be used as war vessels. But it may well be that Harold never possessed any ships as large as the *Long Serpent*, and that most of his vessels closely resembled the Gokstad relic.

There is absolutely no reason to doubt that Harold had a



GELWATTE
 NORMAN WAR VESSEL OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.
 (As restored by M. A. Jal, after the indications in the Bayeux Tapestry, the "Roman de Rou," and the "Roman de Brut.")

considerable fleet. Indeed, the Saxon Chronicle expressly says that in the spring of 1066 the largest fleet and army ever seen in England were assembled at Sandwich to resist the invasion threatened by William of Normandy. It is not clear that any squadron of importance was detached from Sandwich against Tostig and Harold Hardrada, and therefore it becomes interesting to inquire why William, when he came, was not opposed at sea.

The explanation in the Saxon Chronicle² is a little vague and unsatisfactory. It is to the effect that the crews refused to serve after September 8th, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and

¹ Now Trondhjem. The ancient name is still borne by a Norwegian man-of-war.

² p. 463.

that, their provisions being gone, "no man could keep them there any longer." The men went to their homes, and the ships were sent up to London, many being lost on the passage. It is just possible that Edward's abolition of the Danegeld or Heregeld—re-established later, but not under Harold—may have had an influence, concerning which we know nothing definite, upon the condition of the English fleet at the moment of the Norman invasion; but it is still more likely that the king's departure from Kent to put down the troubles in Yorkshire, coupled with the fact that the seamen had been on continuous service for the unusually long period of five or six months, accounts for everything. They were not prepared nor accustomed to remain from home for so great a time; the harvest may have been spoiling in the fields, and, what more natural than that, when the royal eye was withdrawn from the fleet, the men should quit it?

The loss, no matter the explanation of it, of the command of the Channel, was very dangerous, as it must always be, to England; but it cannot be shown, either that Harold underrated the importance of having a fleet, or that he did not do all that lay in his power to hold his fleet together, while he was in the south. That Harold fought two great battles ashore, one near York and the other near Hastings, within three weeks, having been wounded in the first, and having, between the first and the second, crossed with a large army the rugged and almost roadless England of that day, is a proof, not only of extraordinary energy, but also of the terrible nature of the difficulties with which this gallant prince was harassed. Even had he, in his brief and stormy reign, failed to do half what he did, he could scarcely have been reproached.

The new conquerors of England were, with the Danes and the Saxons who had preceded them, the children of the common stock of northern pirates, assuredly the strongest stock that ever influenced the destinies of the world. But, as Professor James Rowley¹ puts it, the Normans had been advanced in civilisation some stages further than the others by a few generations of residence in the land of a more humanised people, and in the neighbourhood of settled states.

He continues: "Their marvellous efficiency in their palmy days is probably explained by their having kept their native hardiness of character—their moral muscularity, as we may call it—and their

¹ In 'Dict. of Eng. Hist.,' p. 766.

bold spirit of enterprise, unimpaired by the culture, the turn for art and taste for the finer pursuits, that they acquired by living in Gaul. Their new experience merely added intellectual keenness, deftness, and brilliancy of stroke to their resources for action; the old stimulating forces, their courage and their endurance, remained. Their ferocity had become valour, and their bodily strength the mastery of circumstances. That they owed the qualities which made their practical capacity to the good fortune that planted them on French soil, is suggested by the totally different history of their kinsfolk who had taken up their abode in other lands. The marauding bands of Norwegian pirates that had been roaming about and forming settlements along the Seine in the ninth and tenth centuries, were at last admitted to an authorised participation in the soil by an agreement that Charles the Simple made, in 912, at St. Clair, on the Epte, with their most formidable leader, Rolf the Norseman. Thus taken within the pale of continental civilisation, they rapidly profited by their advantages. They became Christians; they discarded their own and adopted the French language; they cast aside their semi-barbarous legal usages, and took those of the French cultivators of the soil, over whom they dominated; they learnt or discovered improved modes and principles of fighting; they acquired new weapons, the shield, the hauberk, the lance, and the long-bow; they became masterly horsemen; they developed an impressive style of architecture, and built churches and monasteries; they founded bishoprics; in a word, they soon furnished themselves with the whole moral, spiritual, and practical garniture of human conduct then available, with additions and improvements of their own. Their territory had increased by taking in both kindred settlements, and the lands of neighbouring peoples, till, from a vaguely described 'land of the Norsemen,' it became historic Normandy. Yet this wonderful growth was compatible with a political condition which was often not far removed from anarchy. The aristocratic class that the free-living, hot-natured pirate leaders had founded, and the unrestrained passions of the dukes, replenished from generation to generation, were ever on the watch for an opportunity to break loose from all rule, and govern themselves and the native tillers of the soil that lay beneath them, at their sole discretion. Nor did the sense of moral obligation keep pace with the other elements of progress; a connection free from the marriage tie was held no shame; bastardy brought no taint. But

in spite of these defects, the Normans made themselves the foremost race in Europe."

The period of English history ending in 1066, relieved though it was by episodes of national union and conspicuous patriotic devotion, must, upon the whole, be regarded as a period of almost continuous piratical struggles for the dominion of the island. The leading prince of the day, no matter whether he was called Cymbeline, Carausius, Allectus, Æsc, Egbert, Edward the Elder, Edgar, Canute, or Harold, was, it must be feared, little better than the strongest pirate who happened at the moment to have ships in the Narrow Seas. That several of these pirates used their power beneficently, and that a few more were, in addition, great statesmen and enlightened monarchs, can scarcely be held to alter the facts. Might counted for everything: right, and the general good of the people and of the State, for little, and often for nothing at all. Until Godwin's time, even popular opinion was practically a dormant factor; and the middle classes, as well as the masses, were only so many pawns in the stirring games played by the big sea rovers. In 1066 England was conquered by pirates for the last time.

Duke William claimed the crown of England¹ by right of donation from Edward the Confessor; by election; by grant from the Pope; and by right of arms; but he was a prince who regarded the first three grounds of claim as of small importance and cogency in comparison with the fourth. Upon the strength of the first three, he gained only a relatively feeble following; nor was the indignation of his friends much stirred either by the recollection that the Norman bishops had been driven from England by the instrumentality of the family of Godwin, or by the knowledge that Harold had forgotten his oath. The great lever wherewith William induced his nobles to identify themselves with his projects was, rather, a promise of spoil;² for the old pirate traditions were still flourishing vigorously in the hearts of all Normans, whether bishops,³ barons, or burghers. The Pope's consecrated Gonfanon was useful; the ring with a hair of St. Peter served its turn; but the conquest would not have been effected, nor

¹ 'Chron. de Norm.,' xiii. 235; Thierry, i. 283. See also Freeman, *passim*.

² Eadmer, Hist. i. 7; Will. of Malmes. 'De Gest. Pont. Angl.,' 290.

³ The Bishop of Bayeux contributed forty, and the Bishop of Le Mans thirty ships. Remi, priest of Fécamp, sent twenty men-at-arms in exchange for a promise of an English bishopric.

even attempted, had not William been able to paint in glowing colours a seductive picture of booty to be taken, and place to be won. The whole adventure was essentially piratical.

The preparations for the expedition are graphically portrayed in the Bayeux Tapestry.¹ "Workmen," says Wace, "were employed in all the ports, cutting of planks, framing of ships and boats, stretching of sails, and rearing of masts." Many of the craft were built, no doubt, with a view to the particular service, and no other; just as, more than seven centuries later, Napoleon's invasion flotilla was brought into being. For the most part, they were clearly not of the type of the regular sea-going fighting ships of the day, but much smaller, and of lighter scantling. A few only appear to have been of stouter character.

It is quite impossible to say how many ships were assembled. Wace gives the number at 696; Simeon of Durham, at 900; the 'Chronique de Normandie,' at 907 "great ships"; William of Jumièges, at "three thousand which carried sails"; and a contemporary manuscript, preserved in the Bodleian,² at 1000. William of Poitiers notes that while Agamemnon needed but 1000 vessels to conquer Troy, William required more to win the crown of England. Thierry's conclusions are that the fleet consisted of 400 capital ships, and more than a 1000 transports, carrying 60,000 troops.

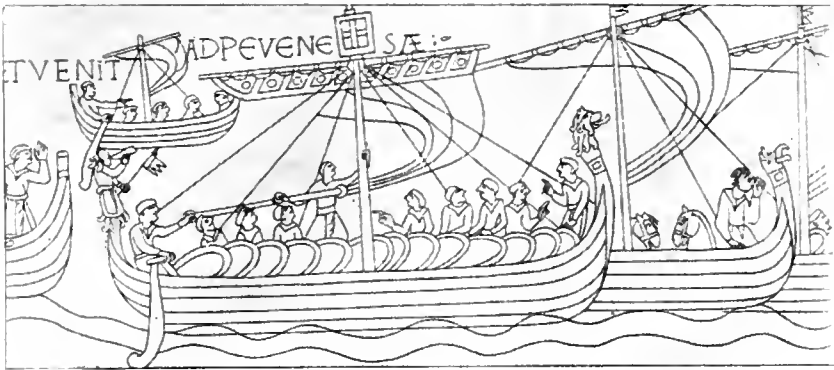
This estimate gives a mean of about forty-two men per ship; but nothing like that number can be distinguished on board any of the craft figured in the Bayeux Tapestry. Even in William's flagship, the *Mora*, only ten are visible, although thirteen shields are to be seen ranged along the starboard gunwale, and although these and the corresponding shields on the port side may lead us to suppose that at least twenty-six fighting men were present.

How far the Tapestry should be trusted as a real, and not merely a conventional representation of the events of the expedition, is a problem excessively difficult to solve; but if it be recollected that the work of illustration was done by women; that, in all probability, none of these women were with the fleet; and that in no age have women been the most accurate and trustworthy delineators of episodes in naval history, we may perhaps safely decline to consider this interesting and remarkable piece of needlework as a very serious historical document. Yet, as regards some details, it is corroborated by outside evidence. The Bodleian manuscript already

¹ Now at Bayeux, in the Hôtel de Ville.

² MS. 3632.

referred to, says of the *Mora*:—" *In prora ejusdem navis fecit fieri eadem Matildes, infantulum de auro, dextro indice monstrantem Angliam et sinistra mano imprimentem cornu eburneum ori*": which, being translated, is: "In the prow of the same ship the said Mathilda caused to be fashioned a golden figure of a boy, pointing with his right fore-finger towards England, and with his left hand pressing an ivory horn to his mouth." The Tapestry shows what is evidently this boy, but places the figure at the stern instead of at the prow, and puts the horn into the right hand, and a gonfaon into the left. This is exactly the kind of not entirely baseless inaccuracy which might be expected in a canvas worked on hearsay evidence by ladies personally unfamiliar with the matters to be celebrated; and



THE "MORA."

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

it possibly affords a fair general measure of the amount of confidence that ought to be placed in the Tapestry.

In the picture of the *Mora*, the single mast is surmounted by a gold cross,¹ below which appears a banner of white, charged with a gold cross within a blue border. There is a single sail, the sheet of which is held by the steersman; and this sail is of vertical stripes, red, brown,² and red. In his right hand, over the starboard quarter, the steersman holds the *clavus*, which is shaped somewhat like a capital J, with a cross-piece recalling the yoke of a modern boat's rudder. Other vessels in the Tapestry have an anchor hanging at the bows; or are being pulled by rowers; or are being

¹ Wace says, by a gilt brass vane and a lantern. The cross, or vane, is, unfortunately, cut off in the illustration.

² Or yellow. The colours have faded.

drawn to the water by means of ropes running through a block attached to a post; or have their single mast struck by being lowered forward; or are laden with from three to eight horses, as well as with men. The hulls of all are painted in horizontal stripes, blue, yellow, and red being the predominating colours. The horses are represented as reaching the shore by the simple process of jumping over the gunwales into the water, and then wading or swimming. The captain of the *Mora* was Stephen Fitz Erard, father or grandfather of the Thomas Fitz Stephen, who, in 1120, commanded the *Blanche Nef*, and perished with her, Prince William, and about one hundred and forty of the nobility, besides servants, on the rocks of the Ras de Catteville. Mathilda, wife of the Conqueror, for her services in providing the *Mora*, was given the county of Kent.¹ Fitz Erard was exempted from taxation in respect of his house at Southampton.²

According to some authorities, among whom Wace is to be included, William destroyed or burnt his fleet after he had effected his landing in England; but the fact is doubtful. The probability is, that if he destroyed any craft at all, he destroyed only the small temporary vessels which had been knocked together for the invasion, and which promised to be useless for other purposes; for there is no evidence that he ever underrated the value of a navy; and all that we know of him tends to prove the contrary. It is true, however, that at the beginning of his reign, he seems to have had but a small one. The greater part of the old navy of Harold had been carried off to Ireland, after that prince's death, by his sons Godwin, Magnus, and Edmund; and the comparative impunity of the various sea rovers and others who attacked the kingdom soon after the Conquest, shows that William's fleet was insignificant for the moment. It may, nevertheless, have still included all the regular warships which had taken part in the descent of 1066. But at the earliest opportunity the Conqueror largely increased it; and five years after his success, if not before, he had a respectable fighting force at sea.

It was partially supported, at least towards the conclusion of the reign, by means of a revived Danegeld, or Heregeld. In 1084 the rate was six shillings the hide of land. Under William Rufus,

¹ But Odo was later made Earl of Kent. He is believed to have died 1096, at the siege of Antioch—a fine type of turbulent fighting bishop.

² 'Domesday,' i. 52.

a Danegeld, of four shillings the hide, property of the Church not excepted, was levied for the defence of Normandy. Under Henry I., the annual Danegeld is said¹ to have been twelve pence the hide, "which was sometimes given to the tything men." Stephen at his coronation promised to remit the tax; but Selden² declares that it was occasionally paid in the time of Henry II., though it may be questioned whether the tax which formed a subject of dispute between Henry and Becket in 1163 was really Danegeld, in spite of the fact that in that year "Danegeld"³ ceased to be a distinct item in the royal revenue, and made room for "donum" or "auxilium" (aid). The navy was, however, more particularly and regularly supported by the furnishing of contingents of ships and men from the ports and towns, as stipulated by their tenures. And sometimes the crown made special arrangements, as, for example, when William I.⁴ exchanged a carucate of land near Lincoln for the ship of one Utchel, as recorded in 'Domesday.'

There should be no misapprehension as to William's attitude towards England after his success. Walsingham speaks of him as "*rex electus*": Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster call him "*rex acclamatus*"; but he was in fact a despotic conqueror, and England was his spoil and booty. He seized the estates of the conquered, and gave them to his friends; and nothing can be more convincing upon this score than the words of William of Poitiers,⁵ a fighting priest, who was one of William's chaplains. "The English merchants," he says, "add to the opulence of their country, rich in its own fertility, still greater riches and more valuable treasures by importation. These imported treasures, which were considerable, both for their quantity and their quality, were either to have been hoarded up for the gratification of their avarice, or to have been dissipated in the indulgence of their luxurious inclinations. But William seized them, and bestowed part on his victorious army, part on churches and monasteries; and to the Pope and the Church of Rome he sent an incredible mass of money in gold, and many ornaments that would have been admired even at Constantinople."

Much has been made of the fact that William, after Senlac and

¹ Anct. Laws, 228.

² 'Mare Claus.,' xxv.

³ For the whole subject, see Freeman's 'Norm. Conq.,' iv., and Stubbs's 'Constit. Hist.'

⁴ 'Domesday,' i. 336.

⁵ Will. of Poit., 266.

the advance on London, was actually offered the crown by the elders of the kingdom; but it must be borne in mind that Edgar Atheling was the first choice of these elders, and that it was only after they realised that William had power to compel submission that, probably with a view to saving their possessions from total confiscation, they submitted. Nor did the country, as a whole, submit even then. The west was unconquered until 1068; the north was undominated for two years longer. While we allow William to have been a great statesman, and Norman rule to have been a wholesome tonic episode for England, we need not shut our eyes to the truth that the Conqueror took and held the conquest by the might of his sword, and without the smallest regard to the wishes of any section of the native population. In this respect, he differed from William III. who, also, in some sense, was a conqueror. William I. struck upon his own initiative, and for his own ends: William II. came over with a mandate in his pocket from the best part of the nation. After 1066, in consequence, England was merged in William I.; while, after 1088, William III. was merged in England.

There was much naval activity, as will appear in the next chapter, in the reigns of William I. and William Rufus; but few records bearing upon the subject of naval improvements, or of the civil side of maritime affairs, have reached us, either from those reigns or from the reign of Stephen.

But the reign of Henry I. is interesting as having, apparently, witnessed the first definite establishment of an Admiral's Court (Court of Admiralty) in England, and as having produced several laws regulating maritime affairs. The Admiral's Court was, no doubt, a gradual outgrowth of institutions which had existed under the Saxon kings, every admiral or superior sea-commander having, of necessity, a certain jurisdiction, in order to enable him to maintain discipline and to protect the interests of those under him. Prynne, commentating Coke, alludes to an ordinance¹ made at Ipswich, in the reign of Henry I., by the Admirals of the North and West, containing the procedure for outlawing and banishing persons attainted in the Admiral's Court of felony or trespass; and as there is no earlier mention of such a court, but only of previous ordinances, it may be concluded that the Admiral's Court, known by that name, dates from that time.

¹ In the 'Black Book of the Admiralty.'

The ancient Common Law, relating to wrecks, directed that when a vessel was lost at sea, and the goods or cargo floated to land, they should belong to the king, in accordance with a harsh principle to the effect that, as Blackstone says, by the loss of the ship, all property in it passes away from the original owner. But Henry modified this, and ordained that, if any person escaped alive from the ship, it should not be deemed to be a wreck.¹

Some judgment may be formed of the size and nature of ships of the period, from the story of the accident which has already been touched upon as having befallen several members of the royal family, in the year 1120. Henry I. had been for some time in Normandy and, in November, assembled a squadron at Barfleur to convoy him back to England. He was met by Thomas Fitz Stephen, commanding a vessel described as *La Blanche Nef*, who, upon the strength of his ancestor having steered William I. to England, prayed the king to go on board his ship, and make the passage in her. The *White Ship* had been lately built to the order of Prince William, Henry's only legitimate son, a young man of about eighteen, who had, a very short time before, married a daughter of the Count of Anjou. Henry had made other arrangements for his own passage, but bade Thomas Fitz Stephen carry over the princes and princesses. Accordingly, there went on board, Prince William, his natural brother Richard, his natural sister Mary, Countess of Perche, Richard, Earl of Chester, and his wife Lucia, niece to the king, and about a hundred and forty nobles, of whom eighteen were ladies of high rank. There was an equal number of servants, seamen, etc., or about three hundred in all. The *White Ship* pulled fifty oars, and Prince William, who was interested in her, induced the captain and sailors, by plying them with wine, to race the royal galley, in which Henry was.

The king's ship had already sailed when the *White Ship* weighed after sundown. Fitz Stephen, in hopes of gaining on the chase, kept his vessel as close in shore as possible, trusting to the bright moonlight to enable him to avoid the rocks; but he presently struck on a reef in the Ras de Catteville, and stove in the *White Ship's* port side. "The crowded state of the vessel," says Nicolas, "and perhaps the inebriated condition of the crew," rendered useless all efforts to get the ship into a position of safety, and she soon went down. When she first struck, the seamen got out a boat, and put

¹ Blackstone, i. 290.

Prince William and a few more into it; and these pushed off, and might have escaped, had not the prince insisted on returning to the rescue of his half-sister. As the boat neared the wreck, so many people leapt into her that she capsized, and all in her were lost. Two persons clung to the mast of the *White Ship*. One, cramped by the chill of the night, fell off and was drowned; and the only man who survived, to be saved next morning by fishermen from the shore, was Berauld, a butcher of Rouen.¹

Nicolas² considers that the numbers said to have embarked in the *White Ship* on this occasion must have been exaggerated, "for it is exceedingly doubtful if any vessel of the period was capable of holding so many people." It seems unnecessary to raise such an objection. We have little definite information concerning the dimensions of the largest ships of the time, but if Olaf Tryggvesson, at the end of the tenth century, built, as the Norse chroniclers tell us, a vessel 117 feet long, there is surely no reason why Prince William, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, should not have built a ship of equal length; and such an one could have carried three hundred people without much difficulty.

We are, most of us, liable to be influenced in our estimate of the ships of remote periods by the rude and obviously inaccurate representations that have been handed down to us, especially on coins and sculptures. In those days there were no people who, after following the sea and learning what ships were like, did as artistically inclined naval officers of the nineteenth century have done over and over again. The painter, the medallist, and the sculptor were landmen; and we are no wiser in trusting their versions of what ships were like, than we should be in trusting a modern North Sea fisherman's version of what some totally unfamiliar instrument, such as a pulsometer, or a polariscope, is like.³

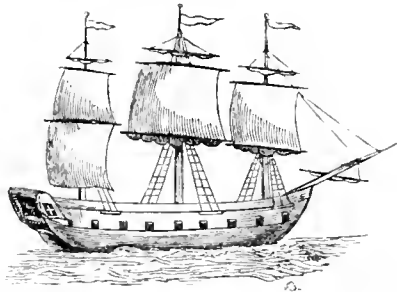
¹ Sim. of Durham, 242; Brompton, 1012; Will. of Malmes. ii. 653; Ord. Vit. 867, etc.

² I. 101.

³ M. Jal, writing on this subject, calls attention to the small bas-reliefs of ships cast on the gas-standards for the Paris boulevards by M. A. Muel in 1837 (see cut, next page), and to the extraordinary representations of galleys to be found in various modern paintings and sculptures of the arms of Paris; and he imagines an archaeologist of some future age commenting as follows upon relics discovered in the ruins of the French capital: "The vessels which we find represented on the bases of candelabras, on the beaks of rostral columns, on shields, and on the pedestals of certain statues emblematic of towns, faithfully figure the French vessels of the early years of the nineteenth century. This is beyond all doubt. A plan of Paris for 1839 shows us the Ministry of Marine close to the place which was thus ornamented with so many ships, probably on

Moreover, in those ages, all artistic representation was highly conventional. What would the Oriental artist who designed the first willow-pattern plate give us by way of a picture of a torpedo-boat destroyer? How far an ingrained instinct for the conventional treatment of things may lead the artist astray, was well shown in some of the Japanese and Chinese illustrations of events in the war between China and Japan in 1894-95. Many of the most curious of these were executed by eye-witnesses of the operations commemorated, and were obviously intended to be honest records, so far as the conventionalities permitted. Where absolute ignorance of the real nature of the object represented has co-operated with conventionalism as abject as any that ever limited a Chinaman, no result that can be very edifying to the modern eye is to be expected.

account of the vicinity of that Ministry, and in order to commemorate the transport to France, by the French navy, of the obelisk of Luxor. Here is one proof. The 'Almanack Royal et National' of the same date informs us that in the Louvre there was a Naval Museum, that at the head of the Ministry of Marine there was a vice-admiral, that to assist this vice-admiral there was a *Conseil de l'Amirauté*, and, finally, that there were two painters attached to the Ministry. Here is another proof. It is impossible to suppose that, under the very noses of such authorities, artists could have made imaginary representations of ships, and the Government could have adopted such representations in preference to more accurate ones." As may be seen, the artist of 1837 played fast and loose as well with the wind as with the ship. His wind blows in two directions simultaneously; and the ship apparently progresses stem foremost. 'Archéologie Navale,' i. 36-38.



MISLEADING EFFIGY OF A SHIP, AS SHOWN ON GAS-STANDARDS CAST IN 1837
FOR THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE MINISTRY OF MARINE, PARIS.

(From Jal's 'Archéologie Navale,' 1840.)

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY HISTORY OF NAVAL AFFAIRS, 1066-1154.

The Norman Conquest—William crosses the Channel—Harold's energy and gallantry—The battle of Senlac—Descents by the sons of Harold—Danish attempts on England—William improves his fleet—Operations against Scotland and Maine—William's naval prestige—Success of William Rufus—Robert's mismanagement of the fleet—Success of Magnus—Robert's claim to the crown—His good fortune and his weakness—Stephen remits the Danegeld to the prejudice of the navy.



WHEN William, Duke of Normandy, had determined to invade England, with the view to secure for himself the crown of Edward the Confessor, he found himself face to face with great difficulties,¹ which he overcame only by convincing his rather reluctant followers that the spoils of the island, in the shape of lands, wealth, preferment, and well-dowered heiresses,² would amply repay them for the trouble and expense incurred. But, having appealed to them on these grounds, and on the ground of religious duty, he quickly secured general support, and gradually assembled the necessary transports and war vessels in the mouth of the little River Dives, near the modern Trouville, where also he collected his army.

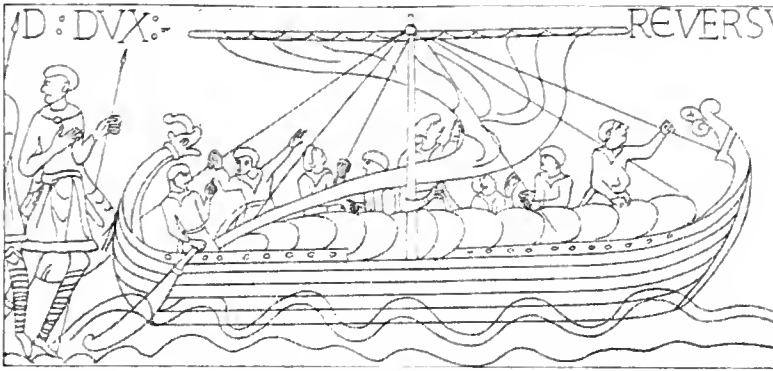
There the armada was delayed by contrary winds for about a month, but at length weighing, it made its way north-eastward, along the coast, suffering from continued foul weather on the passage, and losing several ships, with their crews, until it dropped anchor off Saint Valery-en-Caux, a few miles westward of Dieppe. The summer seems to have been an unusually wet and rough one. Rain and unfavourable winds succeeded one another, trying the patience of all concerned, and imperilling the venture; and William found it expedient to keep up the enthusiasm of his followers with

¹ 'Chron. de Norm.' xiii. 235.

² Will. of Malines; 'De Gest. Pont. Angl.' 290; Ord. Vit., p. 494; Eadmer, i. 7.

frequent religious services, and their spirits with drink.¹ Even these resources were, however, beginning to fail him, and a conviction that Heaven itself was opposing the design was rapidly taking possession of the superstitious Normans, when, in the night following a specially ornate and impressive service,² in the presence of the holy relics of Saint Valery, wind and weather moderated. Next morning the troops were again embarked, and before sunset on September 27th, 1066, the entire force was under weigh.

The duke himself led the fleet in the *Mora*, which, by dawn, had so far outsailed her consorts that not one of them was visible, even from the masthead. The ship was therefore anchored, and the people went to breakfast, spiced wines, among other things, being



HAROLD'S SHIP.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

served. After breakfast, first four and then numerous vessels were sighted,³ and when the major part of the fleet had come up, the duke weighed again and proceeded. A few hours later, on September 28th, he effected an unopposed landing in Pevensey Bay, and, according to Wace, destroyed his fleet as soon as he had thrown his army on shore.

William remained for a time on the coast, expecting reinforcements, while Harold hurried across England, to make a concentration of his forces at London. Speaking generally, the south flocked to him, while the north held aloof. Harold was counselled to send one army forward to strike at the invader, and to himself remain in London, to organise another as a second line of defence; but the advice did not agree with his brave and impetuous nature.

¹ Will. of Poit. 198.

² Wace, 116.

³ Will. of Poit. 199.

He pressed south, with all men whom he had managed to draw to his standard, and, on October 13th, encamped on Senlac Hill, which he fortified with a ditch and a palisade.

In the meanwhile, William's reinforcements miscarried. They, too, were probably to have landed at Pevensey, but they went further to the eastward, disembarked at Romney, and were attacked and routed by the inhabitants.

The Normans spent the night in confession and prayer, and in the morning advanced over the high ground of Telliam to the valley at the foot of Senlac.¹ The invaders were in three main divisions. On their right were mercenaries under Roger Montgomery and William FitzOsbern, afterwards Earl of Hereford; on the left were the Poitevins and Bretons, under Alan of Bretagne; and in the centre were the archers and men-at-arms of Normandy, under the duke himself. In each division, archers were in the van, footmen in the centre or main body, and cavalry in the rear.

As for the English, who were behind their palisade, the Huscarls, or Thingamen, regular troops of the king, held the centre, while the wings were formed, inefficiently enough, of raw and ill-armed country levies.

The Norman attack was prefaced at nine o'clock by heavy arrow-fire, under cover of which the infantry presently assaulted, but could make no impression. Indeed, the Norman left broke and fled, and the English right got out of hand, in spite of Harold's orders, and pursued. William personally drove back his fleeing Bretons, who, as soon as they had re-formed, easily routed their pursuers, and forced the remnant of them again within the enclosure. But the English held their own on the hill, though whenever they sallied forth they were repulsed. At length the Norman right scaled the slope on the English left; and, seeing all ready for the final onslaught, William bade his archers fire high, so as to drop their arrows over the palisade upon the heads of the defenders. This greatly annoyed the English, who, in addition, were beginning to feel the effects of their prolonged exertions. At the critical moment Harold, the soul of his army, fell, struck by an arrow in the eye. The Huscarls ranged themselves around their fallen leader, and prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible; the country levies took to flight; and, as the night gathered, ever smaller grew

¹ For the Battle of Hastings, see Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' iii.; William of Poitiers's 'Gesta Gulielmi'; Wace's 'Roman de Rou'; and the Bayeux Tapestry.

the knot of stern men swinging their Danish axes on the Hill of Senlac, until the last went down, and the battle was lost. Harold fell at six in the evening, after the fight had raged for nine hours. The slaughter and pursuit continued until far into the hours of darkness, and until 60,000 Englishmen had perished.

Instead of at once marching upon London, the conqueror waited on the south coast until he had burnt Romney,¹ by way of chastisement to its inhabitants for having interfered with his reinforcements, and until he had besieged and taken Dover.

The story of how William completed his conquest needs telling here only so far as it falls directly within the limits of naval history.

He had not been a year upon the throne ere one of the three sons of Harold, who had sought refuge in Ireland, and who, after the fall of their father, behaved much as Prince Rupert behaved after the fall of Charles I., undertook a piratical expedition into the Bristol Channel. At Bristol he was beaten back to his ships, but in Somersetshire he landed, and fought an indecisive battle, in which he killed, among others, Ednoth, William's Master of the Horse. He does not seem, however, to have been very successful, and he returned to Ireland without having accomplished much.² The exiled princes made another descent in the following year, when they landed in the Tavy with sixty-four vessels, but were so badly used by the Devonshire people, that scarcely two ships' crews escaped to sea.³

Far more formidable was an attempt made, in 1069, to disturb the new order of things in England. Sweyn, King of Denmark, conceiving himself to have inherited some right to the crown, and being encouraged by the Dano-Saxon party in England, as well, apparently, as by the sons of Harold, who had again sought refuge in Ireland, equipped a great fleet of two hundred and forty ships,⁴ and put it under the command of his brother Osbern and his sons Harold and Canute.⁵ Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, who, after the Conquest, had been kindly received at the court of William, had already been removed thence by his friends to Scotland, where one of his sisters, Margaret, presently married King Malcolm III. (Canmore). Edgar was only eleven years of age,

¹ Will. of Poit. 204.

² Sax. Chron., 269 (Ingram).

³ *Ib.*, 270.

⁴ As Sim. of Durham says; but Will. of Hunt., and Matt. Paris say three hundred.

⁵ Sax. Chron. 270 (Ingram) says that three sons of Sweyn took part.

but was useful as a puppet. It was arranged that he, with three Saxon earls of influence, at the head of the Northumbrians, should join the Danes on their arrival; and although it is not now clear what advantage the Saxon royal family hoped to derive from the venture, it is plain that the combination promised to be exceedingly advantageous to the Danes. The latter entered the Humber without opposition about August, pushed up the Ouse, landed, were joined by the northern insurgents, and, after a brief and bloody campaign, stormed York, and massacred the Norman garrison.¹

In the meantime, William, with a considerable army, was advancing from the south, and the Danes, always more anxious about booty than territory, and always desirous of being within touch of the sea, left York to the care of the Northumbrians, and withdrew with their plunder and their prisoners to the head of the Humber, where they encamped for the winter in sight of their ships. William seems to have temporised with Osbern, while devoting all his energy to the punishment of the rebels, whom he completely scattered.

In the spring Sweyn in person arrived in the Humber, raided the valleys of the Nen and Great Ouse, and established himself at Ely, whence he attacked and plundered Peterborough. William, still without a fleet of sufficient force, appears to have distrusted his ability to deal with the marauders and to have at length bribed them to depart with their spoils. They sailed; but their return voyage was not a fortunate one, for they were overtaken by a storm, and lost many of their ships and much of their treasure. A few Danish vessels, probably separated by the storm from the main body, made their appearance, towards the end of the year, in the Thames, but remained only a very short time, and retired without accomplishing anything of importance.²

William had by that time made some progress in the direction of supplying himself with a fleet. In 1071 he was able to send ships, as well as land forces, against Earl Morkere, who had rebelled, and who was crushed; and in 1072 he penetrated into Scotland, as far as Fife, with the co-operation of a squadron, and at Abernethy obliged Malcolm III. to swear fealty to him,³ and to surrender Duncan, subsequently Duncan II., as a hostage. In 1073, again, William utilised his fleet for the recovery of Maine,⁴ which had

¹ Three thousand are said to have been killed. ² Sax. Chron. 276 (Ingram).

³ *Ib.*, 277, 278.

⁴ *Ib.*, 278.

rebelled ; and in 1075, when no fewer than two hundred sail, under Canute, son of Sweyn, and Earl Hakon, left Denmark to attack England, the Conqueror's prestige was so great that the enemy, upon reflection, saw fit to retire without risking a combat.¹

A few years later, in 1083 or 1085, an invasion from Denmark was once more threatened by Canute, aided by Olaf of Norway, with sixty ships, and by Robert, Count of Flanders, with six hundred,² but either spontaneous dissensions among the confederates, or disagreements judiciously fomented by the money and influence of William, caused the project to miscarry.³ Indeed, the Conqueror, although generally successful in his naval undertakings, had little respite during his reign from the machinations of his enemies abroad, and of his rebellious subjects on the continent, and at the very time of his death he was engaged in a war with France. But of the naval features of these campaigns few details have been preserved.

William Rufus, in 1087, seized the crown of England in defiance of the rights of his elder brother Robert, and in consequence, he had to keep his acquisition by means of the sword. Robert's chief supporter in England was the Conqueror's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, the most notable of the many fighting prelates of the age. Odo occupied and fortified some of the Kentish ports, while Robert collected a naval and military force in Normandy ; but the co-operation of the two leaders was ill managed, and after a first brief blush of success, Robert's straggling vessels and reinforcements destined for Odo were over and over again cut off by the squadrons of William, until, when the latter had turned the tables and assumed the offensive, the elder brother was glad to make peace.

Robert, thus reduced to inactivity, sought employment, and was entrusted in 1091 with the conduct of a considerable naval expedition against Scotland, Malcolm having re-espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling and invaded England. William, with the army, met the Scots at Leeds, and Canmore was induced to again swear fealty ; but in the meantime the English fleet fared almost as badly as would have been the case had the Scots fought and fought successfully, for it was overtaken by a storm, and many of its vessels were lost.⁴

¹ Sax. Chron., 282 (Ingram).

² Will. of Malmes. ii. 437 ; Sax. Chron., 288 (Ingram) ; Pontanus, 197.

³ Flor. of Wore., 641.

⁴ Hoveden, 265 (Savile) ; Bromton, 987.

William always cherished designs for the conquest of Wales, and pending the day when he should have leisure to turn the whole forces of his kingdom against that principality, he allowed, and probably encouraged, the border nobles to make war on their own account with the unreduced west. Numerous small wars, or free-booting raids resulted. One of these campaigns, undertaken in 1098-99 by Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh, Earl of Chester, serves, as Campbell points out, as an illustration of "how imprudent a thing it is to depend on armies without fleets,"¹ or in more modern phrase, of the importance of sea power. The Earls invaded Anglesey, where they met with little resistance, and wrung a great amount of plunder from the inhabitants; but while they were in the full tide of their success, Magnus, a northern adventurer, swooped down from the Orkneys with a small squadron, and not only took from the invaders all the spoil which they had collected, but killed Hugh of Shrewsbury.²

In the last year of his reign, William betrayed extraordinary energy in repressing a rebellion in Maine, of which, with Normandy, he had taken charge in pursuance of an agreement with his brother Robert, who had gone on the First Crusade. The king was hunting in England when he learnt that Le Mans, the capital of the province, was besieged by the insurgents. Without dismounting he rode on to the nearest seaport, and hurrying on board a small vessel, obliged the master to put to sea, in spite of the prevalent bad weather. Reminded that he was alone, he said, "I shall see who will follow me, and if I understand the youth of this kingdom, I shall have people enough." Remonstrated with on the danger of crossing the Channel with a foul wind and a heavy sea, he exclaimed, "I never heard of a king that was shipwrecked. Weigh anchor, and you will see that the wind will be with us."³ He landed safely at Barfleür, and relieved Le Mans with the troops already in Normandy. After his return he was preparing a fleet for operations beyond sea, when on August 2nd, 1100, he was accidentally killed.

Robert had shortly before returned from his crusade, and when he learnt that his youngest brother Henry had assumed the crown, he assembled a fleet at Tréport. Henry made corresponding preparations, issuing orders to the butesearles along the coasts for

¹ Campbell, i., 103 (ed. 1817).

² Sax. Chron., 317 (Ingram).

³ Will. of Malmes. ii. 502; Alf. of Beverley, ix.

a rigorous observation of persons coming from Normandy,¹ and to the fleet, to be prepared to put to sea. But the position of Henry was very precarious. He had not only a bad title but also a reputation for energetic strictness, whereas Robert had a good title, had much distinguished himself in the East, and was popular on account of his good nature and easy-going ways. Desertions from Henry reinforced Robert both by sea and by land.

The king, awaiting the expected invasion at Pevensey, dispatched his fleet to meet that of his brother as soon as he learnt that the latter had sailed. Several ships went over to the foe. The body of the fleet missed the hostile squadron, which, keeping somewhat down Channel, effected a landing at Portsmouth. Henry, after concentrating at Hastings, moved to Winchester, many of his followers quitting him, and Robert advanced, and by a courageous blow might have gained the kingdom, but that, giving way to the influence of the nobles, and of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, he suffered himself to be persuaded to treat.² In the event, Henry was recognised as King of England, and Robert received a pension and certain territorial concessions on the continent. Robert did not long adhere to his bargain, and in 1106 Henry crossed, unopposed by sea, to Normandy, won the battle of Tenchebrai, took Robert prisoner, and kept him captive at Cardiff until his death. William Clito, Robert's eldest son, maintained for some time his father's pretensions, and obliged Henry to make frequent expeditions to the continent, and also to keep a considerable fleet in readiness, until 1124, when William abandoned the struggle and retired to Flanders.

Stephen's title to the crown, like that of Henry I., was a bad one. He claimed as a son of Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror, who had married Stephen, Count of Blois; but he was a younger son at best, and there were, moreover, much nearer heirs, the nearest of all to the late king being Matilda, or Maud, only daughter of Henry I., and widow of the Emperor Henry V. Her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, was unpopular in England, and although homage had been done to Maud as the future Queen of England, in 1126, the new alliance contracted in 1128 antagonised so many of the nobles, that Stephen secured the succession without much difficulty. To reconcile his subjects to his rule, he remitted

¹ Hoveden, 268; Flor. of Worc., 650.

² Sax. Chron., 322 (Ingram); Bruton, 998; Hoveden, 268 (Savile).

the tax known as the Danegeld or Heregeld, and thus deprived himself of large part of the supplies out of which a fleet could be maintained; yet in 1137 he was able to invade Normandy¹ with an army and a considerable squadron, and in spite of the resistance of Geoffrey of Anjou, to temporarily restore the province to the English crown.

But his success was short lived. The Empress Maud, accompanied by her bastard brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester,² invaded England; and for several years afterwards the country, owing to the varying fortunes of the combatants, was in a complete state of anarchy, during which the navy was almost entirely neglected. From 1145 to 1152 the empress withdrew, and left Stephen master of England; but in the latter year the war was renewed by Maud's son Henry, then an able and popular lad of nineteen. The struggle was terminated in 1153 by the treaty which, though known as that of Wallingford, was actually concluded at Westminster, and which stipulated that Stephen should retain the kingdom during his lifetime, and should then be succeeded by Henry. Stephen profited little by this arrangement, dying on October 25th in the following year.

¹ Bromton, 1026.

² *Ib.*, 1029; Robt. of Glouc., 460.



CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1066—1154.

H. W. WILSON.

Effect of the conquest on navigation—Voyage of Saewulf to Palestine—Encounter with the Saracens—His route home—Depredations of the Orkney men—English pirates in the Mediterranean—Rognvald of Orkney's voyage—Battle with the Saracen cogs—Manner of boarding—Adelard—The Crusades—Voyages to the north—Scotland.



THE invasion and conquest of England by the Normans must have strengthened the connection between England and the continent, and so have promoted trade and navigation. In 1052, just before the conquest, the Cinque Ports are noted as possessing many ships, but English craft do not as yet appear to have ventured outside the Bay of Biscay to the south, whilst navigation to the north was, it is probable, mainly in the hands of Scandinavians. In 1095 is a curious notice of joint ownership of ships, when we hear that Godric, who later became a saint, a native of Walpole, in Norfolk, held one-half of one ship and a quarter of another. The almost absolute silence of contemporary authorities on the subject of seafaring during the Norman period, is at least remarkable, though it does not by any means prove that there were no voyages. Early in the twelfth century the Scots annalists mention the present of an Arab horse and Turkish armour, as given by King Alexander to St. Andrews. This would point to intercourse with the Mediterranean countries.

In the year 1102 one Saewulf, a merchant who afterwards became a monk at Malmesbury, pilgrimaged to the Holy Land. As usual, he seems to have gone overland to Italy, whence he sailed to the Ionian Isles, and there disembarking, travelled on foot to Negropont. After this he took ship and sailed by Tinos, Syros, Mykonos, Naxia, Karos, Amorgos, Samos, Scio, Mitylene, Patmos, Cnidus, and Cyprus to Joppa, where he found a great fleet of ships assembled, bringing pilgrims. A violent storm arose and his ship was wrecked, but he had escaped by going ashore before the

gale reached its height.¹ On his return he embarked at Joppa, but did not dare to venture out to the open sea for fear of Saracens; a statement which clearly indicates that navigators had begun to sail direct for their destination instead of deviously following the outline of the coast. Coasting along near Acre, his ship, in company with others, encountered a fleet of twenty-six Saracen vessels, which were conveying an army to "Babylonia." The Saracens surrounded the pilgrims, and two of the Christian ships fled. "But our men," says Saewulf, "ready to meet death in the cause of Christ, took their arms when the foe was a bow-shot off, and stationed themselves as quickly as might be on the fore-castle of our ship—for our dromon carried two hundred men-at-arms." For an hour the enemy debated whether to attack, and then, noting the bold face of the pilgrims, hauled off. Three of his ships were taken afterwards by certain Joppa Christians. Thence Saewulf sailed along Syria to Cyprus and Little Antioch, being hereabouts oft-times assailed by pirates, who were beaten off. Then he went by Patras, Rhodes, Stromlo (Stampali), Samos, Scio, Smyrna, Mitylene, Tenis (Tenedos), and Gallipolis to Raclea (Heraclea, now Eregh, on the Sea of Marmora), where his narrative abruptly ends.²

The Orkney-men in the Norman period caused some trouble by their depredations on the coast. In 1075, as the Saxon Chronicle tells us, a large fleet under Hakon of Norway came to plunder, but retired incontinently on hearing something of William's administration. In the days of Stephen an Orkney fleet pillaged Aberdeen, Hartlepool, Whitby, Pilawick, and Langton. On the other hand, the English had themselves taken to playing pirate in the Mediterranean. In 1102 one Hardine, an Englishman,³ was with a fleet of two hundred ships which put into Joppa, and in 1105 an English pirate named Godric sails boldly into the same port, with King Baldwin of Jerusalem. The Saracens off the port, with "20 galleys and 13 shippes," endeavoured to surround them, but "by God's help the billows of the sea swelling up and raging against them, and the king's ship gliding and passing through the waves with an easy and nimble course, arrived suddenly in the harbour of Joppa."⁴ A few years later a fleet of English, Danish, and Flemish ships arrived. The crusading warfare with the Saracens was familiarising our navigators with the waters of the Mediterranean.

¹ Of thirty ships, all but seven were wrecked.

² Wright, T., 'Early Travels in Palestine' (London, 1847), pp. xxi., 31-50.

³ Hakluyt, B. L. ii. 15.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 12.

In 1150 the Orkneyingers' Saga tells us of a great expedition made by Earl Rognvald of Orkney to the Mediterranean and Palestine. The expedition started first from Bergen, and then picked up a number of Orkney ships, sailing rather late in the summer with fifteen vessels in all. They voyaged by Scotland, Northumberland, England, and France, and came without further incident to Nerbon (probably Bilbao). There they were entertained by Queen Ermingerd, whose husband was dead; the earl took her hand and set her on his knee, as she poured out wine for him, and her folk wished him to marry her, but he would not till he had done his voyage. So he sailed west to Galicialand, in the winter before Yule, and meant to tarry there for Yuletide. And in that place was the castle of a stranger lord, which the townsmen besought him to take. This he presently assailed, heaping wood round the walls and kindling it. Then the walls of the castle yielded before the fire, and Rognvald sent for water to cool the rubble, and they cooled it and rushed in and took the castle. After this they departed from Galicialand and held on west, harrying the heathen who dwelt thereabouts. And when off Spain a great storm smote them and they lay three days at anchor, so that they shipped much water and all but lost their ships.

Anon they hoisted sail and beat out to Njörfa Sound (Gut of Gibraltar) with a cross wind, and sailed through Njörfa Sound, when the weather mended; but six ships parted company from the earl and sailed to Marseilles. Then they came to the south of Sarkland, and near Sardinia, yet they knew not that they were near land. The weather was calm, and the sea smooth, but mists hung over it though the nights were light, so that they saw scarcely at all from their ships. Now it came to pass that one morning the mist lifted, and they stood up and looked eagerly, and then saw two small islets narrow and steep; and looking again one islet had gone. Then said the earl: "Needs must these be ships which they call dromons; they are big as islands to look upon." And then he called together the bishop and his captains, and said: "I call you together for this: see ye any chance that we may win victory over those of the dromon?" And the bishop answered: "A dromon is hard to grapple with a longship; and they can pour brimstone and burning pitch under your feet and over your heads." Then said a captain, Erling: "There will be little hope in rowing against them. Yet somehow it seemeth to me that should we run under

the dromon : in this way her bolts will pass over us, if we bug her very close." And the earl said : " That is spoken like a man. Now will we make ready and row against them. And if they are Christians, then will we make peace with them ; but if they are heathens, then Almighty God will yield us this mercy that we shall win the victory over them." Then the men got out their arms and heightened the bulwarks, and rowed briskly up to the enemy ; and it seemed to them that those on the dromon dared them to come on with shoutings and hailings.

Earl Rognvald laid his ship aft alongside the dromon, and Erling, too, laid his aft. John and Aslak laid their ships forward on either board, and the others were also on either board ; and the sides of the dromon stood up so high that they could not reach up, and pitch and brimstone were poured upon them, but the weight of weapons fell beyond them in the sea. And as their onslaught prospered not, the bishop, with two others, pushed off and with bowmen drove the dromon's men to cover. Then Rognvald shouted to his men to hew asunder the broadside of the dromon ; and above Erling's ship hung the great anchor of the dromon, and the stock pointed downwards. Then was Audun the Red lifted up on the anchor stock, and others he helped up to him, till they stood thick on the stock, and hewed till they could enter the dromon. And the earl and his men boarded by the lower hold, and Erling and his by the upper ; and there were many Saracens and blackamoors on board, so that it was an exceeding hard fight. Then they slew much folk and got much goods, and took a man taller and fairer than the rest, and other captives ; and after the battle they feasted, and stripped the dromon and set her on fire. Then it was as if molten metal did flow from her, and they knew that she had carried hidden silver and gold.

Thence they sailed under Sarkland to a coast town, and made truce with the townsmen, and sold their prisoners ; but the tall man none would buy, wherefore the earl set him free. Then he rode up the country, bidding Rognvald godspeed ; but Rognvald fared to Crete in foul weather, and after whiles a fair wind came for them to go to Acreburg, and they sailed thither, and fared to the Jordan, and came back ; and after that they sailed for Micklegarth (Constantinople), and they took great pains with their sailing and came with great pomp. Menelaus was emperor of Micklegarth, and gave them much goods. They stayed there the winter ; then Rognvald

departed home, by Bulgarieland and Dyrrachburg (Durazzo), and Poule (Apulia) and Rome, to Norway.¹ In the desperate fighting of this voyage we seem, as has been justly remarked, to have a fore-taste of the exploits of Drake and Greville.

About this time, or a few years earlier, Adelard, or Aethelhard of Bath, travelled or voyaged round Spain, North Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor. Little or nothing is known about him or his adventures.² Now too we begin to find evidence of constant voyages and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, though few details are given, and we have little beyond the bare record. Thus in 1128, Hakluyt tells us that William, an Englishman, a canon regular of Jerusalem, was made Archbishop of Tyre.³ About 1143, Robertus Ketencensis travelled to Dalmatia, Greece, and Asia. A little later the Crusades began to stimulate the development of English shipping, as the knights and their followers required generally to be conveyed by sea to the Holy Land. At the same time the Norman contempt for trade was dying out, and voyages were being made from Bristowe or Bristol, to Iceland and Norway.⁴ From Grimsby chapmen sailed to the Orkneys,⁵ Norway, Scotland, and the Südereyar (Hebrides). Berwick-on-Tweed has numerous ships, and one Canute of that town, on a ship of his being captured by the east of Orkney, hired fifteen vessels, gave chase, and recaptured her.⁶ So, too, in Scotland statutes appear granting certain privileges to merchants who are trading abroad, and English fishermen begin to cross the Firth of Forth.⁷ English traders are found resident at Montpelier,⁸ and a treaty between Barbarossa and Henry II. concerning merchants and merchandise, testifies to the growing intercourse between England and Germany.⁹ At the same time the defective geographical knowledge of Giraldus Cambrensis, who flourished towards the close of the twelfth century, proves that the writers and chroniclers were ignorant of the results of these voyages.

¹ Dasent, *op. cit.* 163. I have abbreviated the original, striving to retain the archaism of style.

² Diet. Nat. Biogr., 'Adelard of Bath.'

³ Hakluyt, ii. 16.

⁴ Will. Malinesbury, 'De Gest. Pont.,' 161.

⁵ Orkneyingar Saga, 97, 98.

⁶ Torfæus Arcades, i. 32.

⁷ Macpherson, 'Annals of Commerce,' i. 324.

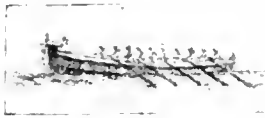
⁸ Macpherson, 335, supposes that they did not come there by sea. I do not understand why not.

⁹ Hakluyt, i. 128, 129.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1154-1399.

Effects of the Civil War—The great ports—Commerce—Twelfth-century ships—The esneeca—Galleys—Other craft—Weapons—Greek Fire—The *Trench-the-Mer*—Organisation of the Palestine Expedition—Treaty of co-operation between England and France—Rudimentary articles of war—Regulations for the fleet—Arrest of ships—The Law of Wreck—The “Ancient Towns”—The laws of Oleron—Methods of naval warfare—Longships—Cogs—Schuyts—The port reeves—Embargo on shipping—Jealousy of King John concerning English vessels—The fleet in 1205—Vessels hired from or for the king—Orders for freight—The Keeper of the Ships—Officers in the thirteenth century—Gear and stores—Dockyards—Prize-money—Enlistment and impressment of seamen—Wages—The Right of the Flag—Names of ships—Purchase of stores—Cabins—Pay under Henry III.—Rates of freight—Laying-up of ships—Prizes under Henry III.—Impressment—Police of the narrow seas—Ireland and the Navy—Provisions—Lighthouses—Flags—Privateering and piracy—Further modification of the Law of Wreck—The magnet—Bayonne and the Navy—The Welsh expeditionary squadron—The Scots expeditionary fleet—The Cinque Ports—New Charriers—“Ejections”—The Sovereignty of the Seas—Flags under Edward I.—Piracy in the narrow seas—Complements of ships—The rudder—Fireships—Quarter—Naval payments—Requisitions of shipping—Beacons—Royal fish—Ravensrode—The Flamands and the Sovereignty of the Seas—“Admiral”—Naval officers of the thirteenth century—New types of ships—*La Philippe*—“Sail stones”—Flags under Edward III.—Sales of ships to foreigners—Gunpowder—Cannon—Breechloaders—The ‘Black Book of the Admiralty’—The duties of admirals—The Channel ferry—Illegal taxation for naval purposes—Privileges of the Cinque Ports—Treaty with Portugal—Chancer’s shipman—The Walney relics.



UNDER the Angevin kings the navy of England attained at times a splendour and prestige which it had never before approached. In accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Wallingford, Henry II. peaceably succeeded Stephen at the latter’s death in October, 1154, in spite of the fact that Stephen’s son William was living, and that Henry did not arrive in England until six weeks after the late sovereign’s demise.

The truth probably is that the country was weary of civil war; for, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the sufferings of the

land had been unexampled. Describing the attitude of the nobles to Stephen, the chronicler says: "When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and soft and good, and did no justice, then did they all wonder . . . Every powerful man made his castles and held them against him. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those men that they thought had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable tortures. . . . Many thousands they killed with hunger. I cannot and may not tell all the wounds or all the tortures which they inflicted on wretched men in this land, and that lasted the nineteen years while Stephen was king; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid imposts on the towns continually, and when the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest go well all a day's journey, and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a town or the land tilled . . . Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land, nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did . . . The bishops and the clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and forlorn. However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn, for the land was all fordone by such deeds, and they said openly that Christ and his saints slept."

Although, therefore, William, son of Stephen, had his partizans, he could not command their active intervention. Henry, young, powerful, and popular, and not William, seemed to be the right man to bring order out of chaos. Already Lord of Normandy and Anjou, he had acquired by his marriage in 1152 with Eleanor of Aquitaine, a large territory in the south of France. He quickly restored peace, justice, and good government.

At that time the two great commercial ports of the kingdom were London and Bristol. Of the former William of Malmesbury¹ says, "The noble city of London, rich in the wealth of its citizens, is filled with the goods of merchants from every land, and especially from Germany, whence it happens that when there is a dearth in England on account of bad harvests, provisions can be bought there cheaper than elsewhere, and foreign merchandise is brought to the city by the famous River Thames." This German trade is again

¹ 'De Gest. Pont. Ang.' ii. 133.

mentioned in a letter¹ sent by Henry to the Emperor Frederick in 1157, and containing the phrase, "Let there be between ourselves and our subjects an indivisible unity of friendship and peace, and safe trade of merchandise." Of Bristol William of Malmesbury² tells us that "its haven was a receptacle for ships coming from Ireland and Norway, and other foreign lands, lest a region so blessed with native riches should be deprived of the benefits of foreign commerce." Henry encouraged the growing trade, and in one of his ordinances of 1181 there is a passage which reads almost like an early Angevin premonition of certain provisions of the navigation laws. It directs the itinerant justices to declare in each county that no one under the heaviest penalties should buy or sell any ship to be taken out of England, nor induce any seaman to remove thence.³

Of the size to which Henry's ships attained, some indication is afforded by the statement that in March, 1170, the foundering of a single vessel cost the lives of four hundred persons.⁴ Neither Charnock⁵ nor Southey⁶ expresses incredulity upon the point, nor does there seem to be any valid reason for refusing to accept the assertion; but Nicolas⁷ is of opinion that it is "one of the usual exaggerations of chroniclers whenever they mention numbers; or the ships of the twelfth century were at least four times larger than they are supposed to have been." The truth certainly is that twelfth-century vessels were often very much larger than Nicolas imagined them to be. Still, it is not likely that any vessels of that age were designed to carry so large a complement as four hundred. The particular vessel in question was at the time engaged upon transport duty, and may well have been crowded to the extent of double her normal crew, or even more. No British man-of-war of the eighteenth century had a proper complement of more than about 850 officers and men; yet many instances are on record of eighteenth-century ships having been at sea for considerable periods with 1200, 1500, or even 2000 souls in them. To assume that twelfth-century ships were sometimes crowded for short voyages in corresponding proportion is not unreasonable, and that assumption would reduce the normal complement of the ship of Henry II. that was lost to about 270, or even to 170.

¹ Radevicus, i. c. 17 (Hakluyt).

² 'De Gest. Pont. Aug.,' iv. 161.

³ Benedict of Peterboro, i. 365-368 (Hearne).

⁴ Brompton, 1060.

⁵ 'Marine Architecture,' i. 328.

⁶ Southey, i. 144.

⁷ Nicolas, i. 104.

The ship in which the king himself was accustomed to make his passage to and from the continent, in the twelfth century, was of the type known as "esnecca," or snake. She seems to have been a long swift vessel; but little more is known concerning her. The post of captain or "naulerus," of the esnecca, was an office of importance, and was held under Henry I., at one time by one Roger, "the son-in-law of Albert"; and under Henry II. by William and Nicholas, sons of the said Roger, conjointly.¹ The pay appears to have been 12*d.* per diem.² The king's esnecca was the first royal yacht; and, like the royal yachts of later days, was used not only for the conveyance of the sovereign, but also for that of other great and princely personages. Geoffrey of Brittany, son of Henry II., is recorded to have been a passenger in her in 1166,³ "the king's daughter" in 1176,⁴ and the Duke of Saxony, with the queen, in 1184.⁵

The reign of Richard I., who succeeded his father Henry II. in 1189, saw the opening of a new period in English naval history. For the first time the fleet undertook a distant expedition of conquest; for the first time a regular code of naval law was established, and for the first time England headed a great naval combination of the powers, and publicly took her place in the front rank of the maritime states.

The English vessels of the period were galleys, or, as they were subsequently called, galliasses, gallions, busses,⁶ dromons, visseres or ursers, barges and snakes. The distinctions separating all these classes have not been very accurately ascertained.

The galley was a reproduction, possibly with slight modifications, of the well-known Mediterranean craft of the name; the gallion was a galley with but one bank of oars; the buss was a heavy and slower vessel, of great strength and capacity; the dromon, certainly a large ship of war, seems to have been sometimes a galley of heavy burden and sometimes a vessel with sail-power only; the visser was a shallow flat-bottomed transport for horses; the barge was not unlike the modern coasting-barge or hoy, and the snake (esnecca) was the equivalent of the modern yacht or dispatch boat. There is nothing to show that any vessel of the time had more than one mast; but two and even three

¹ 'Archæologia,' vi. 116, etc.

² Dialogue of the Exchequer, i. c. vi.

³ Pipe Rolls, 12 Hen. II., roll 8*b*.

⁴ Pipe Rolls, 22 Hen. II., roll 13*b*.

⁵ *Ib.*, 31 Hen. II., roll 14*b*.

⁶ *Bussa, burcia, bucca, buera.*

sails¹ seem to have been occasionally carried, though in what position is doubtful.

The galleys rarely had more than two banks of oars, and they were long, low craft, provided with an above-water beak or ram. Above the rowers, at least in the larger craft, there seems to have been a platform on which stood the fighting men, whose shields, as in earlier days, were arranged round the bulwarks.² As for the fittings of the ships, Richard of Devizes³ notes that the chief vessels of the fleet sent from England to the Levant in 1189 had each three spare rudders, or steering paddles, thirteen anchors (probably inclusive of grapnels), thirty oars, two sails, three sets of all kinds of ropes, and duplicates of all gear except mast and boat. Besides the captain and fifteen seamen, every large ship carried forty knights (or cavalrymen), with their horses, forty footmen, fourteen servants, and twelve months' provision for all. These large vessels are described as busses. A few of them are said to have carried double the complements mentioned, so that they had 210 men, besides horses, on board.

The weapons in use in English ships of war of the twelfth century were bows and arrows, pikes or lances, axes, swords, and engines for flinging stones or other heavy missiles; and to them was added, in or before the reign of Richard III., the famous invention known as Greek Fire. This material had apparently been first prepared by Callinicus of Heliopolis about the year 665. Of its composition nothing certain is known, but it probably included among its ingredients sulphur, saltpetre, naphtha and pitch. It was liquid: it ignited upon exposure to the air: it was not extinguished by water but only by vinegar, or by sand or earth thrown upon it; and it produced suffocating fumes. It seems to have been employed in several ways. Sometimes it was forced through brazen tubes, much as water is now pumped from a fire engine; sometimes tow was impregnated with it and fastened to arrow-heads; and sometimes bottles or jars of it were used as hand-grenades, or as projectiles for ballistæ, and flung into fortresses or upon the decks of vessels. According to entries in the Pipe Rolls,⁴ some of this terrible material was sent, about the year 1194, from London to Nottingham, with other warlike stores, to be employed on the business of the king, by Urric, an engineer. Allied to Greek Fire

¹ Roger of Wendover, ii. 37.

² Vinesauf's account.

³ Rich. of Dev., 17.

⁴ Pipe Rolls, 6 Rich. I.

were missiles called "serpents," which appear to have been a species of rocket charged with, and impelled by the slow explosion of, the mixture.

Few notices have been handed down to us concerning the individual ships, or the officers and seamen of Richard's day. In or about 1197 a sum of £12 15s. 2½*d.* was paid by the king for the repair of the Bishop of Durham's "great ship"; £10 was the expense of sending her to London from the north (apparently from Stockton-on-Tees), and 13s. 4*d.* was the recompense of her master, Robert de Stockton. We know also that Richard's favourite galley was named *Trench-the-Mer*,¹ or "Cleave the Sea," and that her captain, who brought Richard back to England in 1194 after his crusade and captivity, was Alan Trenchemer. Whether Alan took his name from the galley or the galley took her name from her captain cannot be determined; but other Trenchemers are mentioned as having lived and sailed then and thereafter. Nicolas² suggests that the people of the ship may have been known as Trenchemer's, just as in later times the crew of the *Victory* were known as Victory's, and the crew of the *Duke of Wellington* as Duke's; but there is little direct evidence that the fashion of calling people after their ships, though usual in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is of very ancient date.

There is small doubt that the flag of St. George was first introduced by Richard as the regular national ensign; and there is no doubt at all that Richard first adopted the national coat-of-arms: Gules, three lions passant gardant Or.

The leaders of the fleet organised by Richard in 1189 for his expedition to Palestine are called indifferently *ductores et gubernatores totius navigii regis*; *justiciarii navigii regis*; and *ductores et constabularii navigii regis*.³ Under the king, they were the admirals⁴ of the armada; and their names were Gerard, Archbishop of Aix, Bernard, Bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sabloil, Richard de Camville, and William de Fortz, of Oleron. Camville was the founder of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire. Another distinguished yet subsidiary leader was Sir Stephen de Turnham,⁵ who in the previous reign had been Seneschal of Anjou, and who commanded

¹ Peter of Langtoft, i. 270 (Hearne).

² Nicolas, i. 86.

³ Hoveden, 373.

⁴ The actual title of admiral was not used thus early in England.

⁵ Dugdale's 'Baronage,' i. 662.

the vessel in which Richard's sister, Joan, Queen Dowager of Sicily, and his affianced wife, Berengaria of Navarre, sailed from Messina to the Holy Land.

Richard's co-operation with Philip Augustus, King of France, in the Crusade was secured by a sworn undertaking to the following effect: either of them would defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him, as regarded life, members, and worldly honour; neither would fail the other in the common business; the King of France would aid the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himself defend his own city of Paris if it were besieged; and the King of England would aid the King of France in defending his land and dominions as he would defend his own city of Rouen if it were besieged. There was further provision for the swearing of the nobles of both kingdoms to keep the peace during the absence of their sovereigns; for an undertaking by the archbishops and bishops to excommunicate any who should break their oaths; and for the continued co-operation of the English and French forces in the event of either monarch dying ere the desired results remained unattained.¹ Yet, in spite of the treaty, the two kings were on bad terms almost from the outset of the expedition, the great display made by Richard's fleet having excited the jealousy of Philip Augustus. Indeed, as a rule, no naval alliances in English history have satisfactorily carried out the objects originally intended by their promoters; and this, the first of many, was no exception.

While on his way through France, with the intention of joining his fleet at Marseilles, Richard, at Chinon on the Vienne, issued certain ordinances which may be regarded as the earliest articles of war for the government of the English navy. According to Hoveden, Matthew Paris and others, they were to this effect: ²

Anyone who should kill another on board ship should be tied to the dead body and thrown into the sea.

Anyone who should kill another on land should be tied to the dead body and buried with it in the earth.

Anyone lawfully convicted of drawing a knife or other weapon with intent to strike another, or of striking another so as to draw blood, should lose his hand.

¹ Matt. Paris gives the Latin text.

² See also Bened. of Peterboro, i, 589; Brompton, 1174.

Anyone striking another with the hand, no blood being shed, should be dipped thrice in the sea.

Anyone uttering opprobrious or contumelious words to the insulting or cursing of another should, on each occasion, pay one ounce of silver to the injured person.

Anyone lawfully convicted of theft should have his head shaved and boiling pitch poured upon it, and feathers or down should then be strewn upon it for the distinguishing of the offender; and upon the first occasion he should be put on shore.

Another ordinance enjoined all concerned to be obedient to the commanders or justices of the fleet.

A joint agreement¹ was also come to by the two monarchs as to the internal discipline of the allied forces. This stipulated that if anyone died during the expedition, he might dispose at his pleasure of all his arms and goods (so far, apparently, as those at home were concerned), and of the moiety of the effects he had with him, provided that nothing was sent back to his own country. The other moiety was to be given to the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Langres, the Master of the Templars, the Master of the Hospitallers, Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, and others for the purposes of the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels.

No one in the armies was to play at any kind of game for gain, except the knights and clerks, and they were not permitted to lose more than twenty shillings in any one day and night on penalty of a fine of one hundred shillings. The two kings might, however, play as they thought fit. The royal servants and the servants of the higher nobles might play to the amount of twenty shillings. If servants, mariners, or others were found gambling, the servants were to be flogged naked through the army on three days, and the mariners were to be dipped every morning from the ship into the sea, "after the manner of seamen," for three days, unless they could redeem themselves by paying a fine. If a pilgrim or crusader borrowed anything after he had begun his journey he was to repay it, but he was not to be held responsible for what he might have received previously. If a hired mariner or serving-man or anyone soever, except clerks and knights, quitted his lord during the expedition, no one else might receive him, unless with the consent of

¹ Bromton, 1182; *Bened. of Peterboro*, ii. 609; *Howeden*, 384b.

the lord, and anyone receiving him otherwise was to be punished. If anyone transgressed the regulations he might be excommunicated. All offences not specifically mentioned were to be dealt with by the Archbishop of Rouen and the other dignitaries already alluded to.

Other naval laws of Richard, not especially connected with the Eastern Expedition, deserve notice here. One, made early in the reign at Grimsby, enacted that if the admiral, by the king's command, arrested any ships for the king's service, and if he or his lieutenant certified the arrest, or returned into Chancery a list of the ships arrested, neither the master nor the owner of the vessels should plead against the return that the admiral and his lieutenant were of record. And if any vessel broke the arrest, and the master or owner were indicted, and convicted by a jury, the ship should be confiscated to the king.¹

In the course of the expedition, Richard granted two charters of some importance to the maritime future of his country. One, dated at Messina, altered the law of wreck, and, after declaring that the king relinquished all claim to wreck throughout his dominions, enacted that shipwrecked persons who should come alive to land should retain all their goods, and that the property of one dying on board ship should pass to his heirs, the king having his chattels only in the event of there being no other heirs.² The other, also dated at Messina, on March 27th, 1191, granted new privileges to the inhabitants of Rye and Winchelsea, in return for the full service of two ships, to make up the number of twenty ships due from the port of Hastings. This charter had the effect of putting the two "ancient towns" on very nearly the same footing of privilege as the Cinque Ports proper, Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich.³

But after all, as Nicolas⁴ says, the most memorable of Richard's maritime laws was the code known to jurists as the Laws of Oleron.⁵ Most of it had been already enacted by his mother, Queen Eleanor, under the name of the "Roll of Oleron." The Laws, which include forty-seven articles, were not expressly intended to apply to the English Navy, but rather to vessels of the

¹ Prynne's 'Animadversions,' 108, quoting the 'Black Book of the Admiralty.'

² Bened. of Peterboro, ii. 622; Hoveden, 386b.

³ Rymer's 'Fœdera,' i. 53.

⁴ Nicolas, i. 93.

⁵ Printed at length in 'A Genuine Treatise on the Dominion of the Sea,' 4to., and elsewhere.

king's continental dominions, and to merchant ships. They are, however, so curious, and so nearly connected with the subject in hand, that Nicolas's summary of their main provisions is appended.

By the first article, if a vessel arrived at Bordeaux, Rouen, or any other similar place, and was there freighted for Scotland, or any other foreign country, and was in want of stores or provisions, the master was not permitted to sell the vessel, but he might, with the advice of his crew, raise money by pledging any part of her tackle or furniture. If a vessel were wind or weather bound, the master, when a change occurred, was to consult his crew, saying to them: "Gentlemen, what think you of this wind?" and to be guided by the majority whether he should put to sea. If he did not do this, and any misfortune happened, he was to make good the damage. If a seaman sustained any hurt through drunkenness or quarrelling, the master was not bound to provide for his cure, but might turn him out of his ship. If, however, the injury occurred in the service of the ship, he was to be cured at the cost of the said ship. A sick sailor was to be sent on shore, and a lodging, candles, and one of the ship's boys, or a nurse, provided for him, with the same allowance of provisions as he would have received on board.

In case of danger in a storm, the master might, with the consent of the merchants on board, lighten the ship by throwing part of the cargo overboard; and if they did not consent, or objected to his doing so, he was not to risk the vessel, but to act as he thought proper. On their arrival in port, he and the third part of the crew were to make oath that it was done for the preservation of the vessel; and the loss was to be borne equally by the merchants. A similar proceeding was to be adopted before the mast or cables were cut away.

Before goods were shipped, the master was to satisfy the merchants of the strength of his ropes and slings; but if he did not do so, or they requested him to repair them, and a cask was stove, the master was to make it good. In cases of difference between a master and one of his crew, the man was to be denied his mess allowance thrice before he was turned out of the ship or discharged; and if the man offered reasonable satisfaction in the presence of the crew, and the master persisted in discharging him, the sailor might follow the ship to her place of destination, and demand the same wages as if he had not been sent ashore.

In case of collision by a ship under sail running on board one at anchor, owing to bad steering, if the former were damaged, the cost was to be equally divided; the master and crew of the latter making oath that the collision was accidental. The reason for this law was, it is said, "that an old decayed vessel might not purposely be put in the way of a better." It was specially provided that all anchors ought to be indicated by buoys or anchor-marks, and buoys were to bear upon them the name of their ship and her port.

Mariners of Brittany were entitled only to one meal a day, because they had beverage going and coming; but those of Normandy were to have two meals, because they had only water as the ship's allowance. As soon as the ship arrived in a wine country, the master was, however, to procure them wine.

Several regulations occur respecting the seamen's wages, which show that they were sometimes paid by a share of the freight. On arriving at Bordeaux, or any other place, two of the crew might go on shore, and take with them one meal of such victuals as were on board, and a proportion of bread, but no drink; and they were to return in sufficient time to prevent their master losing the tide.

If a pilot, from ignorance or otherwise, failed to conduct a ship in safety, and the merchants sustained any damage, he was to make full satisfaction if he had the means; if not he was to lose his head. And if the master, or any one of his mariners, cut off his head, they were not bound to answer for it; but before they had recourse to so strong a measure "they must be sure he had not wherewith to make satisfaction."

The articles of the code prove that from "an accursed custom" in some places, by which the third or fourth part of ships that were lost belonged to the lord of the place, the pilots, to ingratiate themselves with these nobles, "like faithless and treacherous villains," purposely ran the vessels on the rocks. It was therefore enacted that the said lords, and all others assisting in plundering the wreck, should be accursed and excommunicated, and punished as robbers and thieves: and that "all false and treacherous pilots should suffer a most rigorous and merciless death," and be suspended to high gibbets near the spot, which gibbets were to remain as an example in succeeding ages. The barbarous lords were to be tied to a post in the middle of their own houses, and, these being set on fire at the four corners, all were to be burnt together; the walls demolished;

the site converted into a market-place for the sale only of hogs and swine; and all the lords' goods to be confiscated to the use of the aggrieved parties. Such of the cargoes as floated ashore were to be taken care of for a year or more; and, if not then claimed, they were to be sold by the lord, and the proceeds distributed among the poor, in marriage portions to poor maids, and other charitable uses. If, as often happened, "people more barbarous, cruel, and inhuman than mad dogs" murdered shipwrecked persons, they were to be plunged into the sea till they were half dead, and then drawn out and stoned to death.

So little has been handed down to us concerning the methods of naval warfare in the time of Richard, that it will be pertinent here to give Geoffrey de Vinesauf's account¹ of two actions which took place in the Mediterranean immediately before the king's arrival. It is probable that English ships were not engaged in either; it is certain, however, that the tactics and means employed did not differ materially from those employed by the English seamen of the day. The first action was fought off Acre, about Easter, 1190, and is thus described:—

"The people of the town ill brooked their loss of the liberty of the sea, and resolved to try what they could effect in a naval battle. They brought out their galleys, therefore, two by two, and, preserving a seemly array in their advance, rowed out to the open sea to fight the approaching enemy; and our men, preparing to receive them, since there appeared no escape, hastened to the encounter. On the other hand, our people manned the war-fleet, and, making an oblique circuit to the left, removed to a distance, so that the enemy should not be denied free egress. When they had advanced on both sides, our ships were disposed in a curved, and not a straight line; so that if the enemy attempted to break through, they might be enclosed and defeated. The ends of the line being drawn out in a sort of crescent, the stronger were placed in front, so that a sharper onset might be made by us, and that of the enemy be checked. In the upper tiers, the shields interlaced were placed circularly; and the rowers sat close together, that those above might have freer scope. The still and tranquil sea, as if fated to receive the battle, became calm, so that neither the blow of the warrior nor the stroke of the rower might be impeded by the waves. Advancing nearer to each other, the trumpets sounded on both sides, and mingled their dread clangour. First they contended with missiles, but our men, invoking the divine aid, more earnestly plied their oars, and pierced the enemy's ships with the beaks of their own. Soon the battle became general; the oars were entangled; they fought hand to hand: they grappled the ships with alternate casts, and set the decks on fire with the burning oil commonly called Greek Fire. This fire, with a deadly stench and livid flames, consumes flint and iron; and, unquenchable by water, can only be extinguished by sand or vinegar. What more direful than a naval conflict! What more fatal, where so various a fate involves the combatants! for they are either burnt and writhe in the

¹ In 'Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et Aliorum in Terram Hierosolymorum' (Gale).

flames, shipwrecked, and swallowed up by the waves, or wounded, and perish by arms. There was one galley which, owing to the rashness of our men, presented its side close to the enemy: and thus, set in flames by the fire flung on board, admitted the Turks, who rushed in at all parts. The rowers, seized with terror, leapt into the sea: but a few soldiers who, from their heavier arms and ignorance of swimming, remained through desperation, took courage to fight. An unequal battle raged; but, by the Lord's help, the few overcame the many, and re-took the half-burnt ship from the beaten foe.

“Another, meanwhile, was boarded by the enemy, who had gained the upper deck, having driven off its defenders; and those to whom the lower station had been assigned strove to escape by the aid of the rowers. It was truly a wonderful and piteous struggle: for, the oars being thrust in different directions by the rush of the Turks, the galley was driven hither and thither. Our men, however, prevailed; and the foes rowing above were thrust off by the Christians and yielded. In this naval conflict the adverse side lost both a galley and a galliass with the crews; and our men, unhurt and rejoicing, achieved a glorious and solemn triumph. Drawing the hostile galley with them to the shore, the victors exposed it to be destroyed by our people of both sexes who met it on land. Then our women seized and dragged the Turks by the hair, beholding them, treating them with every indignity, and savagely stabbing them; and, the weaker their hands, so much the more protracted were the pains of death to the vanquished, for they cut off their heads, not with swords but with knives. No similar sea fight as fatal had ever been seen; no victory gained with so much peril and loss.”

The other action was one of galleys with forts:—

“Meanwhile the Pisans, and others skilled in naval tactics, to whom the siege of the town on the sea side had been committed, erected a machine upon the galleys in the form of a castle with bulwarks, so that it might overtop the walls and afford an easy means of throwing darts. Moreover, they made two ladders with steps, by which the summit of the walls might be gained. They then covered all those things, and the galleys, with extended hides, that they might be protected from injury, either by iron or by any missile whatsoever. All being prepared, the besiegers approached the ‘Tower of the Flies,’ which they attacked furiously with the discharge of cross-bars and darts. Those within manfully resisted, with neither unequal vigour nor unequal success; for when our men slew any of them, they were not slow in retaliating. And in order the more heavily to crush us, or the more easily to drive us off, about two thousand Turks went out of the city to their galleys, to aid the besieged in the tower by harassing the Pisans on the opposite side. But our picked warriors, having advanced their engines as well as they could to the tower, some began to throw at the tower great grapnels and whatsoever came to their hands, as wood, or masses of stone, or showers of darts; others, according to their position, were not slow to carry on a naval conflict with those at sea. The battlements yielded to the grapnels thrown against the tower, and were broken down. The tower, indeed, was assailed with wonderful and insupportable fury, one party succeeding another when fatigued, with untiring energy and invincible valour. The darts flew with a fearful noise in all directions, and larger missiles hurtled through the air. The Turks drew back in time, for they could no longer carry on the fight. And now, having raised the ladders for scaling the tower, our men hastened to ascend; but the Turks, perceiving that the critical moment was at hand, resisted with great valour, and threw down upon our people masses of stone of large size, to crush them, and throw them off the ladders. Next they flung Greek Fire upon the castles, which we had erected, and which were set in flames; and those within it, realising this, were forced with disappointed hopes to descend and retire. But meanwhile there was immense slaughter of the Turks

who opposed our men by sea; and, although at the tower, part of our people were unsuccessful, those afloat committed great havoc upon the Turks. At length the engines, together with the castle, the galleys, and all within, having been consumed by the devouring fire, the Turks, abandoning themselves to rejoicing, mocked with loud yells at our discomfiture, and nodded their heads; whereupon the Christians were beyond measure incensed, for they were no less stung by the insulting taunts than by the misfortune which they had suffered."

During Richard's long absences from his country, England was governed by four successive Justiciars, who were practically independent sovereigns, burdened, however, by the very heavy tribute exacted by the king for the purposes of his foreign adventures. Richard was killed in 1199 at the siege of the Castle of Châlus, and was succeeded by his youngest brother John.

The new reign was a disastrous one for England; but, from the naval point of view, is particularly interesting, seeing that, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, materials for naval history become for the first time comparatively plentiful.

The types of vessels used seem to have been, upon the whole, the same as those used under Richard and Henry II., but in documents dealing with the reign of John, we read also of "longships" (*longæ naves*), "cogs," (*gogge, coque, etc.*), and schuyts¹ (*scuta*).

The longship, probably a species of galley, may have been used for other purposes as well; but it was certainly employed for revenue cruising purposes. In 1204, the keepers of the longships, and of the seaports of England, were commanded to allow a merchant's vessel to pass and to trade wheresoever it pleased;² and in 1205 "our longships," meaning the longships of the king, were mentioned.³ The phrase indicates the existence of some approach to a standing navy, especially as similar language was constantly used with respect to galley-men and other sailors.

What cogs were is doubtful. Nicolas thinks that "they were short and of great breadth, like a cockle-shell, whence they are said to have derived their name";⁴ and he says that they were used for passenger traffic and for coasting, and that they were probably much smaller than busses or ships. But there is no doubt that, if

¹ Ships of Assise (*naves de assisâ*) are mentioned in the Close Rolls, p. 210. The signification is unknown, but probably the vessels were merely registered or licensed for some special purpose. In one case they are mentioned as being available for those going to the lands of the king's enemies.

² Patent Rolls, pp. 44, 52.

³ *Ib.*, p. 52.

⁴ Nicolas, i. 128.

not in the thirteenth century, at least later, the term "cog" was frequently applied even to the biggest and most powerful man-of-war. We may perhaps take it, therefore, that the expression was sometimes, if not invariably, used in an indefinite manner, almost as we now use the word ship. But that the word, like ship, possessed also some special technical meaning, would appear from a record to the effect that in 1210 there were hired for the king's service five ships "without a cog."¹

The name *schuyt* signified a small merchant ship.

There is nothing to show that any English vessel of the period had more than one mast and one sail; nor are there many exact indications of size. Craft, however, capable of carrying fifteen horses were spoken of as little ships (*navicula*),² whence it may be inferred that very much larger vessels existed; and from the tenor of inquiries made in 1214 of the reeves of Bristol concerning vessels of that port capable of holding eighty tons of wine or more,³ it may be reasonably supposed that such craft were common.

These reeves or bailiffs of the ports were important personages in the economy of the maritime force of the country of that day. It was their duty to ascertain by jury the number and size of vessels belonging to their port, and to attend to the manning of the ships, and to their proper equipment when they were needed for the king's service.⁴ They also, in time of crisis, laid embargo upon ships in port;⁵ and they were personally held responsible for the due and punctual appearance of ships, after they had been summoned, at the time and place specified in the king's writ. By these methods, by the service rendered by the ships of the Cinque Ports, and by the vessels of the sovereign himself, squadrons were formed, and the peace of the seas was kept.

When still further force was required to meet great emergencies, it was customary to send the king's ships and those of the Cinque Ports into the Channel to pick up and bring into harbour all craft there fallen in with.⁶ Indeed, John kept a very jealous control over all the shipping of his realm. In war time, no ship could quit a harbour without a special licence from the king;⁷ and even then she was sometimes licensed only for a specified destination.⁸

¹ Issue Rolls, 154.

² Close Rolls, 197.

³ *Ib.*, 177.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 7 John, 85, 270.

⁵ Close Rolls, 133.

⁶ Patent Rolls, 9 John, 80, 110, 117.

⁷ Close Rolls, 133.

⁸ *Ib.*, 141.

Nor might vessels carry corn and provisions from port to port in England without licence, or sail at all, on such business, without first giving security that they would not proceed beyond the seas.¹ And it is recorded that no less potent a noble than the Earl of Chester could not come from nor return to his county by water without the royal licence.² Neutral ships permitted to sail were not allowed to touch anywhere before their arrival in their own country, and were obliged to give security that they would not go to an enemy's port;³ and when, upon occasion, a vessel was permitted to go to an enemy's port, her owners had to give security that she would not carry anything prejudicial to the king's interests.⁴ The king's service was paramount; and if vessels, no matter whose, happened to be on a voyage when they were wanted for it, very peremptory orders were sent after them to hasten their return.⁵ If, after receiving those orders, anyone, whatsoever might be his nationality, should delay, he would be deemed to be the king's enemy. The service was paid for, but it was strictly obligatory; and both men and ships were liable to it.

It was this theory of the service due from ships to the monarch that rendered it necessary for Englishmen, ere they sold ships to foreigners, to obtain the royal licence for the purpose. In 1215, Simon Grim of Hythe was granted a licence to sell his ship, the *Grim*, to Guiomar of Lyon; yet even then, in all probability, the delivery could not have been made had not the licence been accompanied by letters to bailiffs and others, stating the fact, and enjoining them to allow the *Grim* to pass freely.⁶

It is difficult to discover what force was normally maintained in a condition for sea service; but the Close Rolls⁷ inform us of the force ready in 1205, and give particulars of its distribution and of the names of its commanders. In the catalogue (see following page) we have what may be regarded as our earliest Navy List. But it is almost certainly incomplete; for at that time the Cinque Ports had to furnish fifty-two galleys; and, apparently, they are nearly all omitted. Nor can it be decided whether the vessels mentioned were impressed ships, or ships of the king.

But the king was not always impressing ships. Occasionally he

¹ Close Rolls, 106.

⁵ Close Rolls, 157, 203.

² Patent Rolls, 62.

⁶ Patent Rolls, 143.

³ Close Rolls, 210, 270.

⁷ Close Rolls, 33.

⁴ *Ib.*, 238.

lent his own to particular seaports, probably to meet special local needs. In April, 1205, for example, the inhabitants of Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Beccles, and Orford were informed that the king, having released his galleys stationed on the coast of England, had sent them two galleys to remain in his service until Michaelmas Day. They were directed to find two masters to navigate, and two other men to command the vessels, and for the competency and fidelity of the officers they were to give security. They were also to find 140 good seamen to man the ships, and were to send to London the necessary people to receive the galleys. To these a sum of one hundred marks would be paid for the crews. By way of additional reward, the men would have a moiety of all prizes which they might capture from the enemy.¹ Another galley was sent to Ipswich, and three galleys were sent to Dunwich.²

CATALOGUE.

Station.	No. of Galleys.	Commanders.
London	5	Reginald de Cornhill.
Newhaven	2	
Sandwich	3	
Romney	4	
Rye	2	William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton.
Winchelsea	2	
Shoreham	5	
Southampton	2	
Exeter	2	
Bristol	3	William de Marisco and John de la Ware.
Ipswich	2	
Dunwich	5	
Lynn	5	
Yarmouth	3	
Ireland	5	
Gloucester	1	
Total	51	

Close Rolls, p. 33.

Ships were impressed or hired on the king's behalf, not only for war service, but also for the carriage of goods and passengers. The rate of payment was generally very moderate, so far as it can be judged without knowledge of the dimensions of the vessels hired. An order to provide freightage was usually sent down to the reeve at the intended port of embarkation, the wording being somewhat as follows :—

“ The King to the Bailiff of Barfleur. Find a passage for John

¹ Patent Rolls, 52.² Close Rolls, 6 John, 28.

Palmer, with our three chargers and his horse, in the first ship sailing for England, and it shall be computed to you at the Exchequer";¹ or

"To the Bailiff of Shoreham. Find a good and secure ship, without regard to price, for William de Aune, our knight, and twenty bowmen, to carry them over in our service, and compute thereof at our Exchequer."²

The management of John's navy was largely in the hands of priests, and of these William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, and Keeper of the King's Ships,³ seems to have been the chief. No commission is known to have been issued to him, so that his functions cannot be exactly defined; but they appear to have been

¹ Norman Rolls, i. 24.

² *Rotuli de Liberate, etc.*, 82 (ed. 1841).

³ Mr. M. Oppenheim says: "This office, possibly in its original form of very much earlier date, and only reconstituted or enlarged in function by John, and now represented in descent by the Secretaryship of the Admiralty, is the oldest administrative employment in connection with the Navy. At first called 'Keeper and Governor' of the King's Ships, later 'Clerk of the King's Ships,' this official held, sometimes really and sometimes nominally, the control of naval organisation until the formation of the Navy Board in 1546. His duties included all those now performed by a multitude of highly placed Admiralty officials. If a man of energy, experience, and capacity, his name stands foremost in the maintenance of the royal fleets during peace and their preparation for war; if, as frequently happened, a merchant or subordinate official with no especial knowledge, he might become a mere messenger riding from port to port, seeking runaway sailors, or bargaining for small parcels of naval stores. Occasionally, under such circumstances, his authority was further lessened by the appointment of other persons, usually such as held minor personal offices near the king, as keepers of particular ships. This was a method of giving a small pecuniary reward to such a one, together with the perquisites he might be able to procure from the supply of stores and provisions necessary for the vessel and her crew. In the course of centuries the title changed its form. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the officer is called 'Clerk of Marine Causes,' and 'Clerk of the Navy,' in the seventeenth century, 'Clerk of the Acts.' Pepys was not the last Clerk of the Acts, the functions associated with the office, which were the remains of the larger powers once belonging to the Keeper and Governor, were carried up by him to the higher post of Secretary of the Admiralty." *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy*, I, 3, 4. The names of William de Wrotham's immediate successors do not appear; but from the beginning of the fifteenth century until the reorganisation in 1546, the following held the office: William Catton; William Soper (from 1420); Richard Clyvedon (from 1442); and, after an interval, Piers Bowman; Thomas Rogers (appointed 1486, died 1488); William Comersall; Robert Brygandine (from 1495 to 1523); Thomas Jernyn (?); William Gonson (from 1524); Leonard Thoretton (?); Sir Thomas Spert (?); Edmund Water and John Wynter (?). Those officers whose names are queried, either were not appointed in the usual way under letters patent, or may, perhaps, have been only local keepers. The names of the officers appointed to the Navy Board in 1546 will be found in Chapter XIII.

largely administrative. Associated with him, probably in an executive and somewhat subordinate capacity, were Reginald and William de Cornhill, who were also priests, the latter becoming Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Geoffrey de Lucy, Henry FitzCount, Enjucer de Bohun, and Geoffrey de Lutterel.¹ De Lucy more than once commanded a fleet or squadron.² William de Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, and natural brother of the king, was made commander of the fleet in 1213; and of his exploits at Damme something will be said in the next chapter. In 1208 the steersmen or masters appointed to the command of the king's galleys were Alan (junior) de Shoreham, supposed to have been the son of Alan Trenchemer, Vincent of Hastings, Walter Scott, and Wymund of Winchelsea.³ In 1210, Richard of London was master of the king's great galley, and three of the masters of the galleys of the Cinque Ports were Thomas of Dover, William FitzSuanild, and John Clerk of Hythe.⁴ Few ships of the time are mentioned by name. One, the *Grim*, has been already alluded to. The Earl of Dover had a vessel called the *Falcon*.⁵ Two ships of the Crusaders were called *Pilgrim* and *Paradise*.⁶ A ship captured at Bartleir in 1212 was the *Countess*.⁷ But a very common course seems to have been for a ship to take the name either of her owner or of the port to which she belonged. The practice, usual a little later, of naming vessels after saints, had not yet established itself in England.

Much mention is made of ships' gear and stores; and anchors, cables, ropes, pitch, yards, tallow, oars, canvas, nails, etc.,⁸ are often specified as having been bought. There is also mention of "heyras" and "laurum," evidently stores or gear of some sort. These things were purchased for the service after appraisement by experts. Anchors ordered for the king's galleys in 1213 are described as having been seven feet long.⁹ The king's "great ship" is said to have had five cables.¹⁰ Vessels intended to serve permanently or temporarily as horse-transports were furnished with "clayes," hurdles formed of branches of oak, with brushwood, probably for the purpose of making stalls for the animals, and they were also provided with brows (*pontes*) for landing them.

¹ Lutterel died in 1218.

² Lucy was also at one time Governor of the Channel Islands.

³ Close Rolls, 110.

⁷ Close Rolls, 117.

⁴ Rotuli de Prestito, 230.

⁸ *Ib.*, 39, 42, 156, 234, etc.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 5 John, 31.

⁹ *Ib.*, 156.

⁶ Mentioned by Villehardouin, 106.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 17 John, 250.

We read of ships having been strengthened and repaired;¹ but the process is not explained. The usual method may still have been to haul them up on the beach, and to deal with them there. Yet already there seem to have been docks (*exclusa*)² at Portsmouth, for, in May, 1212, the Sheriff of Southampton was directed to cause the *exclusa* at Portsmouth to be enclosed with a strong wall, in the manner which the Archdeacon of Taunton would indicate, for the preservation of the king's ships and galleys; and the sheriff was also to have penthouses set up for their stores and tackle; and this was to be done at once, lest the galleys or their stores should be injured during the ensuing winter.³

"Prize-money," as Nicolas observes, "seems to have been as ancient as the English Navy itself."⁴ This is, no doubt, due to the fact that the Navy, in its origins, was piratical, and that English fighting seamen, in the earliest times, were accustomed to look for booty in return for their exertions, and would not, indeed, put heart and muscle into the work unless they were promised something more substantial than scars and honours as their reward. When the strongest pirates in the land became first chiefs and then kings, they speedily realised the impossibility of maintaining their position for long at the head of subjects nurtured on robbery and turbulence, unless they compromised many things. By compromising disputes arising out of their forcible seizure of political power, they created, in the course of centuries, the British constitution; and by compromising disputes arising out of their forcible seizure of naval and military power they created, among other things, the system of prize-money—a system whereby piracy is happily hidden under a cloak of legality, and in virtue of which, even to this day, the descendant of pirates, if only he will subject himself to certain forms and rules, may be something of a pirate still, without suffering the disadvantage of being dubbed by so opprobrious a name. But in the days of John, the forms and rules had not been completely systematised. Ships and goods captured from the enemy became the property of the king, and the amount paid to the captors, though already often considerable, depended entirely upon the sovereign's

¹ Botuli de Prastito, 175; Close Rolls, 103.

² Basins, however, and not docks, may have been meant; and certainly there were no docks in the modern sense of the word.

³ Close Rolls, 117.

⁴ Nicolas, i. 140.

bounty. To certain galley-men, brought into his service by Thomas of Galway in 1205, the king granted a moiety of their takings, besides other recompenses.¹ A few years afterwards, a sum of £100 was advanced to mariners and galley-men, on account of the sale of the goods of a ship from Norway, captured in Wales.² And the promise to the crews of the galleys lent to Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Beccles, and Orford has been already cited. There was, however, no accepted principle of division, and occasionally the king seems to have taken everything. This was only what was to be expected from a monarch who more than once nearly lost his crown in consequence of his stubborn objection to compromise more important privileges, which he assumed to belong to him, but which were disputed by sections of his subjects.

Seamen were enlisted as well as impressed. In May, 1206, the king ordered Geoffrey de Lucy, and Hasenil de Suleny, and his other subjects in the Norman islands, to send him one knight and one clerk, qualified to induce steersmen and mariners to enter his service.³ But when seamen were impressed, the penalty for failure to obey a summons to serve was severe. In 1208, certain sailors on the coast of Wales were forbidden to make a voyage to Ireland, or elsewhere, for their own purposes, but ordered to repair to Ilfracombe by the middle of Lent, to convey men to Ireland; and it was added: "Know for certain that if you act contrary to this, we will cause you and the masters of your vessels to be hanged, and all your goods to be seized for our use."⁴

The crews of vessels consisted of "rectors," or masters, who seem to have been also called *domini*; "sturrianni," steersmen or pilots; "galiota," galley-men; "marinelli," mariners; and "nauta," sailors. There was, in the case of some large ships, a "head-master" above the rector. Hardy, in his preface to the Close Rolls, says that steersmen received 7*d.* a day, but does not cite his authority.⁵ A galley-man was paid 6*d.* a day in 1205;⁶ a mariner was paid 3*d.* In 1206, a sum of £138 was issued to pay 275 mariners for forty days.⁷ Knights received 2*s.* a day, and cross-bowmen (the famous Genoese cross-bowmen were introduced to the English service by John) from 3*d.* to 6*d.*⁸ Before sailing,

¹ Patent Rolls, 5 John, 51.

² Rotuli de Prestito, 12 John, 227.

³ Close Rolls, 70*b.*

⁴ *Ib.*, 106.

⁵ Preface, p. xlv.

⁶ Close Rolls, 39.

⁷ *Ib.*, 69.

⁸ Preface to the Close Rolls, six.

the men were given eight days' wages, and wages for eight days more were delivered at the same time to the persons appointed to pay them.¹ The officers also were granted prests or payments in advance. In June, 1205, Thomas of Dover, William FitzSuanild, and John Clerk of Hythe, three masters of the king's galleys of the Cinque Ports, received £15 in prest upon their wages; Thomas of Gloucester was paid £5 in prest for the galley of Bristol; and two others received the same sum for the galley of Ipswich.² The wages were apparently in addition to food and rations, including wine; and we have notices of payments for herrings, bacon, etc., sent as supplies to the king's ships.³

There were even pensions for the wounded, for, in 1202, Alan le Waleis, who had lost his hand on service, was granted a penny a day, and, until it should be paid, was to be lodged in an abbey.⁴ But officers and men alike seem, as a rule, to have found their own clothing, though there is a record of the king having, in 1205, given six robes to certain galley-men of Bayonne.⁵

Selden,⁶ Prynne,⁷ and others quote a document, said to date from the year 1200, and purporting to be an ordinance made by John at Hastings, enjoining every ship meeting the English fleet at sea to lower her sails at the command of the king's lieutenant or admiral; but the document contains internal evidence against its genuineness, and is probably of a date considerably later than that ascribed to it. Indeed, in the 'Black Book of the Admiralty,' to which Prynne refers, there is no writing of a date earlier than the reign of Henry VI., and most of the earlier ordinances copied into the volume may be suspected of corruption, while some of them are almost certainly forgeries and fictions. It is not until a later period that we encounter any good evidence of a formal assumption by the kings of England of a claim to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas.

King John died on October 19th, 1216, and was succeeded by his son (by Isabella of Angoulême) Henry III., who was a child of nine.

In the course of Henry's long reign mention is made, not only of "great ships," "galleys," and "longships," etc., but also of "sornecks" (probably vessels different from the "snake" or *esnecca* of an earlier age), "nascellas," "passerettes," and "barges." The

¹ Close Rolls, 229.

² Rotuli de Prastito, R. 271.

³ Close Rolls, 71, and 15 John, 158.

⁴ Rotuli de Liberate, 3 John, 32.

⁵ Close Rolls, 48.

⁶ Marc Clausum, 401.

⁷ 'Animadversions,' 104.

sonneck was a trading vessel; the *nascella*, like the *navicula*, was a small craft; the *passerette* was a passenger ship, also small. Passenger vessels ran between Dover and Whitsand (Wissant); and in 1225 the Bailiffs of Dover were ordered to allow two of the Archbishop of Canterbury's clerks to cross over in the usual manner, *in navibus passerettis*. Barges were probably much what they are at present.

Several ships of the period are mentioned by name, and "the king's fleet" is often spoken of. The king's great ship was the *Queen*:¹ another large vessel, apparently captured from the Portuguese for a breach of blockade, was the *Cardinal*; other vessels were the *Galopine*, *Percevet*, *Alarde*, and *Paterik*.²

When the ships were not required for the purposes of war they were frequently let out to hire to the merchants. For example, in 1232 John Blancheoilly had the custody of the king's great ship the *Queen* for life, with all her anchors, cables and other tackle, to trade wherever he pleased, he paying an annual rental of fifty marks. He was bound, at his own expense, to keep the ship in complete repair against all accidents except perils of the sea, so that at his decease she might be restored to the king in as good state as when he received her; and all his lands in England were charged with the fulfilment of the contract.³

There are many notices relative to the purchase of stores. In 1226 the Constable of Porehester was ordered to supply Friar Thomas with three boatloads of firewood, two for the king's great ship, and one for the king's two galleys; and twenty-two and a half marks were given to him to buy canvas for the sails, and to make "celtas" for the king's great ship, carts being directed to carry the "celtas" and "beyras" to her at Portsmouth.⁴ In 1225 the Bailiffs of Southampton were commanded to buy cordage under the inspection of Stephen Crabbe, an eminent mariner, for the king's great ship at Portsmouth; but if a sufficient quantity were not ready they were to cause it to be made in all haste, as well by day as by night, and to send it to Portsmouth.

¹ Patent Rolls, 16 Henry III., m. 8.

² Among the names of vessels that went to the king at Bordeaux in 1242, are *La Hog*, *Bebeche*, *Plenty*, *Harriet*, *Garland*, *Charity*, *Pinoock*, *St. Mary*, *La Planete*, *La Espoirer*, *La Blyth*, and *Demoiselle of Dunwich*. Probably these were not king's ships. *Garland*, or *Guardland* (it exists in both forms), later became a favourite name in the Royal Navy.

³ Patent Rolls, 16 Hen. III., m. 8.

⁴ Close Rolls, 10 Hen. III., m. 16, 17, 25.

They were further directed to cause three good cables to be made for that ship, together with four dozen "theldorum," and to procure two hundred yards of cloth to repair her sail.¹ In September, 1242, a messenger from the Cinque Ports was ordered to receive six hundred yards of canvas which was at Portsmouth, and which had been taken from the enemy, to make sails for the three galleys which the king had ordered to be built; and if there were not that quantity at Portsmouth, whatever was there was to be delivered, and the king was to be informed of the deficit.² A sum of £4 was paid for building a boat for the great ship,³ and a sum of 8s. 7d. was repaid to the Sheriff of York for a boat and an iron chain belonging to her.⁴ In 1229 £40 was paid to the king's clerk for the repairs of the king's galleys and great ship at Portsmouth.⁵

In July, 1242, one hundred marks was paid to Bertram de Criol for making four swift barges for the king's service, and he was ordered to place them in the Cinque Ports when he deemed it expedient. At the same time the Bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to send to Winchelsea, to be delivered to De Criol, the larger of the king's two galleys in their charge.⁶

Nicolas is of opinion that in this reign occurs the first notice of cabins in English ships.⁷ In June, 1228, a vessel was ordered to be sent to Gascony with the king's effects, and a sum of 4s. 6d. was paid "for the making of some sort of chamber in the said ship to put our said effects in."⁸ In 1242, when the king, accompanied by the queen, went to Gascony, "decent chambers" were ordered to be built in the vessel in which their majesties were to embark, and these were to be pannelled.⁹ There may be no earlier mention of cabins in English ships, but it is certain that foreign vessels had them long before, and it is probable, owing to the fact that English ships of the time were very little different from foreign ones¹⁰ in other respects, that English ships had them also.

The ordinary rate of pay under Henry III. was sixpence a day to

¹ Close Rolls, 10 Hen. III., ii. 50.

² *Ib.*, 26 Hen. III., m. 5.

³ Rotuli de Liberate, 11 Hen. III., 2.

⁴ *Ib.*, 12 Hen. III., m. 6.

⁵ *Ib.*, 13 Hen. III., m. 4.

⁶ Rotuli de Liberate, 26 Hen. III., m. 5.

⁷ Nicolas, i. 223.

⁸ Rotuli de Liberate.

⁹ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III., 1.

¹⁰ The *Roccafortis*, the largest of a number of ships furnished to the King of France in 1268 by the Republic of Venice, was 110 feet long over all; 70 feet in length of

a master, and threepence a day to a seaman; but some ships had more than one master. One, indeed, of the king's great ships is said incidentally to have had seven, namely, Stephen de Vel, German de la Ria, John Fitz-Sampson, Colin de Warham, Robert Gaillard, and Simon Wistlegrei.¹ That particular ship appears to have carried sixty seamen or mariners, thirty of whom were furnished by Southampton and Portsmouth, and thirty by Rye;² but it need not be concluded from the figures that they represented the whole number of fighting men on board when the ship was on a war footing. They probably represented only the navigating detachment, and there may have been as many more soldiers, besides officers of the vessel and knights.

The usual rates of freight can be roughly estimated from the following facts:—The cost of sending the king's great ship from La Rochelle to Bordeaux with merchandise was £33 10s.³ Three ships sent to Poitou in the king's service were paid for, one £6 12s. for thirty-eight days, another £1 11s. 9*d.* for nine days, and the third £1 5s. for five days; the rate thus varying from 3s. 6*d.* to 7s. a day, probably in proportion to the size of the ships. A person contracted to bring wine from Bordeaux to Southampton for 8s., and to Sandwich for 9s., a tun; but both charges appear to have included the cost of the wine. In May, 1227, Salekin of Dover, and John, his nephew, were paid sixty marks for the freight of their ship from Gascony to England, in the service of Richard, Count of Poitou, the king's brother; and two others were paid £60 for another ship making the same voyage.⁴

The existence of a dockyard at Portsmouth has already been touched upon. In the reign of Henry III., if not before, there were

keel; and 40 feet in width at prow and poop. Her complement of mariners was 110, and her value was 1400 marks. The dimensions are those of a vessel between four and five hundred tons, as measured by the old system—the dimensions, that is, of a 20 or 24-gun ship of the eighteenth century, though the beam of the eighteenth-century ship was less in proportion to her length. The *Roccafortis* had two covered decks, the orlop being 11½ feet, and what we should call the main deck 6½ feet high. At each end was a "bellatorium" (fore or stern castle), and there were several cabins. The particulars, taken from the original contract, will be found in Jal's 'Archéologie Navale,' ii. 355. There is really no evidence that contemporary English ships were not of nearly equal size.

¹ Close Rolls, 10 Hen. III., ii. 112.

² *Ib.*, m. 16.

³ Rotuli de Liberate, 10 Hen. III., m. 3.

⁴ *Ib.*, 11 Hen. III.

other yards for the king's galleys at Rye,¹ Shoreham, and Winchelsea, where, when the vessels were not required, they were laid up under sheds. On November 29th, 1243, the Sheriff of Sussex was ordered to enlarge the house at Rye in which the king's galleys were kept, so that it might contain seven galleys; and, when this should be done, the galleys, with all their stores, were to be placed therein;² and in 1238 the keepers of some of the king's galleys were directed to cause those vessels to be "breamed" (deprived by fire of the accumulated growth on their bottoms),³ and a house to be built at Winchelsea for their safe custody.

In the matter of prizes, things remained much as in John's reign. But the crown in practice admitted the captor's right to a share. In 1242 the Constable of Dover was ordered to pay to the barons of Winchelsea, towards their assistance against enemies, £100 out of the money found in possession of some captured French merchants: and the said constable, with another, was appointed to receive the king's proportion of all the perquisites of the sea during the war between England and France;⁴ from which it would appear that Henry III. did not expect more than part. Sometimes prizes were allowed to be ransomed. In 1227 an order was issued that, after payment of the largest possible fine, the merchants of a French ship taken at Hartlepool should be suffered to depart with their vessel.⁵ Nor, as was the case in some previous reigns, were ships that had been captured under doubtful legality unjustly retained. About August, 1242, several mandates were issued for the restoration of all merchandise captured since the beginning of the war, except such as belonged to subjects of the King of France. The Sheriff of Norfolk and others, for instance, were ordered to take evidence concerning the ownership of captured goods alleged to belong to Flemish merchants, and, if the allegation were established, to restore them;⁶ and a captured ship belonging to St. Malo was given up because the king had "granted his peace" to the people of that town.

Impressment, or arrest of ships and men for the royal service, was frequently had recourse to, as under John. And the process was conducted with as high a hand as ever. At the time of the general arrest of vessels to convey troops to Poitou in 1225, a ship

¹ Rotuli de Liberate, 24 Hen. III., m. 6.

² *Ib.*, 28 Hen. III., m. 19.

³ Close Rolls, 22 Hen. III., m. 2.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 26 Hen. III., 2 m. 2.

⁵ Close Rolls, ii. 163.

⁶ *Ib.*

belonging to the Master of the Knights Templars of Spain was seized, and the owner was paid two hundred marks as compensation for her loss.¹ Goods, too, were seized for the king's business. In January, 1226, orders were issued for the arrest at Sandwich of two vessels from Bayonne, laden with spices and other precious merchandise, as soon as they should enter port; and it was directed that no part of their cargoes should be sold until the king should have taken for his use as much as he might think proper.² And all sea traffic was rigorously supervised in time of war. In 1226 the Bailiffs of Dover were ordered to pay to the Chancellor of London the twelve marks which they had received from a certain ship that had passed Portsmouth without the king's licence.³

Yet, although there was clearly a strict police of the seas around England, piracies were not uncommon; and even the people of the Cinque Ports were frequently guilty of such offences. In 1227 a mariner named Dennis was committed to Newgate for having been present when a Spanish ship had been plundered and her crew slain at Sandwich.⁴ In the same year the people of some towns in Norfolk were accused of robbing a Norwegian ship; and in 1264 a sea fight occurred between the men of Lynn and the men of Dartmouth.⁵ Sometimes, at least, the crown held itself responsible for the illegal deeds of its servants, for in 1225 nine marks were given to Alexander, a goldsmith, and his seven companions, and to a woman named Margaret, coming from Norway, who were alleged to have been robbed by people of the Cinque Ports.⁶

The king had ships in Ireland as well as in England, and he hired them out, like his English ships, to the merchants, when he had no immediate use for them. Ireland also had to furnish ships and men at the king's demand; but it would appear from a document dated in 1217 that at that time, if not always, citizens of Dublin, or some of them, were exempted from impressment at sea for service in the king's galleys.⁷

Besides the Cinque Ports, the island of Oleron furnished vessels to the king; and in June, 1242, the Mayor of Oleron was directed to build the barges which the island owed to the sovereign in virtue of its tenure.

¹ Close Rolls, 16 Hen. III., m. 9.

² *Ib.*, 96.

³ *Ib.*, ii., 122.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii., 203b.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 48 Hen. III.

⁶ Close Rolls, ii., 65.

⁷ *Ib.*, i., 335.

The provisions and stores of ships seem to have been the same in character as those in the reign of John. When Henry was preparing for his journey to Poitou in 1242, he directed the vessels which were to convey him and his suite to be supplied with bacon and other salted meats, flour, eggs, fowls and salt, besides other necessaries, which were to be obtained from the officers of the bishopric of Winchester, who were to forward a thousand quarters of wheat, the same quantity of barley, and a thousand pigs for the purpose, as well as corn and wine from other sources.¹

Lighthouses of some sort existed from an early period at Winchelsea, Yarmouth, and other places, and some of them may have been established as early as the time of the Romans. They were generally maintained by port dues. On January 30th, 1261, Henry issued a precept commanding that every ship laden with merchandise that went to Winchelsea during the two following years should pay twopence for the maintenance of the light there set up for the safety of sailors entering by night, unless it should be shown that the barons had been accustomed to maintain at their own cost the light in question.² This toll was called "fire-pence"; for in an ordinance of a few years later for the settlement of disputes between the Cinque Ports and the inhabitants of Norfolk, arising out of the herring fishery, it was declared that the bailiffs of the barons of the ports should receive the twopence, usually called "fire-pence," for sustaining the fires at the accustomed places so long as they did sustain them; but that if they failed to do so, the Provost of Yarmouth might receive the pence and keep up the fires.³ These fires were probably burnt in cressets. At St. Agnes lighthouse, in Scilly, a cresset or beacon fire was burnt as late as 1680, and possibly for several years afterwards.

No alteration was made in the banners borne by English ships until the reign of Edward III. The St. George's ensign, and the flag with the three lions were still used. The commander-in-chief of a fleet carried the former at his masthead, and at night hoisted a light in the same position. When, in June, 1253, the king was going to Gascony, the sheriffs of London were ordered to cause a great and well-made lantern, which could

¹ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III., 1 m. 7.

² Patent Rolls, 15 Hen. VIII.

³ 'Charters of the Cinque Ports' (Jeakes), 14.

be suspended in the king's ship, to be forwarded without delay to Portsmouth.¹

"The conduct of all privateers," wrote Nelson,² "is, as far as I have seen, so near piracy, that I only wonder any civilised nation can allow them."³ In the thirteenth century all sea warfare, whether regular or irregular, was conducted by people who were little better than "a horde of sanctioned robbers"; and one is not surprised, therefore, to discover, as one often does when studying the early history of England, that in war time ships were fitted out by individuals as well as by governments to prey upon the enemies of the country. But it does not appear that private adventurers of this sort were ever formally recognised, or that specific terms were made with them, until the reign of Henry III.

The first two known English "letters of marque"—for that is what they essentially were—were granted by Henry against France in February, 1243, one being to Geoffrey Pyper, master of *Le Heyte*, and the other jointly to Adam Robernolt and William le Sauvage. The form was in each case the same, and was as follows:—

"Relative to annoyng the king's enemies. The king to all, etc., greeting. Knowe we that we have granted and given licence to . . . and . . . and their companions whom they take with them, to annoy our enemies by sea or by land wheresoever they are able, so that they share with us the half of all their gain; and therefore we command you neither to do, nor suffer to be done, any let, damage, or injury to them or their barge, or other ship or galley which they may have; and they are to render to the king, in his wardrobe, the half of their gains."⁴

Although there is no direct proof of the correctness of the theory, it is probable that the earliest privateers were recruited from the large class of maritime adventurers who, in the Middle Ages, and in all seas, turned their hands against everyone who did not deem it worth while to buy their assistance, or who did not at least offer them some advantages. There were plenty of these gentlemen of the sea at the very period in question off the shores of England;

¹ *Rotuli de Liberate*, 37 Hen. III., m. 2.

² 'Despatches,' vi. 79. See also 145.

³ Admiral Vernon, writing to Secretary Corbett on August 12th, 1745, said: "Privateers doubtless distress the enemy's trade, and bring an addition of wealth into the kingdom; but, on the other side, they debauch the morals of our seamen in general, by being under no discipline, and encouraging all sorts of licentiousness, by which they grow indifferent to the service of their country, and ready to serve any other with a view of prey to feed their licentiousness, and the flower of our seamen are drawn from the defence of the kingdom and protection of our commerce, when they may stand most in need of it."—MS. in Auth.'s Coll.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 27 Hen. III., m. 16.

for it was the complaint of the barons of the Cinque Ports in the same year that the pirates who guarded the high sea would not allow even the pilgrims to return home, and that all the navy of England could not resist them. Henry, in his hour of need, may have thought it more than justifiable, by the offer of protection and countenance, to secure some of these rovers as his friends and as France's enemies. "While," as Nicolas says, "these hordes of daring robbers are justly execrated for their deeds of cruelty and violence, it should not be forgotten that their skill, hardihood, and adventurous spirit have descended to the British seamen of modern times; and much of the heroism and contempt of danger for which our navy has been so long distinguished may have been derived from the piratical and buccaneering proceedings of former ages."¹

The modification made in the law of wreck by Henry II. has been already made mention of. A further alteration was effected by a charter dated at Merewell, on May 26th, 1236. By this the king granted that, if any ship were in danger in his dominions, and any man escaped from it and reached the land alive, all the goods and chattels in such ship should continue to be the property of the original owners, instead of passing as wreck to the king. And if from a ship so endangered no man escaped alive, but any other beast (*bestia alia*) chanced to escape alive, or to be found alive on board, then the goods and chattels in such ship should be delivered by the king's bailiff to four men, in whose custody they should remain for three months, during which time, if owners proved their right, they should be restored to them; but if no one claimed the goods within that term, they should be forfeited as wreck. If, however, neither man nor other beast escaped from the ship, the cargo was then to be considered as wreck, and to become the property of the king, or of the lord having the right to it.²

Connected with this subject, there are three episodes of the reign which deserve note. In 1225, some masts from a wreck belonging to the Crown were washed ashore in Cornwall; and the sheriff of the county was instructed to proceed to the spot, and, if any of the masts had been sold, to arrest both buyer and seller.³ In 1227 a ship of Toulouse was wrecked at Shoreham, and her cargo plundered, whereupon the Sheriff of Sussex was ordered to the spot, with directions to impanel a jury, discover who were present at the robbery, and who carried away the cargo and stores, and arrest the

¹ Nicolas, i. 239.

² 'Federa,' i. 227.

³ Close Rolls, ii. 12.

guilty parties.¹ These incidents show that although Henry could make liberal concessions, he would forego none of his legal rights against lawlessness. The other noteworthy point is that in the treaty concluded in 1269 between Henry and Magnus of Norway, a clause is to be found providing that, in case of a shipwreck on the coast of either country, the goods on board should be protected by the authorities, who were to give all the assistance in their power to the crews, while persons plundering were to be severely punished.²

The knowledge and utilisation of the directive powers of the magnet, and of the magnetised needle, were probably not new in Asia even so early as the beginning of the Christian era; but they were new in western Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century. It is therefore of interest to print two contemporary references to such primitive form of mariner's compass as then existed. Both were translated for Nicolas by Mr. Thomas Wright, the first from 'La Bible Guiot de Provins,' and the second from the preface to Michel's 'Lais Inedits'; and the originals of both are in verse.

"They make a contrivance which cannot lie by the virtue of the magnet: an ugly and brownish stone, to which iron spontaneously joins itself, they have; and they observe the right point. After they have caused a needle to touch it, and placed it in a rush, they put it in the water without anything more, and the rush keeps it on the surface. Then it turns its point towards the star with such certainty that no man will ever have any doubt of it, nor will it ever for anything go false. When the sea is dark and hazy that they can neither see star nor moon, therefore they place a light by the needle, and then they have no fear of going wrong. Towards the star goes the point, whereby the mariners have the skill to keep the right way. It is an art which cannot fail."

The second, more obscure, runs:—

"For a north wind nor for anything else does (without doubt) cease doing service the pole star clear and pure; the sailors by its light it throws often out of mishap, and assures them of their road; and when the night is too dark, still is it of such a nature that it makes iron draw to the loadstone, so that by force and by reason, and by a rule which lasts ever, they know the place where it is. They know its position on the way, when it is perfectly dark, all those who practise this art, who push a needle of iron till it almost disappears in a bit of cork, and touch it to the brown loadstone. Then it is placed in a vessel full of water, so that no one push it out; as soon as the water settles, to whatever place the point aims, the polar star is there without doubt."

Henry III. died on November 16th, 1272, and was succeeded by his son Edward I., then thirty-three years of age, and on his way home from a crusade.

¹ Close Rolls, ii. 192b.

² 'Fredera,' i. 480.

The correspondence,¹ consequent upon the promise of Edward, in 1276, to send a squadron from Bayonne, to assist his brother-in-law, the King of Castille, against the infidels, throws much light upon the condition of the navy at that period. Edward sent to Bayonne one William de Montegauger, a priest, to make the arrangements necessary for equipping, arming, and manning of twelve ships and twenty-four galleys; and, the priest having consulted with the local authorities, the latter summoned the steersmen, masters, mariners, smiths, carpenters and workmen of the port in order to form an estimate of how best to go to work.

The results of their inquiries and deliberations were embodied in a letter written to the king on May 1st. This letter reported that every ship of 180 tons and upwards would need sixty men, and involve for hire or charter an expenditure of £100 sterling a year; that a galley of 120 oars would cost £240, money of Morlaas,² and each oar £46, money of Morlaas, when ready for sea; and would require twenty-five men; and that a galley of one hundred oars would require twenty men, and one of eighty oars fifteen men, besides the rowers and six or eight "comitres" (superintendents of rowers). The pay to each of the "magni" (probably officers doing lieutenant's duties), each of the "comitres," and each chief, would be fifteen esterlings³ a day; that to each crossbow-man, nine esterlings; and that to each sailor and rower, six esterlings, according to the rate established under Henry III.; but all these persons would find themselves in arms, victuals, and all other necessaries. On the other hand, they would expect a moiety of all gains, save cities, castles, towns, or lands taken; and such provisions or eatables as they might seize should be their own. It was not possible to make an agreement by the month or half-year, but by the year only. Plenty of the needful people could be found in Bayonne and Gaseony; but, in order to induce a superior class of men to serve, it would be well if the indulgence of the Cross could be obtained for them from the Pope or his legate.

William de Montegauger transmitted this letter, together with his own report. He estimated the total annual expenditure for the projected squadron at 56,000 marks, or £37,330 16s. 8*l.* a year, and

¹ Said by Nicolas to be in the Tower (in 1847).

² Morlaas, anciently Bencharnum, in Aquitaine. It was worth three-and-a-quarter times the money of Tours, and was current throughout Gaseony.

³ The esterling was equal to four deniers Tournois, or to the fifty-fifth part of a mark.

pointed out that he had not funds in hand to justify him in launching upon so considerable an outlay. Workmen would not work a moment after the cessation of their pay. One William Arnold, of Saubagnac, had offered to provide half the desired squadron for 20,000 marks a year, but Montegauger did not like his conditions. The indulgence was absolutely necessary if good men were to be obtained.

Details of the squadron sent against Anglesey, during the Welsh War in 1277, are also of interest. The squadron consisted of eighteen ships, all of which were furnished by the Cinque Ports, together with one dromon of Southampton, and four other vessels, one of which was the *Rose*. It was commanded by two "captains over the fleet of eighteen ships of the Ports"; each large ship had two officers styled rectors, one of whom commanded; each smaller ship had one rector, and one constable;¹ the crews varied from twenty to twenty-eight men; and the total number of mariners in the squadron was 419. Of the ships not belonging to the Cinque Ports, the dromon carried but nineteen mariners. The pay, as at a later period, was: each captain (admiral), 12*d.*; each rector, constable, and the master of the dromon, 6*d.*; and each sailor, 3*d.* a day.²

The craft purchased in 1282 for the Welsh expedition were small, their price varying from £4 to £13, at a time when anchors and cables for one of the king's large ships cost twice as much as the larger sum, and when a new barge built and fitted out at Winchelsea cost £80 9*s.* 11*d.* Of the vessels of the Cinque Ports employed on that occasion, one was *La Vache*, and another, the *Holy Cross*. The crews of all were paid by the crown, the total expense being £1404 9*s.* 10½*d.*³

Among the stores purchased by Sir Matthew de Columbers in 1290 for the ship which was to go to Norway to bring thence the Lady Margaret, who, had she not died prematurely, would have married Prince Edward, were: wine, ale, corn, beef, pork, bacon, stock-fish, sturgeons, herrings, lampreys, almonds, rice, beans, peas, onions, leeks, cheese, nuts, salt, vinegar, mustard, pepper, cummin-seed, ginger, cinnamon, figs, raisins, saffron, ginger-bread, wax torches, tallow candles, cressets, lanterns, napkins, wood, biscuit,

¹ It is doubtless owing to its ancient connection with the rank of a constable that the family of Constable, of Wassand, bears as its crest "a ship, with tackle, guns and apparel all Or."

² Roll of the Wages, etc. (10 Edw. I.), in the Carlton Ride Repository.

³ Roll of the Purchases, etc. (18 Edw. I.), in the Carlton Ride Repository.

a banner of the king's arms, and a silken streamer. The total charge was but £29 2s. 11*d.* The pay was as before, and boys to take care of the stores were given twopence a day. At the time of the armament of 1294, twenty shillings' worth of wine was advanced to each of the masters of ships, the cost being charged against their pay.¹

At the time of the war in Scotland in 1299 and 1300, the chief part of the fleet employed belonged to the Cinque Ports, which, however, sent only thirty ships,² instead of their full service of

¹ Wardrobe Accounts, 18 Edw. 1.

² FLEET OF THE CINQUE PORTS EMPLOYED IN 1299-1300.

Name.	Master.	Constables.	Mariners.
Hastings Contingent—			
<i>La Blyth</i> , ship, of Hastings	John Meket	1	19
<i>La Bret</i> , of Hastings	Gilbert Scot	1	19
<i>Nicholas</i> , of Pevensay	John le Mouner	2	39
<i>Snake</i> , of Rye	John Kittey	2	39
<i>Godycere</i> , of Rye	Robert Michell	2	39
<i>Rose</i> , of Rye	Reginald Baudethon	2	39
<i>St. Edward</i> , cog, of Winchelsea	Harry at Carte	2	39
<i>St. Mary</i> , cog, of Winchelsea	Henry Aubyn	2	39
<i>St. Thomas</i> , cog, of Winchelsea	Thomas de Staudamore	2	39
<i>St. Thomas</i> , snake, of Winchelsea	John Manekyn	2	39
<i>St. Giles</i> , cog, of Winchelsea	Hamond Roberd	2	39
Romenhale (Rouney) contingent—			
<i>Riche</i> , of Romenhale	Stephen Unwyne	2	39
<i>Godelyne</i> , of Romenhale	William Eadwy	2	39
Hythe contingent—			
<i>Holy Cross</i> , ship, of Hythe	John le Wyse	2	39
<i>La Blyth</i> , of Hythe	Thomas le Ridere	1	19
<i>Nicholas</i> , of Hythe	William Bruynng	1	19
<i>Wayncpayne</i> , of Hythe	William de Forinden	1	19
Dover contingent—			
Cog, of Dover	John Lomb	2	39
<i>Godyn</i> , of Dover	William Godyn	2	34
<i>St. Edward</i> , ship, of Dover	Peter Hanekyn	2	34
<i>Christiau</i> , of Dover	John le Solton	2	35
<i>Rose</i> , of Dover	John Wenstan	2	32
<i>Chivaler</i> , of Dover	William Shepeve	2	34
<i>Mabely</i> , of Dover	Nicholas Sandrekyn	2	34
<i>Malyne</i> , of Dover	Thomas le Ken	2	34
<i>Nicholas</i> , of Faversham	Roger Willey	2	37
<i>Folkestone</i> , cog, of Folkestone	Simon Adam	1	23
Sandwich and Lydd contingent—			
<i>Sauweye</i> , of Sandwich	William Gundy	2	39
<i>Holy Ghost</i> , ship, of Sandwich	John Lamberd	2	39
<i>St. Thomas</i> , cog, of Sandwich	Gervase de Wardon	2	39

The four "Captains of the Sailors of the said Ports" were: William Pate, Justin Alard, William Charles of Sandwich, and John Aula of Dover.—Wardrobe Accounts, 28 Edw. I.

fifty-seven. When the fifteen days of their due service had expired, the wages of officers and men were paid by the king. Gervase Alard, the admiral, received 2*s.* ; the four captains of the ports, 1*s.* ; the chaplain, Robert of Sandwich, and the masters and constables, each 6*d.* ; and the sailors, each 3*d.* a day ; the masters also received 20*s.* each for pilotage (*lodmannagium*) for the whole coasts of Scotland and Ireland. It appears to have been not unusual for officers and seamen of the period, after a campaign, to be given passage money to carry them home from their ports ; for before returning to England the king gave Alard twenty shillings for this purpose : to each of three of the captains of the ports one mark ; and to sailors, amounts varying from five shillings to one mark. There are also notices of other out-of-pocket expenses, incurred on service, having been repaid.¹

The services rendered by the Cinque Ports in the Welsh expedition of 1278 gained them a new charter, dated the 17th of June of that year. This charter confirmed all their former liberties and grants, and set forth their privileges ; which included exemptions from tolls and wreck ; the right of buying, selling and rebuying, throughout the king's dominions ; "den" (right of drying and mending nets on certain marsh lands at Great Yarmouth) ; "strond" (right of landing freely with their fish at the same place) ; "findals," or findings, on sea and land : and their honours in the king's courts. It was forbidden to disturb them in their mercantile operations, on penalty of ten pounds. In return, they were to render yearly their full service of fifty-seven ships, at their own cost, for fifteen days, when summoned by the king. The chief additional concessions were : "utfangtheff" (right of punishing a thief, no matter the domicile, or the scene of the offence, if taken within the fee) ; that they should not be put on any assize, juries, or recognitions, against their will ; that of their own wines for which they traded they should be quit of the king's duty or "prise," to the extent of one tun of wine before the mast, and of another abaft the mast ; and that they should be exempted from the Crown's right of wardships and marriages in respect of land within the ports.²

Edward I. granted two other charters to the Cinque Ports, both dated April 28th, 1298. One exempted the hulls and rigging of their ships from taxes of all kinds, provided that no man, without their consent, should be a partner or sharer in any goods which

¹ Wardrobe Accounts.

² 'Fiedera,' i. 558.

they might buy in Ireland; and allowed all persons born in the ports to marry as they pleased, even though they might hold lands elsewhere by such service as would, if minors were in question, have subjected the marriages to the will of the Crown.

The other charter, after reciting that the king had in mind "that his shipping of the Cinque Ports could not be maintained without great cost and expenses," and was desirous "that shipping should not fail in future," declared, with an agreeable cynicism, that his majesty granted that all the inhabitants of those ports, and others calling themselves of their liberty and willing to enjoy the same, should contribute, each according to his means, to perform the service with the ships when required.¹

When the whole number of fifty-seven ships was not needed, as many as were thought necessary were called for by the Crown, which could order the men belonging to the remaining vessels to be put on board the ships summoned to serve. This course was followed in 1302, when twenty-five ships, and the full tale of men were provided.² A port failing to furnish its proper contingent was obliged to give a satisfactory excuse, or to suffer indictment and fine; and others besides the Cinque Ports were subject to this rule; for, about the year 1301, the towns of Poole, Warham, and Lyme, having agreed to furnish each a ship for the Scots war, and having failed to do so, were ordered to be punished at the discretion of certain commissioners.³

It has been already shown that, under the Laws of Oleron, the master of a ship, in case of danger in a storm, might, with the consent of the merchants on board, lighten the vessel by throwing, or "ejecting," part of the cargo overboard; and that if they did not consent, he might act as he thought proper. That was the rule in Oleron, and elsewhere, but not, at least in the early years of Edward I., in England; for there the merchants had a lien upon the property of the master and crew for goods so ejected. The injustice was remedied by an ordinance of May, 1285, copies of which were sent to every port, and which, translated, ran as follows:—

"The king, being informed that Gregory de Rokesle and Henry le Waleis, citizens of London, and others, merchants as well of England as of Ireland, Gascony and Wales, have been in the habit of compelling the Barons of the Cinque Ports, and other sailors of the realm, to pay towards the ejections of their freighted ships when in

¹ 'Charters of the Cinque Ports' (Jeakes), 39-41.

² 'Fedora,' i. 945.

³ Patent Rolls, 30 Edw. I.

danger from storms at sea, out of the materials, rigging, ornaments, and other goods of the said barons and sailors, he has thought proper to order and declare that the ship so laden with merchandise or wine, together with the entire equipment, the ring worn on the finger of the ship's master, the victuals of the seamen, the utensils which they are wont to use at their meals, their money, their belts, the silver cup, if the master of the ship have one, from which he drinks, shall be free from tax on account of the said ejections of the sea; and that the freightage of wines and other goods rescued in the ship shall be preserved to the sailors; that the master of the ship shall lose his freightage on casks or goods so thrown into the sea; and that all other goods in the ship, belonging whether to the sailors or to the merchants, as wines, merchandise, money in gross, beds, and other goods, except the aforesaid utensils and equipment of the ship, provisions, cooking utensils of the seamen, money, belt, silver cup, and ring, and the freightage of goods saved, shall thereupon be estimated in aid of the restitution of the value of the wines and other goods thrown overboard because of the storm."¹

A very important document of the reign of Edward I., which still exists in the original Norman French, and which has been cited with respect by Pryme and Coke,² as well as by Selden, is given, in translation, in 'Mare Clausum.'³ The exact nature of the document is not apparent, for, though it purports to be a petition to certain auditors or commissioners appointed to decide between England and France, there is no record of such a petition having been presented, nor is the instrument itself dated, signed or sealed. It is probably the draught of an instrument which may or may not have been executed; and internal evidence indicates that it was drawn up in or soon after the summer of 1304 and before the death of Edward. Petition or not, it is certainly a document of the early fourteenth century, and, its contents being what they are, it is, therefore, of very exceptional interest as illustrating the antiquity of the claim of the kings of England to the dominion of the neighbouring seas. It is too long to print here entire; but the following are the passages which are particularly significant:—

“. . . Whereas the Kings of England, by right of the said kingdom from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, have been in peaceable possession of the sovereign lordship of the sea of England, and of the isles within the same, with power of making and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be, and of taking surety and affording safeguard 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 cognisance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low. . . . And whereas A. de B., deputed admiral of the said sea by the King of England, and all other admirals appointed by the said King of England and his ancestors heretofore Kings of England, have been in peace-

¹ 'Fodera,' i. 651.

² Coke, Fourth Institute, 113.

³ 'Mare Clausum,' ii. 28.

able possession of the said sovereign guard, with power of jurisdiction. . . . And whereas the masters of the ships of the said kingdom of England, in the absence of the said admiral, have been in peaceable possession of taking cognisance and judging between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions and customs . . . (and whereas the Kings of England and France have lately, in the first article of a league of treaty,¹ guaranteed one another in the defence of their rights and privileges) . . . Monsieur Reyner Grimbald,² master of the navy of the said King of France, who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his aforesaid lord in his war against the Flemings, did, after the said league made and confirmed, against the tenour and obligations of the said league, and the intent of them that made it, wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiralty in the said sea of England above the space of a year by commission of the said King of France, taking the people and merchants of the kingdom of England, and of other places, passing through the said sea with their goods, and committed them so taken to the prisons of his said lord the King of France, and delivered their goods and merchandises to the receivers of the said King of France, by him deputed in the ports of his said kingdom, as forfeited and due unto him, to remain at his judgment and award. . . . (Therefore it is prayed) that you would cause due and speedy deliverance of the said people with their goods and merchandises, so taken and detained, to be made to the admiral of the said King of England, to whom the cognisance of the same of right appertaineth, as is before expressed; so that without disturbance from you or any other, he may take cognisance thereof, and do what belongs to his office aforesaid; and the said Monsieur Reyner be condemned and constrained to make satisfaction for all the said damages, so far forth as he shall be able, and, in his default, his said lord the King of France, by whom he was deputed to the said office; and that, after satisfaction given for the said damages, the said Monsieur Reyner may be so duly punished for the violation of the said league, that his punishment may be an example to others in time to come."

Granting that the claim, as set forth above, was made, there is still no evidence that it was then admitted; but many years were not to elapse without a very similar claim being both made and admitted.

In the navy of Edward I. the flags used seem to have been the same as those flown under his immediate predecessors, viz., the Royal banner, and the banner of St. George. The former was not confined to vessels actually having the sovereign or a prince of his house on board. Streamers, known otherwise as pencils, and later as whips and pennants, had come into use; but there is nothing to show that they were in anyway confined to king's ships or that they were always worn by king's ships in commission. In Edward's army, on the other hand, in addition to the banners used in the navy, the banner of St. Edmund—blue, with three gold crowns—and the banner of Edward the Confessor—blue, with a gold cross between five martlets—were employed.

Edward II., fourth but eldest surviving son of Edward I., who

¹ Dated at Paris, May 20th, 1303. The text is in Rymer's 'Fœdera.'

² Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco, the celebrated seaman who died in 1314.

had received the title of Prince of Wales in 1301, and who, at the time of his accession, was twenty-three years of age, succeeded his father in 1307. He was a weak, despicable, and altogether unworthy monarch—the slave of his parasites, and the shuttlecock of his powerful nobles; and although his stormy reign was in several respects important from a naval point of view, it can hardly be contended that he personally ever did anything for the honour and greatness of England.

There is no doubt that in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries piracy was always very prevalent in the Narrow Seas; yet strong kings invariably kept it in some sort of check, and managed to curb, if not to repress, the freebooting tendencies of the most formidable of the English sea robbers, who had their headquarters in those strongholds of privilege and disorder, the Cinque Ports. But under a weak sovereign there was little or no effectual restraint upon the outrages of these rovers, nor upon those of the piratical inhabitants of the opposite coasts. In the reign, therefore, of Edward II. a recrudescence of piracy is distinctly noticeable. Looking to the proportions which it reached it is almost surprising that it was possible to maintain even the semblance of peace between England and her neighbours; nor would such a thing have been practicable at all had not there been a custom of permitting and encouraging aggrieved parties, on both sides of the Channel, to settle for themselves disputes which would, in later days, have been treated as international questions.

In March, 1308, there was a complaint by three merchants of Great Yarmouth that a ship laden by them at Rouen with cloth, woollens, canvas, cables, and gold and silver to the value of £40 had been attacked at night by French pirates and carried off.¹ Soon afterwards there was a complaint by merchants of Winchester that a ship of theirs had been plundered off Gravelines by Flamands.² About 1314 William de Huntingdon's ship was carried out of the port of Dublin by pirates headed by John le Lung of Bristol, and subsequently burnt.³ In the same year the *Paternoster*, of Yarmouth, chartered by William de Forbernard, a Gascon merchant, was plundered off the Foreland by Gervase Alard of Winchelsea, Peter Bert of Sandwich, and Robert Cleves of Greenwich, who were all in the king's service; and as Alard was either the very individual, or nearly related to the individual, who a few years

¹ 'Fœdera,' ii. 40.

² Parl. Rolls, i. 277.

³ *Ib.*, i. 327.

earlier had been admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, this was a particularly gross case; yet the sufferer obtained no redress.¹ In 1322 a vessel laden by two merchants of Sherborne was plundered off Portsmouth by Robert de Battayle, and others of the Cinque Ports,² and, at about the same time, the *Cruzenburg*, belonging to Albrith le Breme, a German merchant, was attacked in the port of Orwell by two vessels, one of Winchelsea and one of Greenwich, and carried off after some of the crew had been killed and wounded.³ In 1323 or 1324 the ship *Annot*, of Ditton, was boarded between Lynn and Orford by John Russell and other pirates of Spalding, who, although the craft was laden with fish for the king's use, killed her crew and took her to Seaford, where they sold her.

Indeed, there was almost no limit to the iniquitous audacity of the coast populations, and especially of the people of the Cinque Ports. In 1314, when the *Blessed Mary*, of Fuenterrabia, had been wrecked on the coast of Angoumois, and then plundered by seamen of Winchelsea, Rye and Romney, the inhabitants of those towns forcibly prevented an investigation from being made into the outrage.⁴

The reign seems to have produced few improvements in ships and their gear. The pay of officers and men remained as before. The instructions issued to John Deverye, the priest who inspected the preparation of the squadron destined for Guienne in 1324, show the proportion borne by complements to tonnage to have been as follows, though, as we cannot be sure how the tonnage was measured, or how many fighting men were embarked in addition to the mariners, the information conveyed is not perfect:—To a ship of 240 tons there were 60 mariners; to one of 200 tons, 50; to one of from 160 to 180 tons, 40; to one of 140 tons, 35; to one of 120 tons, 28; to one of 100 tons, 26; to one of 80 tons, 24; and to one of 60 tons, 21. The numbers were inclusive of officers, the vessels of 180 tons and upwards having each one master and two constables, and those of 160 tons and less having one master and one constable only. The seamen received twenty days' pay in advance.⁵ Says Nicolas, "it may be inferred from this document that there were few English ships of more than 240 tons burden, or which carried more than sixty men, except galleys, the number of whose crews was proportionate to their oars."

¹ Parl. Rolls, i. 406.

² *Ib.*, i. 413.

³ *Ib.*, i. 397.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 239.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 17 Edw. II., in 'Archæologia,' vi. 211.

Contemporary pictures of foreign vessels, though obviously very inaccurate for the most part, indicate that early in the fourteenth century the "clavus" or steering paddle, almost exactly similar to that used in the viking ship, was still generally employed, but that in a few large vessels the rudder, shipped very much as at present, had already been adopted. In English ships, however, there appears to have been as yet no rudder. On the other hand, two masts had become not uncommon. Each carried a single lug sail, and each generally had a fighting top, formed apparently of a large barrel. The two masts were, in fact, similar save that, while the main mast was perpendicular, the foremast often raked considerably forward. Both were single poles. There is no sign of a bowsprit supporting a fore-and-aft sail, nor any mention of a pump.

Fireships, however, had come into use, if not in the English navy, at least abroad; for in the great battle fought between the French and the Flamands in August, 1304, off Zierikzee, the Flamands employed two small vessels filled with pitch, oil, grease, and other combustibles, which they towed to windward of four ships that were aground and, having fired them, set them adrift. Unfortunately, owing to a shift of wind, they did more damage to friends than to foes. In that, as in many other early naval battles, no quarter, except to personages of great distinction, appears to have been granted.¹

Notices of payments made for naval services during the reign are numerous; but in the majority of cases sufficient details, as to numbers of men hired, and nature of work done, in return for specific sums, are not given to enable us to form conclusions concerning the proportions of results to costs. There are some exceptions. In 1316, the Constable of Dover was paid £54 13s. 4*d.* for fourteen large ships and six boats, employed in conveying the king's ambassadors from Dover to Whitsand (Wissant);² and in the year following a sum of £128 was paid for the wages of the five masters, five constables, and 323 armed sailors, belonging to five ships in the service of the king in Scotland, for one month, each master and constable receiving as before 6*d.*, and each sailor 3*d.* a day.³ In June, 1324, the "Keepers of the passage of the

¹ Chron. de Guillaume Guiart, viii. (Buchon).

² Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 9 Edw. II.

³ Wardrobe Accounts.

Port of Dover" were paid £1 3s. 4*d.* for the hire of the ship that brought to England Hugh, Seigneur de Boyville, chamberlain to the King of France; and £16 6s. 8*d.* for the hire of six ships, one barge, and one boat, to carry the Earl of Kent, brother of the king, from Dover to Wissant.¹ When, in the same year, John de Shoreditch went over on a mission to France, there were paid, for the ship that conveyed him and his four horses, 40s., and for customs, portage, and pontage at Dover and Wissant, and for the hire of a ship and boat for his return, £4 12s. 6*d.* the customs, portage, and pontage amounting to 8s. 6*d.*

There were continual difficulties in the way of obtaining the required number of ships for the king's service. His Majesty had few of his own, the squadron furnished by the Cinque Ports was often insufficient for the business in hand, and the other seaports upon which requisitions were made, frequently pleaded that they were too poor to obey the king's commands. In cases such as the last mentioned, neighbouring towns were sometimes ordered to assist the poor place. In this manner Totness, Brixham, Portsmouth, and Kingsbridge were directed to aid Dartmouth to maintain a ship and crew in 1310; and Plympton, Modbury, Newton Ferrars, and Yalmouth to aid Sutton; while Topsham, Kenton, Powderham, and other places near, helped Exeter.² Occasionally, the Crown itself supplied deficiencies, and occasionally it made slight concessions, as, for example, when the execution of the service threatened to interfere with the fishing.³

Beacons were, in this reign, if not before, erected along the coasts, so that the alarm might be quickly given upon the approach of an enemy; and the inhabitants were enjoined to light up the fires whenever the safety of their districts required it.⁴

The right of the Crown to "great" or royal fish was jealously preserved, save that Henry granted to the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's the fish found in their domains, except the tongues, which he reserved for himself. In 1326, when a whale was taken in the chapter's manor of Walton, the prize was iniquitously carried off by thirty-two "malefactors," who were named, and against whom proceedings were taken.⁵ But those who captured royal fish for the king were rewarded. In 1315, three

¹ Issue Roll, Easter, 17 Edw. II.

² Scots Rolls.

³ Parl. Rolls, i. 414.

⁴ 'Fosdera,' ii. 636.

⁵ *Ib.*, 619.

sailors, who took a whale near London Bridge, were paid 20s. for their pains.

A circumstance which happened in 1310, when England was at peace with France but at war with Scotland, with which, however, there was a truce, deserves notice, not only because of its intrinsic interest, but also because it concerns Ravensrode. A French vessel had been to Scotland to trade there, when, on her return, she was forced into Ravensrode by stress of weather, and there seized as coming from Scotland. Philip of France requested the release of ship, crew, and goods, and Edward complied, begging, however, his brother of France to prevent his subjects from having intercourse with the enemies of England.¹ Ravensrode, the scene of the seizure, was an important seaport, but had not long been so. After a brief career, it was swept away by the enroachments of the sea. It was a peninsula beyond Holderness, joined to the mainland by a low beach of sand and stones; and although Henry IV. landed there in 1399, and Edward IV. in 1471, there was no trace of it visible in the middle of the sixteenth century. It was also known as Ravenspur and Ravenser, and was in the parish of, though at a distance of four miles from, Easington. Sunthorpe, hard by, has also been submerged.

The king confirmed the privileges of the Cinque Ports in 1313, and added, that although liberties or freedoms granted in the previous charters might not have been used, yet they might, nevertheless, be fully enjoyed by the barons, their heirs and successors, without any impediment from the king and his heirs.²

Something has already been said about the lawlessness which prevailed in the Narrow Seas during this reign. One example, which might have been cited with the instances given on an earlier page, has been reserved for notice here, because it led to what is the first plain and undoubted admission by foreigners of the claim of the kings of England to the sovereignty of their seas.

For some time the seamen of England and those of Flanders had been attacking and plundering each other, though the countries were at peace; and at length, when some particularly flagrant acts of piracy had been committed by Englishmen "*sur la mere d'Engleterre devers les parties de Craudon*," the king and the Count of Flanders agreed to adopt decisive measures. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, and after several years of intermittent negotiations,

¹ 'Federa,' ii. 418.

² 'Charters of the Cinque Ports,' 42.

a treaty was concluded in 1320. The Flamands begged the king to cause justice to be done, and the king undertook to see it done. The Flamand prayer was, "that the king, of his lordship and royal power, would see law and punishment dealt out in connection with the said deed, forasmuch as he is lord of the sea, and the said robbery was committed on the sea within his power,¹ as is set forth above." The treaty is in French. When, on December 13th, 1320, Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and others, were ordered to institute the inquiry which had been promised by the king, the statement of the circumstances included exactly the same expressions, but in Latin;² so that two independent records exist of the admission which, as it was entirely spontaneous, was the more significant.

"Craudon," off which the outrage which led to this admission is reported to have taken place, may probably be identified with Crodon or Crozon,³ a little place on the Bay of Douarnenez, in the arrondissement of Châteaulin and the department of Finistère. It contains, to-day, between eight and nine thousand inhabitants, and has some considerable trade in sardines and salt. If, then, "*la mere d'Angleterre*" extended, as in the opinion of the Flamands it did, even farther south than Ushant, the English Dominion of the Sea in the fourteenth century may have been already as wide as it was formally conceded by the Dutch to be in the seventeenth.

The title of admiral has been once or twice ascribed in this history to the chief officer of an English fleet. In the latter part of the reign of Edward II., the rank was ordinarily given, by commission, to one holding that position, and therefore it may be pertinent to say something concerning its origin in this country. No English officer seems to have been formally and officially styled admiral until 1297. Previously, leaders of fleets had been called "justices," "leaders and governors," "leaders and constables," "keepers of the sea-coast," "captains of the king's sailors and mariners of the Cinque Ports," but on March 8th, 1297, in the convention made at Bruges between Guy, Count of Flanders,

¹ The French text runs: ". . . de siccome il est seigneur de la mer, et la dite roberie fut fait sur la mer dans son poer." The Latin text is: ". . . et quod ipse est dominus dicti maris, et depredatio predicta facta fuit supra dictum mare infra potestatem suam."—Patent Rolls, 11 Edw. II.; 'Mare Clausum,' ii. 29; and Rymer's 'Fœdera,' ii. 431.

² Patent Rolls, 11 Edw. II., pt. 2, m. 26.

³ Spelt both ways in seventeenth and eighteenth-century maps and charts.

and the envoys of Edward I., William de Leybourne, who had a commission as "Captain of the king's sailors and mariners," was styled "Admiral of the Sea of the King of England."¹ It has been supposed that the first known English commission to the rank of admiral is dated February 4th, 1303, and is in favour of Gervase Alard.² Even this, however, is thought by some to be no commission, but merely a proclamation setting forth an accomplished fact. Other instruments, which may have been commissions, but which also may have been proclamations, are dated June 5th, 1306,³ and are in favour of Gervase Alard aforesaid, and Edward Charles; but several undoubted commissions to the rank of admiral survive from the reign of Edward II.; and, in order that the terms of these may be compared with the commissions now issued to admirals, the commission, dated March 15th, 1315, to John, Lord de Botetort, is here given, translated from the Latin, as printed in the Scots Rolls, i., 139:—

"John Botetourt is appointed Admiral of the Eastern Fleet with fullest power.

"The King to all and singular his sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and faithful subjects to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Know that we have appointed our beloved and faithful John Botetourt admiral and captain of our sailors and mariners of all the ports and places to which ships or boats resort from the mouth of the Thames, on the eastward side, as far as Berwick-on-Tweed, and also of our soldiers and other faithful subjects who, at our command, are about to proceed with the said John in the fleet of the said sailors and mariners by the maritime parts and the sea-coasts against our Scots foes and rebels. So that the said admiral and captain, by himself, and by others whom, by his letters patent, sealed with his seal, he shall assign, depute and determine, shall have power to take and carry with him suitable men potent for arms, ships, barges and boats, victuals, and other things which may be necessary for the furthering of the same; and also shall have power to seize equipments, at the discretion of the said admiral and captain, from those from whom the said admiral and captain shall see fit to seize them; provided, nevertheless, as regards such victuals and other necessaries as shall be thus taken for the support of the same admiral and captain, the sailors and the mariners, that they shall satisfy those from whom they take them according to the reasonable price of the same, and so as regards the equipments, or they shall find sufficient security for the restoration of the same equipments. And therefore we command you all and singular, and, strictly enjoining you in the duty wherewith you are bound to us, do order that to the said John, as admiral and captain of the said sailors, mariners, soldiers and others aforesaid, and to others whom the said John, by his letters patent, shall assign and determine as aforesaid, you be attentive, answerable, helpful and obedient in all and singular the premises, according as he shall make known to you on our behalf. In testimony whereof, etc., to last during our pleasure.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of March."

The other naval officers of the period were captains, who some-

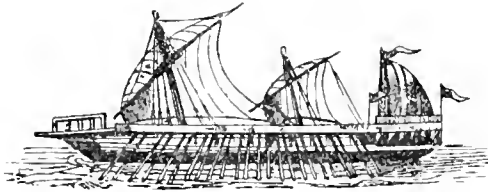
¹ *Federa*, ii. 861.

² Patent Rolls, 31 Edw. I., m. 39.

³ *Ib.*, 31 Edw. I., m. 21.

times at least commanded several vessels; masters, rectors, and constables, who were commanding officers of ships, though often, as to-day is the case with captains and commanders in a large ship, two of them served simultaneously in one craft; and comitres or comites, who were supervisors of galley rowers. The constable is rarely found in command of anything but a small craft, and it may be suspected that to him we should look as the professional ancestor of the lieutenant. The rank, or more properly the title, of rector began at the end of the thirteenth century to die out. Chaplains were not borne in private ships, but were appointed to do duty throughout whole fleets.

It has been mentioned that the wage of the seamen was threepence a day. It is interesting to note that the pay of the foot



GALLEY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(After a picture by Pietro Laurati in the Uffizi Gallery.)

soldier of the period was only twopence. The artisans who on shore received threepence were plasterers and miners.

Edward II. was deposed by his queen and Roger Mortimer, and compelled to abdicate; and his son, Edward III., succeeded him on February 1st, 1327, being then in his fifteenth year. During his minority the country was ruled, and very ill ruled, by Mortimer and the abandoned Isabella, Henry of Lancaster being, however, nominal chief of a council of regency; but in 1330 the young king vigorously and effectively asserted his position, and thenceforward governed for himself.

In the reign of Edward III., in addition to the classes of ships already described, many new types appear to have been used, or at least many new names were applied to vessels. We read of "ballingers," which were probably large barges, though some "barges" of this period were of considerable size, carrying a hundred men or more; "carracks," properly vessels of Genoese or Spanish origin, but in a more general sense, ships of large dimensions: "cogs," or as we might say, first-rates of the time; "crayers,"

or small merchantmen; "do_ggers," chiefly used for fishing; "lode-ships," perhaps pilot vessels, also employed for fishing; "fluves," or "flutes," moderately large craft, but of shallow draught; "galliot," strictly small galleys; "hoc-boats," identified by some with the modern hookers; "hulks," "keels," "seg-boats," "lighters," "liques," "lynes," "pessoners," or fishing craft; "pickards," "pin-naces," apparently a contemporary equivalent for sloops-of-war; "shutes," or large flat-bottomed boats, and "tarics," or "tarettes," large ships of burden, sometimes employed as transports. But the exact nature of most of these cannot be decided with any degree of certainty. Some were undoubtedly of very respectable size. The cog *Thomas*, which is conjectured to have gone down in the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," carried a master, two constables, two carpenters, one hundred and twenty-four sailors, and eight boys,¹ and may have carried archers and soldiers as well to the number of sixty or more, as the usual proportion of fighting landsmen to mariners in warships of the time was about twenty-five archers and twenty-five soldiers to each one hundred seamen.

In the accounts² of the expenses of building the galley *La Phelipe* at Lynn, in 1336, we meet with many terms which are strangely familiar. Among them are "hawsers," "pulleys," "stays," "back-stays," "painters," "sheets," "bolt-ropes," "seizings," "hatches," "cables," "leeches," "tow-ropes," "sounding-lines," etc.; but there are many more the signification of which is unknown, or can only be guessed at. The vessel had one mast which cost £10, one yard which cost £3, and one bowsprit which cost £2 3s. 4d. She had one large anchor of Spanish iron, weighing 1100½ pounds, and five smaller anchors, costing altogether £23 10s. 3d. Her sail, which was dyed red, contained 640 ells, and to it were attached "wynewews," which were dyed black, and contained 220 ells. The sail had eight "reef-ropes" and "ribondes." There were eighty oars, and a cloth awning, called a "panell," dyed red and containing 576 ells. There was no pump, but water was ejected by means of a "winding-babies," into which the water was put by two "spojours." The sides were greased, and the bottom was paid with a mixture of pitch, tar, oil, and resin. The caulking was done with "mosso." Timber for the rudder, which was evidently fixed to the stern, cost

¹ In 1338 the largest "cog" was of 210 tons, while the largest "ship" was of only 180 tons.

² Roll "T. G. 671," at Carlton Ride.

2s., and 200 pounds of Spanish iron were bought "to make two chains for her rudder."

That rudders very much resembling those of the modern type, and, like them, hung by means of pintles and gudgeons, were in use in the English navy at about this time, is clear from the details shown in good copies of the gold noble which was struck by Edward III., soon after the battle of Sluis, in 1340. There, although the tiller is not visible, the rudder itself is plainly very similar to that which, in the ordinary course, would be fitted to-day to a fishing-smack or a collier-brig. After the middle of the fourteenth century, the *clarus* disappeared from all save very small craft in England. From the wording of the account, there is little doubt that the rudder of *La Phelipe* was of the modern type. The daily pay of the builders of this galley was as follows: master carpenter, 6*d.*; other carpenters, 5*d.*; clinkerers, 4*d.*; holderers, 3*d.*, and servants or labourers, 2½*d.*



GOLD NOBLE OF
EDWARD III., 1344.

From other accounts¹ we learn that ships had capstans and "helms," or tillers; that bowsprits were very small, probably not yet supporting any sail; that one mast was still usual even in vessels of some size, although two masts were carried by a few craft; and that "triefs" or sails were furnished with "bonnets,"² or additional parts made to fasten at the foot with latching, so as to increase the sail area in moderate winds. Some masts carried two sails, a course and a topsail, but fore-and-aft sails seem not to have been employed.

The fore and stern castles were not necessarily structural portions of the vessel fitted with them, and they were built by special artificers called castlewrights, and by them added to merchant vessels that were called out for war service. Thus, in 1335, the *Trinity*, of two hundred tons, was furnished with an "aftcastle, topcastle, and forecastle," or as we might say, with a poop, a

¹ Chieftly Rolls at Carlton Ride, cited by Nicolas.

² A sail might have two or even three bonnets. The term is used by Chaucer in 'The Merchant's Second Tale,' i. 868-871:—

"Lodisman,
Stere oys into the costis as well as thou can;
When our shippis be yecom, that we now pass in fere,
Lace on a bonnet or tweyn, that we may mowe saile nere."

fighting top, and a forecastle. Chaucer¹ calls the forecastle the "forestage." In ships carrying royalties the minstrels seem to have played on or in the forecastle. As to the size of masts, some little indication is furnished by a record that in 1338 sixty masts, each fifty feet long at the least, were purchased. Blocks, almost exactly similar to the simplest forms still in use, existed, and were called "polyves" (pulleys). In a notice of a hulk called the *Christopher of the Tower*, a "david" is mentioned, but a davit does not seem to have been meant.

The receipts of the clerk of the *George* in 1345 show among the payments: To a mariner called a lodsman (pilot), for conducting the ship from Bursledon near Southampton to the Solent, 2s.; for piloting her from the Downs to Sandwich, 6s. 8d.; for twelve glass horologes (? hour-glasses), bought at Shuis in Flanders, 9s.; for three lanterns for the ship, 4d.; for brooms for washing the ship, 3d.; for oars, 8d. each; for four large and long oars called "skulls," 4s. 8d. Five years later the *George* was apparently one of the vessels to be engaged in the battle of Sluis, and another ship of the same name was taken from the French in that action.

As in earlier times ships, seamen, soldiers, and stores were obtained by impressment,² with payment. The right to impress was incidental to the office of admiral, but it was also occasionally given to particular captains.³ In 1337, an attorney was ordered by Admiral Sir John Roos to fit himself out as a man-at-arms. The lawyer petitioned the king that to obey the order would be to injure his clients and to ruin himself, and Sir John was directed not to insist upon compliance.⁴

The officers of the navy remained as in the previous reign, with the addition of clerks and carpenters. The masters or commanders began to be called captains towards the end of the reign, but it must not be therefore supposed that the rank of "master and commander" then had its origin, or was then conceded the courtesy style of "captain." "Master and commander," as a distinct rank, was an invention of the latter part of the seventeenth century. The clerk represented the purser, or the more modern paymaster. The carpenter was regarded as an important officer, seeing that his pay of 6d. a day was the same as that of the master, the constable, and the clerk. The nearest equivalent to the modern gunner was

¹ 'Merchant's Second Tale,' 2199.

² 'Fodera,' iii. 323, 1917.

³ Scots Rolls, i. 383, 465, 483.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, ii. 96.

the armourer, who, however, was not an officer; and there was no boatswain. Large ships carried two carpenters. In 1370, an additional penny a day was granted to seamen, making their pay 4*d.*¹

Notices of the magnet are not numerous. The clerk of the *George*, whose accounts have been already alluded to, spent 6*s.* for "twelve stones called adamants, called sail-stones," and these no doubt went to form rough compasses of some sort; but the term compass, in the sense of the mariner's compass, does not seem to be anywhere used, though "sailing-needles and dial" are mentioned.

Concerning the cost of freight, we find that in 1370 a sum of £30 6*s.* was paid for a ship and a crew of thirty-eight men to carry twenty soldiers and sixteen archers from Southampton to Normandy,² and that in 1368, when the Duke of Clarence, with 457 men-at-arms and 1280 horses, went from Dover to Calais in thirty-nine ships and thirteen small craft, the expense of transport was £173 6*s.* 8*d.*³

The ships of Edward III. flew a variety of colours. There was the banner of St. George, sometimes with a "leopard" (the lion of England) in chief. There was the banner of the royal arms, which after 1340 consisted of the three lions of England quartered with the arms of France—Azure semée of fleurs de lys Or. But ships bore also pennoncelles or streamers, charged with the arms of St. George,⁴ and other streamers, some of which, if the ship happened to be called after a saint or by a Christian name, bore the image of the patron. The streamers of the *Edward* bore the king's arms, with an E. These streamers were from fourteen to thirty-two ells long, according to the size of the ship, and from three to five cloths in breadth. The admiral of a fleet hoisted his own banner, and when any eminent person was on board, his banner also was flown. In 1337, when Sir John Roos, admiral of the northern seas, convoyed the Bishop of Lincoln and the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon from the continent, his ship, the *Christopher*, was furnished with small banners accordingly. These were one ell and three quarters long, and two cloths wide.⁵ Besides the banners, there were targets and pavises placed around the sides of the ship, bearing sometimes the arms of St. George, and sometimes the royal arms within a

¹ Issue Rolls, 44 Edw. III., 272-274, 277 (Devon).

² *Ib.*, 183 (Devon).

³ 'Fœdera,' iii. 845.

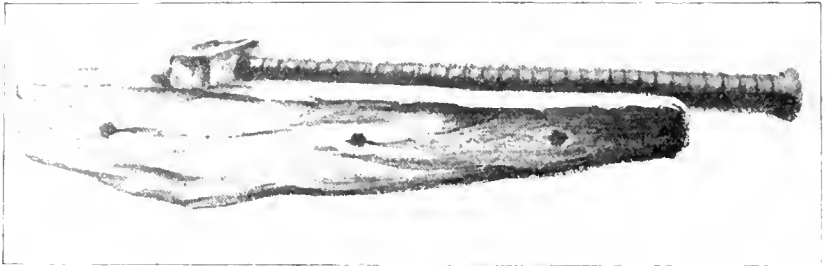
⁴ Roll 'F. L. H. 639,' at Carlton Ride.

⁵ Roll 'E. B. 520,' at Carlton Ride.

garter. Ships bearing Christian names seem to have had on board an image of their patron.¹

In consequence of the deterioration of the navy, the sheriffs of many counties were ordered in October, 1340, to proclaim that no owner of a ship, or other person, should sell or give a ship to any foreigner, upon pain of forfeiting the vessel and his other property. In 1336, and again in 1341 and 1343, the exportation of timber fit for shipbuilding, and of wood and boards, was stringently prohibited.

It was in the reign of Edward III. that the navy first experienced the influence of the invention of gunpowder, and of its application as a propellent to the purposes of warfare. The question of the discovery of gunpowder needs not to be discussed here. It will suffice to say that it appears to have been first used in land warfare in



PRIMITIVE WIRE-WOUND GUN.

Europe about the year 1325 or 1326, when the Florentine Republic certainly possessed cannon; and that in June, 1338, three iron cannon with chambers, and a hand-gun, figured among the stores of the *Christopher of the Tower*:² that the barge *Mary of the Tower* had an iron cannon with two chambers, and a brass cannon with one chamber; that the *Bernard of the Tower* had two iron cannon;³ and that other cannon existed on board ships of the king. It is probable, though by no means certain, that these weapons were then quite new. Guns, however, were not common in the navy until several years later, and not before about 1373 do entries concerning guns, powder and shot become frequent in naval documents. In the account⁴ of John de Sleaford, Clerk of the Privy Wardrobe, of armour, shot, gunpowder, etc., 1372-1374, mention is made of

¹ Issue Rolls, 50 Edw. III., 201 (Devon).

² At this period, the addition "of the Tower" to a ship's name seems to have always signified that the vessel belonged to the sovereign.

³ Roll 'F. G. II, 996,' at Carlton Ride, printed by Nicolas.

⁴ Roll 'F. L. II. 532,' printed by Nicolas.

workmen being employed at the Tower in making powder, and “pelottes” of lead for guns; of willow faggots to make, and coal to dry, the powder; of brazen pots and dishes wherein to dry the powder; of leather bags to hold the powder; of iron spoons to make leaden bullets; of moulds for the bullets; of the purchase of 220 pounds of saltpetre; of boatage, portage, and carriage of lead and guns; of “two great guns of iron” bought at 40s. each; and of the purchase of live sulphur. Mention is also made of firing-irons.

The guns with chambers, which were among the earliest guns used on board ship, were, in effect, breechloaders. They were, for the most part, small. In them the after portion of the upper half of the gun was cut away in such a manner that the loaded “chamber” could be dropped into the bore. How it was kept in place does not appear, save that it was supported to some extent by the rear wall of the aperture in which it lay; and, judging from early specimens¹ of these ancient breechloaders that have been preserved, the chambers fitted very loosely, and there must have been great danger to the gunners when they were fired. Yet guns with chambers continued in general, though not exclusive, use for about two centuries, if not for longer, as will be seen later.

Edward's navy was entirely managed by the king and his council; and, as Nicolas points out, it is remarkable that the earliest minutes now extant of the proceedings of the King's Council relate to the navy. The first minute of all contains directions to Sir John Roos, Admiral, and dates from 1337. Matters of detail were left to the admirals, who held Courts of Admiralty within their jurisdictions, administered the ancient marine law, and punished offenders “according to the custom of mariners.” Captains of ships, unless they had received explicit authority to do so, were not permitted to punish seamen; but it would appear that the authority was often granted.

The ‘Black Book of the Admiralty’ contains in Norman French an important treatise on the office and duties of admirals, probably compiled, as Nicolas thinks, prior to 1351, though copied, of course, later, into the collection of documents. It is far too long to be printed here *in extenso*, but Nicolas's summary² of it, made from the MS. Black Book once belonging to Mr. J. W. Croker, may, with some abbreviation, be cited.

¹ Some are still the property of the Lords of the Admiralty.

² Nicolas, ii. 193, etc.

An admiral, after receiving his commission, was immediately to appoint his lieutenants, deputies, and other officers, and was to ascertain from them the number of vessels in the ports and the names of their owners, and how many fencible seamen were in the realm. The admiral was to be paid, if a knight, 4*s.*, if a baron, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and if an earl, 8*s.* 4*d.*, a day. For each knight in his retinue he was allowed 2*s.*, for each armed esquire 1*s.*, for thirty men-at-arms £66 13*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, and for each archer 6*d.* a day. He was to administer justice "according to the law and ancient custom of the sea." Having collected his fleet, the admiral was to choose the best ship for the king, if present, and the next best ship, if necessary, as indicated by the steward of the household, for the king's hall, for the wardrobe, for the larder, and for the kitchen. Good ships were also to be provided for princes who were present. Before choosing a vessel for himself, the admiral was to provide accommodation for the persons and stores of lords and captains about to be embarked. Masters and constables were to be paid 6*d.*, and mariners 3½*d.* a day, the latter with 6*d.* a week additional as "reward"; and boys were to receive 2½*d.* a day. Out of these wages¹ the admiral was entitled to 4*d.* in every pound paid, and in return he was to carry two lanterns at night at his masthead when at sea, and, if necessary, to sue for the men's pay, and generally to attend to their interests. If the king were in the fleet, the admiral was to approach him every evening to take his orders, and afterwards the ships were to assemble round the admiral that the instructions might be repeated. The royal ship carried by night three large lanterns, arranged triangularly; the admiral carried two, and the vice-admiral one, except on special occasions. But a vice-admiral commanding a station might, while upon it, carry two lanterns. The signal for calling captains and masters on board was the hoisting of a "banner of council" "high in the middle of the mast of his ship."

Prizes taken from the enemy were to be thus divided: one-fourth to the king, one-fourth to the owners of the capturing ships, and, as regards the remaining moiety, two mariner's shares to the admiral if he were present at the capture, and one share if he were not. The passage about prizes leaves off with an "&c." which suggests that some already existing and well-known rule had already

¹ The wages of sailors and boys appear to be here overstated by ½*d.*, which may have gone to the admiral, or have been expended in raising the men.—Nicolas.

been partially cited, and that there was no need to quote it at length. Prizes taken by persons not in the king's pay went, except the admiral's shares, wholly to the captors.

The document goes on to recite "the ordinance how the admiral himself should rule and govern by sea and land in the country of the enemy, if he come there." The ordinance is, in effect, the articles of war of those days.

No man was to touch the holy sacrament upon pain of being drawn and hanged, nor to commit sacrilege or rape upon pain of death. No master was to cross his sail aloft until the admiral had done so, nor was any vessel to anchor before the admiral; and, when at sea, all vessels were to keep as close as possible to the admiral unless otherwise ordered. When a ship discovered an enemy at sea she was to hoist a banner; and if any ship, having been detached, met a strange vessel at sea or in an enemy's port, she was to examine her cargo and inspect her papers; and, should anything suspicious appear, the said vessel and her master were to be taken to the admiral, who was to release her if a friend, and to keep her if an enemy, according to the custom of the sea. Any vessel resisting was to be treated as an enemy, and brought to the admiral, but without being pillaged or damaged. The captors of an enemy's vessel were entitled to the goods and armour on the hatches and upper deck, except the tackle and other things belonging to her equipment, and except also what was exempted by the ancient customs and usages of the sea. No seaman was to be beaten or ill-used, but offenders were to be brought by the captain or master to the admiral, to be dealt with according to the law of the sea.

On arriving in an enemy's port, the admiral was to appoint sufficient force to protect people sent ashore for water and other necessaries. Soldiers and mariners were not to be landed unless they were accompanied by responsible officers, lest they might commit outrages. Search was to be made in ports for thieves who stole ships' gear. He who was convicted by a jury of twelve persons of having stolen an anchor or a boat worth 21*l.* was to be hanged; a thief who had stolen a buoy-rope fastened to an anchor was to be hanged, no matter the value. For cutting the cable of a ship the penalty was death if loss of life resulted; if no one were killed the offender was to make good damages, and to pay a fine to the king. If unable to do so, and if the owners prosecuted, the culprit was to be hanged. If a sailor were condemned to death for stealing the

goods of aliens, the aliens, if not enemies, might have the goods restored upon condition of not insisting upon the execution of the felon. Stealing an oar, or other small thing, was punishable, after conviction by jury, with imprisonment for forty days, and a second offence with imprisonment for half a year; but for the third offence hanging was prescribed. No lieutenant of an admiral could, without special warrant, try matters affecting life and death. If a man, being the beginner of a quarrel, injured another, he was not only to make other amends, but also to pay a fine of £5 to the king, or lose the hand with which he had struck the blow, unless he obtained the grace of the king or of the "High Admiral." Offenders were to be imprisoned by masters or captains, pending the acquaintance of the admiral or his lieutenant with the circumstances. To this end masters were to be assisted by their crews; and anyone refusing aid rendered himself liable to the same punishment as the original offender.

If a ship which had been impressed for the king's service broke the arrest, she was, upon proof being made, to be forfeited. A seaman refusing to serve might be imprisoned for a year, and, upon a second refusal, for two years. Forestalling and regrating were prevented by a provision that merchants, going on board a vessel entering a port to purchase the whole cargo and afterwards selling it at a higher price than the original owners would have demanded, might be punished with imprisonment for half a year, and a fine equal to the value of the goods so purchased. A similar penalty awaited the purchaser-in-gross of corn, fish, and other provisions, within the flood-mark. Goods found at sea, as "flotsam," or at the bottom of the sea, as anchors, were not to be concealed from the admiral, upon penalty of fine to the amount of the value of the goods. Deodands, as valuables found on a man killed or drowned at sea, belonged to the admiral, who was to employ one-half for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, and one-half for the benefit of his immediate relatives, if he had any.

The law regulating the disposal of prizes seems to have been regarded as, in some respects, unsatisfactory; and an inquisition of mariners, held at Queenborough in 1375, for settling doubtful points of marine law, held, with regard to prizes and prisoners captured at sea in time of war, in the absence of the admiral, that, after the admiral had taken his share, the remainder ought to be divided into two parts, one to go to the owners, and one to the captors, but

that, "as the master has greater charge, and is of higher rank than any other in the ship," he should have twice as much as any mariner.¹ An ordinance to this effect was apparently issued.

The oath of a juryman of the Court of Admiralty ran:—

"This hear ye, my lord the admiral, that I . . . shall well and truly inquire for our lord the king, and well and truly at this time to you at this Court of the Admiralty present, as much as I have in knowledge, or may have by information of any of all my fellows, of all manner, articles, or circumstances that touch the Court of the Admiralty and law of the sea, the which shall be read to me at the time, and I thereupon sworn and charged, and of all other that may renew in my mind. And I shall relax for nothing, that is to say for franchise, lordship, kindred, alliance, friendship, love, hatred, envy, enmity, dread of loss of goods, or any other cause; that I shall so do the king's counsel, my fellows', and my own, well and truly whole, without fraud or malpractice. So God me help, and the Blessed Lady, and by this book."

A juryman was expected to be discreet; for it was ordered that:—

"If a man be indicted for that he has discovered the king's counsel and that of his companions in a jury, he shall be taken by the sheriff, or by the admiral of the court, or by other officers to whom it belongs, and brought before the admiral or his lieutenant, and afterwards arraigned upon the same indictment; and, if he be convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be taken to the next open port, and there his fault and offence shall be openly proclaimed and shown in the presence of all there, and afterwards his throat shall be cut, and his tongue drawn out by his throat and cut off from his head, if he make not ransom by fine to the king according to the discretion of the admiral or his lieutenant."

A long list of matters, into which it was the duty of a juryman of the Court of Admiralty to inquire, renders it impossible to doubt that all causes in that court were invariably tried by a jury, and that Blackstone² was mistaken in supposing that, anterior to the time of Henry VIII., "a man might be there deprived of his life by the opinion of a single judge."

At this period there were usually two admirals at a time in commission, one commanding the fleet of the ports northward and eastward of the Thames (Admiral of the North), and the other, that of the ports northward and westward of the Thames (Admiral of the West). Each had under him a vice-admiral. But thrice, during the reign of Edward III., command of all the fleets was centred in a single person, who thus became in fact, though not by official style, high admiral. These high admirals were Sir John

¹ Cited by Pryme, from the 'Black Book of the Admiralty.'

² 'Commentaries,' iv. 268.

Beauchamp, K.G., appointed July 18th, 1360; Sir Robert Herle, appointed January 26th, 1361; and Sir Ralph Spigurnell, appointed July 7th, 1364. Similar appointments were four times made under Richard II., as follows: Richard, Earl of Arundel, December 10th, 1386; Sir John Roche, May 31st, 1389; Edward, Earl of Rutland, November 29th, 1391; and John, Marquis of Dorset, May 9th, 1398.

An enactment¹ of 1330 directed that, for the passage between Dover and France, no larger sum should be required than the ancient charge of 2s. for every horseman, and 6*d.* for every one on foot. In connection with this regulation, it should be mentioned that, according to a document communicated to Nicolas² by the Rev. Lambert Larkings, a "Fare Ship Company" had, from the time of Edward II., and probably before it, existed at Dover, and that its vessels made passages in regular rotation.

Several centuries later, the raising of money for the support of the navy led to a terrible constitutional crisis, and the downfall of a dynasty. It is interesting, therefore, to note that as early as the reign of Edward III., there was a mild constitutional conflict of a somewhat similar kind. In 1347, the King's Council imposed a tax of 2s. on every sack of wool passing the sea, of 2s. upon every tun of wine, and of 6*d.* in the pound upon all goods imported, in order that the expense of protecting the realm might be met. This was done without the consent of the Commons, who prayed that the tax might be discontinued.³ Another petition of the same year, representing that ships had been impressed for the service and lost in it, without compensation being made to their owners, and begging for relief, was not granted.⁴ Again, before Edward III. left England for France, in 1359, the dangers with which the trade of the country was threatened induced the Council,⁵ with the consent of the English and foreign merchants who were summoned before it, but without the assent of Parliament, to impose a tax of 6*d.* in the pound on all merchandise imported or exported until the following Michaelmas, so as to maintain a fleet at sea. Indeed, Edward frequently showed himself intolerant of Parliamentary control or interference in naval affairs.

The king granted to the Cinque Ports four ratifications of their ancient privileges.⁶ The first, a charter of February 25th, 1327,

¹ Act 4, Edw. III., c. 8.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, ii. 172, 189.

² Nicolas, ii. 210, note.

⁵ 'Faslera,' iii. 459.

³ Parl. Rolls, ii. 166.

⁶ 'Charters of the Cinque Ports,' 43-51 (Jeakes).

interpreted the clause in the charter of Edward I. to the effect that every baron should contribute "according to his faculties." The other charters were dated July 1st, 1364, July 18th, 1364, and October 20th, 1366. Some of the seals of the maritime ports, dating from this period, have been held by certain writers to be of value as showing what the ships of the time were like, most of the seals in question bearing representations of vessels; but it seems impossible to attach much serious importance to them. The representations are clearly, for the most part, of an entirely conventional character. A few of them are, however, reproduced.



SEAL OF LYME REGIS, NINTH CENTURY.
(From *Nicolus*.)

By the terms of a commercial convention concluded on October 20th, 1353, between England and Portugal for fifty years, it was agreed that if Portuguese ships or

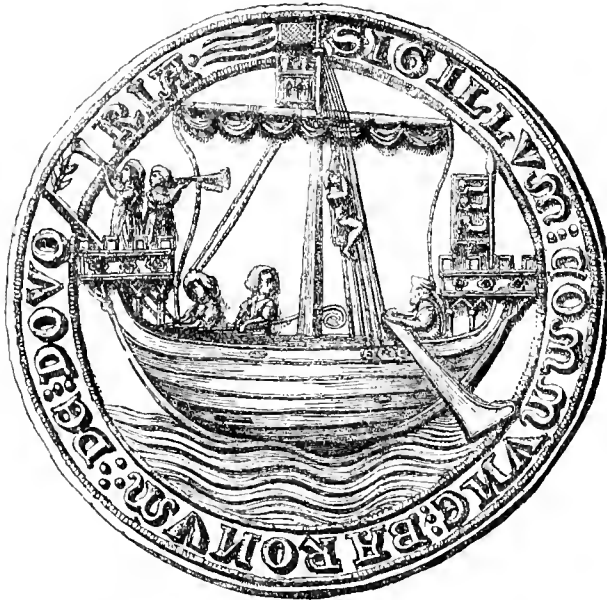


SEAL OF SOUTHAMPTON, NINTH CENTURY.
(From *Nicolus*.)

goods were found in any port or place in France that might fall into English hands, they were to be protected and restored to their owners, provided the ships and men were not armed nor aiding the

enemy. In that case the goods were to be forfeited, and the people imprisoned. In the event of Portuguese property being in any ship captured from an enemy, it was to be carried to England until the owner should prove his right to it; and English property found by the Portuguese in ships belonging to their enemies was to be correspondingly dealt with. Meanwhile, the fishing-boats of Portugal might enter all the ports of England and Brittany upon paying the usual duties and customs.

Edward III. died on June 21st, 1377, and was succeeded by his



SEAL OF THE BARONS OF DOVER, NINTH CENTURY.

(From Nicols.)

grandson, Richard II., son, by Joan of Kent, of Edward the Black Prince. The civil history of the navy, during the reign of Richard, is very uneventful; but the period has been illustrated by Chaucer, and is important for the purpose in hand, if only because it has bequeathed to us Chaucer's fine picture of the Shipman of the time:—

“ A shipman was ther woned fer by west;
 For ought I wote he was of Dertmouth;
 He rode upon a rouncie as he couthe,
 All in a goune of falding to the knee.
 A dagger hanging by a las hadde he
 About his nekke under his arm adoun;

The hote sommer hadde made his hewe al brown;
 And certainly he was a good felaw;
 Ful many a draught of win he hadde draw
 From Burdeux ward while that the chapmen slepe;
 Of nice conscience toke he no kepe.
 If that he faught and hadde the higher hand,
 By water he sent hem home to every land.
 But of his craft, to reken wel his tides,
 His streames, and his strandes, him besides,
 His herberwe, his mone, and his lodenouage,
 Ther was non swiche from Hull unto Cartage.
 Hardy he was, and wise, I undertake;
 With many a tempest hedde his herd he shake;
 He knew wel alle the havens as they were
 From Gotland to the Cape de Finistere,
 And every creke in Bretagne and in Spaine;
 His barge ycleped was the Magdeleine."¹

At various times during the earlier half of the present century, there were recovered from the sand on the western side of the Isle of Walney, at the mouth of Morecambe Bay, a number of old guns and other naval relics. These have been attributed to the time of Richard II. It may be doubted whether they date back to so remote a period as the end of the fourteenth century; but they are certainly among the most ancient naval relics in existence; and a brief account of them, together with a print of some of them, reproduced from the *Nautical Magazine* of November, 1844, may fitly find a place here.

No. 1, when first found, was nearly perfect, and about ten feet in length. The breech was in the middle, at which part the piece was strengthened by means of additional hoops of iron. It was a gun with two touch-holes, one on either side of the central breech; and it could be fired from both ends simultaneously. Near to each muzzle, on the upper side, was a ring. The gun was a built-up one. The tube, or inner lining, consisted of three curved plates of iron, each $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, disposed like the staves of a cask, but, apparently, not forged or welded together. These were held in place by hammered bands or hoops, driven on one after another, and overbound at their points of junction by strong iron rings. The gun was damaged by the original finders, who sought to work it up at a forge.

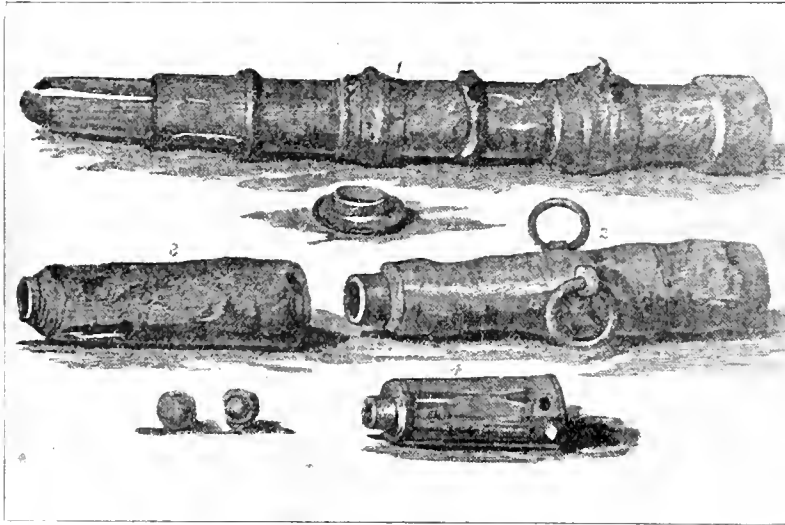
No. 2 is a small piece, 2 feet in length, and 2 inches in calibre. It is of wrought iron, formed of bars welded together and hooped, and has two strong rings whereby it may be handled, but neither trunnions nor cascable. Found with it was a cast-iron ball suited to its calibre.

Nos. 3 and 4 are pieces of wrought iron without hoops. They are supposed to be "chambers," or movable breech-pieces; which, however, were probably capable, upon occasion, of being fired independently.

One of three other "chambers" discovered, contained a charge

¹ 'Canterbury Tales,' Prologue.

of gunpowder, wadded with oakum. Of numerous balls discovered, some were of granite of from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 inches in diameter; one was

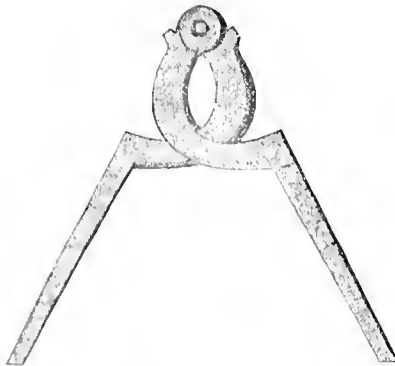


ANCIENT GUNS AND SHOT, RECOVERED AT WALNEY.

(Supposed temp. Richard II.)

(Now in the Hydrographic Department, Admiralty.)

of grey sandstone 6 inches in diameter; one was clay ironstone of the same size; one was of hammered iron $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; one was of cast iron, 2 inches in diameter; and two were lead shot, one having a flint pebble, and the other a square piece of hammered iron as the kernel.



ANCIENT DIVIDERS OR COMPASSES, PROBABLY DATING FROM THE TIME OF RICHARD II.

(Now preserved in the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty.)

(The points are not shown.)

With the Walney Island relics which are above described, and which, as has been said, have been attributed to the last years of the fourteenth century, a curious pair of brass dividers or "compasses" was discovered. This instrument, the upper part of which is shown in the annexed sketch, is so contrived as to open when pressure is applied to the bowed parts of the legs, and to close when pressure is applied to the straight parts. The relic is preserved in the Hydrographic

Office of the Admiralty. It is interesting as showing the antiquity of a most ingenious and useful device, thanks to which dividers can be opened or closed by a person who has but one hand free for their manipulation.

The abdication of Richard II., in 1399, put an end to the dynasty of the Angevin kings in England.



CHAPTER VIII.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1154-1399.

Henry II. — Operations against Brittany — A fatal storm — Conquest of Ireland — Wars with France, Scotland, and Flanders — English Crusaders — Richard I. — His expedition to the Levant — Alliance with Philip Augustus — The English fleet and its cruising formation — Conquest of Cyprus — Destruction of a Saracen dromon — Capture of Acre — Treachery of Leopold of Austria and Philip Augustus — King John — Renewed war with France — Loss of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine — Naval preparations — Eustace the Monk — Expedition to Ireland — Salisbury's victory off Damme in 1213 — The expedition of Sir Hugh de Boves — Eustace the Monk at Folkestone — France paramount in the Channel — England invaded — Hubert de Burgh's victory off the South Foreland in 1217 — Death of Eustace the Monk — Henry III. — Expedition to France — Piracy in the Narrow Seas — English resources wasted — Convoy — Mysterious ships at Berwick — Cinque Ports' piracies — Henry a prisoner — Prince Edward's crusade — Edward I. — Troubles with Bayonne — Zealand pirates — Welsh expeditions — Tiptoft's victory in Mid-Channel in 1293 — Renewed war with France — Treachery of Thomas de Turberville — French raids — Privateering — Action off Berwick — Relief of Bourg — Alliance with Flanders — Mutinous seamen — Operations against the Scots — Edward II. — Scots invasion of Ireland — Contraband of war — Lax discipline — Reprisals — Massacre in the Hope — Iniquities of Hugh le Despencer — Renewed war with France — Treason of Queen Isabella — Isabella's invasion — Edward III. — He does homage to Philip VI. — John Crabbe in the Tay — Scots raids — An English fleet in the Forth — The dominion of the sea asserted — French raids — Convoys — Edward's claim to France — The Hundred Years' War — The exploits of Behuchet — Scots ships taken — Beacons — Capture of Gadzand — The Flanders expedition — Loss of the *Christopher* — Panic in England — Edward's victory off Sluis in 1340 — His dispatch after the battle — English interference in Brittany — English disaster off Vannes — French cruisers in the Channel — Invasion of France — The blockade of Calais — "L'Espagnols sur Mer," 1350 — Relief of Calais — Fresh invasion of France — French activity in the Channel — Panic in England — Peace with France — The war renewed — Portsmouth burnt — Decline of the English navy — Action in Bourgneuf Bay — Pembroke's action off La Rochelle — His defeat and capture — Piracies of Evan — Parliament remonstrates on the state of the navy — The French command the Channel — Rise of the French Royal Navy — French success in the Bay of Bourgneuf — Jeanne de Vienne — Richard II. — Rye plundered — Lewes sacked — Coast towns burnt — Mutiny in the navy — Success of Sir Thomas Percy — Failure of Salisbury and Arundel — Captures by ships of Bayonne — Salisbury and Arundel defeated by Jean de Vienne — Cherbourg relieved by Lancaster — John Philpotts' patriotism — Official inaptitude — Disaster to Arundel's fleet — Parliamentary remonstrances — Exhaustion of England — Sufferings

of commerce—Coast defence undertaken by contract—Jean de Vienne's expedition to Scotland—Minor English successes—Starvation of the navy—French schemes of invasion—Gradual restoration of public confidence in England—Deposition of Richard.



THE naval expeditions of Henry II. are not of great interest, although one at least of them, that having for its object the completion of the conquest of Ireland, was of extreme importance.

The king was in Normandy at the moment of his accession and did not come to England until six weeks after Stephen's death. Having settled his English inheritance he proceeded to France in 1156 to do homage for his French possessions, and to recover Anjou from his brother Geoffrey of Nantes, Earl of Martel, who had seized it, but who soon submitted and relinquished his claims in return for an annual pension of one thousand pounds.

In the following year the king began naval preparations on a considerable scale against Wales, in order to put a stop to border raids and to piracies which had become troublesome, but the Welsh made the requisite concessions before hostilities actually broke out.

The death of Geoffrey of Nantes, in 1158, induced Conan IV. of Brittany to take possession of the County of Nantes in defiance of the claims of Henry II., whereupon the latter, apparently in 1159, fitted out a large fleet and army, and, crossing the Channel, not only compelled Conan to abdicate, but also obliged him to betroth his daughter Constance to Henry's infant son Geoffrey, known thenceforward as Geoffrey of Brittany. Thus Brittany was, for the time, practically made a part of the king's continental dominions. The campaign, and an unsuccessful expedition against Toulouse, detained Henry abroad until 1163. No naval operations of any moment occurred, however, during the period; nor do we read of much naval activity having been shown by England until 1167, when the country was threatened with a formidable invasion by the Counts of Boulogne and Flanders, who are said to have collected six hundred ships for the purpose. Henry was again abroad, but Richard de Lucy, one of the Justiciars or Regents, and a most able and devoted minister, promptly assembled so large a military force on the south coast that the attempt was abandoned, although there seems to have been no naval force ready and able to dispute the passage of the enemy. Probably because he realised how narrowly he had escaped

the danger, Henry deemed it wise to purchase the future alliance of the Count of Boulogne with an annual subsidy.¹

On the king's return from the continent, early in March, 1170, a violent storm overtook his fleet in the night, and dispersed it. Henry himself, with some difficulty, made Portsmouth, but all the ships were not equally fortunate; and one especially, conveying the royal physician, a great noble named Henry de Agnellis, the latter's two sons, and several personages of the king's household, foundered with all on board.²

The conquest of Ireland had been for some years a cherished project with Henry, but his continental preoccupations, and his long quarrel with Becket, had prevented him from putting it into execution. Excuses were not lacking, though the leading motive was doubtless a desire for extended dominion, coupled with a statesmanlike consciousness that Ireland, so long as it remained a congeries of petty principalities in a normal condition of anarchy, must be a permanent source of trouble to England. One of the ostensible excuses was that certain Irish had taken some English men prisoners and sold them as slaves.

But while Henry thus desired the conquest of Ireland, he might still have postponed action had he not been drawn into it in 1171 by forces which have since on innumerable occasions brought about the extension of the British Empire. These forces were set in motion by the conduct of private adventurers. Ireland was at the time divided into several small kingships, one of which was Leinster. Dermot, King of Leinster, being expelled by his oppressed subjects, aided by two of his royal neighbours, applied for aid to Henry, who was then engaged in France. Assistance, but at some indefinite time, was promised; and Dermot, unwilling to wait until the Greek Calends, came to England, and laid his case before several of the nobles, who agreed to help him at once. First among his sympathisers was Robert FitzStephen,³ a son of Stephen de Marisco by Nesta, sometime a mistress of Henry I. In 1169 FitzStephen led thirty knights, sixty men-at-arms, and three hundred archers to

¹ Gerv. of Cant., 1402.

² *Ib.*, 1410; Hoveden, 296b; Brantton, 1060.

³ With FitzStephen was Maurice FitzGerald, subsequently Baron of Offaley, ancestor of the Dukes of Leinster, and of the Earls of Kildare and of Desmond. For several centuries the FitzGeralds were practically rulers of the English part of Ireland, and their arms have provided the so-called "St. Patrick's Cross," which does duty for Ireland on the Union flag. The family has given several officers to the Royal Navy.

Ireland, and took Wexford, though he subsequently had to surrender at Carrig. Other adventurers followed, among them Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow. Henry had forbidden him to go, but he was anxious to marry Eva, daughter of Dermot; and in defiance of the prohibition, he sailed with an expedition from Milford Haven, gained some success, and eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Leinster.

In the meantime Henry, perceiving that his adventurous subjects were forestalling him, set about making preparations for his own expedition, and formally recalled all Englishmen from Ireland.¹ The adventurers, instead of complying, humbly placed all their present and future conquests at the king's disposal. This was not entirely satisfactory; yet Henry, while pushing on his preparations, concluded an agreement that he should have all the seaports, and granted the rest of the country, to hold of him and his successors, to the conquerors. It would appear that Strongbow returned for a time to England, probably to take part in these negotiations.

A fleet of four hundred large ships, with an army embarked in them, was at length assembled in Milford Haven. Henry went on board, and on October 18th, 1171, landed at Crook, near Waterford. The greater part of the island submitted without resistance, even Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, the most powerful of all the kinglets, doing homage; and Henry celebrated Christmas in Dublin² with much splendour and magnificence. The real conquest, indeed, so far as it was effected by force of arms, was effected by the adventurers and not by the king, who, having established garrisons in the principal seaports, and consigned the administration of his new possession to a Justiciary, returned to England on the following Easter Monday.³

A rebellion, headed by the queen and her sons, drew Henry into war with the Kings of France and Scotland, the Counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Blois, and many of his own subjects. There is no record, however, of any important naval operations having been undertaken in the course of the campaign, from which Henry emerged victorious in 1175. There were, nevertheless, some naval incidents. In July, 1174, the king, with numerous prisoners,

¹ Lyttelton, iv. 73.

² Brompton, 1979; Heveden, 301b.

³ A record of the campaign, disfigured by exaggeration, superstition and irrelevancy, was left by Giraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness.

embarked at Barfleur for Southampton, and, perceiving from the countenances of the seamen that there was in their minds some question as to the wisdom of attempting the passage while the weather continued as threatening as it then was, is reported to have said: "If the Supreme Ruler designs by my arrival in England to restore to my people that peace which He knows I sincerely have at heart, may He mercifully bring me to a safe port; but if His will has decreed to scourge the realm, may I never be permitted to reach its shore."¹ And the English fleet seems to have kept the Narrow Seas clear of the enemy, while, on the other hand, bad weather contributed to the discomfiture of the foe.

It was in the last quarter of the twelfth century that the nobles of England first began to take an active interest in affairs in the Holy Land. Some writers assert that the resultant Crusades exerted, upon the whole, less direct influence upon England than upon most of the other countries of Europe; and this is perhaps true; but there can be no question that, indirectly, the Crusades have affected the destinies of the country ever since; for it was they which first caused her to become a Power in the Mediterranean, and which first led a large volume of English trade thither. Indeed it was they which first induced England to essay the exercise of her naval force in water anywhere outside her own seas; which showed her her aptitude for distant adventure; and which taught her wherein lay the secret of her strength.

Henry took great interest in the Eastern question, and designed to himself assume the Cross; but, though he was never able to carry out his intention, at least one private crusading expedition was fitted out in England during his reign, and the king, more than once, furnished ships, arms and money for the assistance of Christendom against the Infidel.²

The most noteworthy private expedition was one headed by William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who, accompanied by many nobles, knights and gentlemen of several nationalities, sailed from Dartmouth in 1177, with thirty-seven ships. Touching at Lisbon, Essex was invited by the King of Portugal to aid him against the Moors, and, acquiescing, contributed greatly to their defeat and to the slaughter of forty thousand of them.³

¹ Brantton, 1095; Hoveden, 308; Bened. of Peterboro, i. 82.

² William of Newburg, iii. c. 10.

³ Holinshed, 'Voyage of Essex'; Purchas (quoting Matt. Paris) i. Bk. II. 4. It is, however, uncertain whether these speak of one or of two expeditions.

Henry's intention to take the Cross was frustrated by the rebellion of his son Richard, who, in alliance with Philip Augustus, attacked the continental possessions of the Crown. Upon the death of Henry II., a proposition, which had originated with him, that the Kings of England and France should go together upon a Crusade, was revived by Richard, his successor, and was agreed to by Philip Augustus.¹ Preparations upon a large scale were at once begun in both countries.

Concerning the expedition which followed, Campbell has some remarks that appear to deserve reproduction: "Our historians," he says, "speak of this according to their own notions, and without any respect had to the then circumstances of things; hence, some treat it with great solemnity, and as a thing worthy of immortal honour, while others again consider it as a pure effect of bigotry, and blame the king exceedingly for being led by the nose by the Pope, and involving himself in so romantic a scheme, to the great danger of his person, and the almost entire ruin of his subjects. I must own that to me neither opinion seems right; yet I should not have expressed my sentiments on this subject, if it did not very nearly concern the matter of this treatise. The power of the Saracens was then exceeding 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 beaten them singly, if ever they had attacked them."²

By the beginning of December, 1189, a considerable squadron was assembled at Dover to transport the king and his principal followers to the continent; and on the 11th of that month, Richard embarked for Calais, his design being to proceed leisurely overland to Marseilles, meeting Philip Augustus by the way, and there to pick up his fleet, which was, meanwhile, being collected at Dartmouth.

Richard kept Christmas at Bures, near Dieppe, joined Philip at Reims—where, on January 13th, 1190, a solemn treaty was entered into between the two sovereigns,³—went into Gascony and Anjou to

¹ William of Newburg, iv. c. 1; Matt. Paris, 155.

² Campbell (1817), i. 127.

³ Bened. of Peterboro, ii. 583; Bromton, 1170; Hoveden, 378.

settle various affairs there, visited Tours to obtain from the archbishop the scrip and staff of pilgrimage, and rejoined the French king at Vézelay in June.¹ Thence the allied monarchs, with their armies, marched together as far as Lyon, where they separated, Philip proceeding to Genoa and Richard to Marseilles, the intention being that the two armadas should make rendezvous at Messina, previous to sailing in consort for Palestine.

The Dartmouth fleet comprised ships as well from Normandy, Poitou, Brittany and Aquitaine as from England. Part, if not the whole of it, sailed in April, 1190, having on board, in addition to men, stores, engines and other provisions for the army. But many of the vessels were ill suited for Atlantic weather, and when, on the 3rd of May, in the Bay of Biscay, it blew a south-westerly gale, the fleet was dispersed, and four ships would seem to have been lost, if Peter of Langtoft be correct in saying that 110 ships sailed, and if other historians rightly state the number of vessels that later assembled at the mouth of the Tagus at 106 only.

One ship belonging to London, and carrying a hundred passengers, is declared to have been favoured with a miracle. When, at the height of the storm, the terrified crew invoked divine aid St. Thomas of Canterbury thrice appeared to them and assured them that he and the martyrs, St. Edmund and St. Nicholas,² had been appointed protectors of the ship, and would conduct her in safety, if only the people would repent of their sins and do penance. The terms being accepted the tempest instantly ceased, and the ship proceeded on her voyage until she reached Silves, on the south coast of Portugal. Silves had been taken from the Moors a few years earlier, by the help of William de Mandeville, but they were endeavouring to regain possession of it. Eighty soldiers from the vessel were landed as a reinforcement for the besieged; but the town's people, not content with this aid, seized the ship herself, and broke her up, in order to utilise her timbers for the defence, promising, however, that the King of Portugal would provide compensation.³

Of the other ships two detachments, one of nine and the other of sixty-three sail, got into Lisbon. There their crews committed great outrages, until the King of Portugal closed the gates of the city against them and imprisoned the seven hundred offenders who

¹ Hoveden, 373b.

² St. Nicholas, special patron of seamen.

³ Hoveden, 380b, 381; Brompton, 1175.

were found inside, pending the making of an arrangement with the commanders, Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camville,¹ for securing peace.² These detachments sailed again on July 24th, and found at the mouth of the Tagus the remainder of the fleet under William de Fortz. A further voyage of twenty-eight days brought the fleet safely to Marseilles on August 22nd.

But King Richard, who had reached Marseilles about the end of July, expecting to find the fleet already there, had waited for only eight days. He had then hired ten large busses and twenty galleys to convey his immediate followers and himself to Messina, and had sailed on August 7th in a galley called the *Pumbo*.³ He was at Genoa on August 13th, and had an interview with Philip, who lay ill there. His next place of call was Portofino, where he remained for five days, and where he received a request from Philip for the loan of five galleys. Richard offered three, and Philip thereupon preferred to accept none. From Portofino Richard reached the mouth of the Arno on August 20th, and Porto Baratto on the 23rd. At Piombino he went on board another galley, belonging to Fulk Postranti,⁴ with the intention of proceeding in her, but as she split her sail on the 25th, he returned to the *Pumbo*, and that day anchored in the Tiber. The Cardinal Bishop of Ostia came from Rome to receive him, but by asserting a claim to some money on the part of the Holy See, his Eminence so angered the hot-tempered king that Richard accused the Papal court of simony, declined to go to Rome and sailed again on the 26th. On the 28th he landed at Naples, and, after a brief stay, continued his journey down the coast on horseback until he reached Scylla. On the way, when but a single knight happened to be with him, he was attacked by peasants, from the house of one of whom he had attempted to take a hawk, and the King of England compelled to cover his retreat by throwing stones at his assailants. From Scylla, Richard crossed to Messina, and entered the port on September 23rd.

“As soon,” says Vinesauf, “as the people heard of his arrival, they rushed in crowds to the shore to behold the glorious King of England, and at a distance saw the sea covered with innumerable

¹ He founded Combe Abbey, Warwickshire. Having been made Governor of Cyprus, he quitted that island without Richard's permission, and died at the siege of Acon.

² Bened. of Peterboro, ii. 603; Bromton, 1177.

³ “In galea Pumbone.”—Bened. of Peterboro, ii. 590.

⁴ Hoveden says Fulk Rustac.

galleys; and the sound of trumpets from afar, with the sharper and shriller blasts of clarions, resounded in their ears; and they beheld the galleys rowing in order nearer to the land, adorned and furnished with all manner of arms, countless pennons floating in the wind, ensigns at the ends of lances, the beaks of the galleys distinguished by various paintings, and glittering shields suspended to the prows. The sea appeared to boil with the multitude of the rowers; the clangor of their trumpets was deafening; the greatest joy was testified at the arrival of the various multitudes: when thus our magnificent king, attended by crowds of those who navigated the galleys, as if to see what was unknown to him, stood on a prow more ornamented and higher than the others and, landing, displayed himself, elegantly adorned, to all who pressed to the shore to meet him."

Richard found his fleet in the harbour of Messina. It had remained eight days at Marseilles to refit, and had reached port on September 14th. He also found Philip, who had arrived a few days before him. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulf de Glanvill,¹ Chief Justice of England, who had accompanied Richard as far as Marseilles, had gone thence direct to the Holy Land.

In those days, even in the Mediterranean, the winter was considered to be no season for ships to be anywhere save in port, and as the autumn was nearly over, Richard and Philip wintered at Messina.

Richard spent the winter in quarrelling both with his ally Philip and with Tancred, King of Sicily. He repudiated a contract of marriage which he had made with the Princess Alice, Philip's sister, and contracted himself instead to Berengaria, daughter of Sancho VI of Navarre; and having a grievance against Tancred, who had imprisoned the Queen Dowager of Sicily, Princess Joan of England, he forcibly demanded reparation from him, going even to the length of occupying Messina. But the difficulty with Philip, though it afterwards broke out afresh, did not then assume a dangerous complexion, and the difficulty with Tancred was at length composed by the latter agreeing to pay Joan's dowry, and to contribute to the expedition four great ships called "vissers," and fifteen galleys.²

¹ Ranulf de Glanvill was the author of 'De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ,' the first treatise on English law. He died in 1190.

² Hoveden, 391b; Brompton, 1195.

During the winter the ships suffered extensively, especially from the depredations of worms, and many had to be careened and repaired. Moreover, one galley was struck by lightning and sunk.¹

On Saturday, March 30th, 1191, Philip, with his contingent, sailed for Palestine.² Richard, who had been joined, apparently late in February, by Philip, Count of Flanders, and by thirty busses from England, with reinforcements of men and provisions, still awaited his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and his betrothed bride, Berengaria; nor had he quite completed his preparations. He crossed, however, to Reggio, on the mainland, and carried the royal ladies, whom he found there, over to Messina. Either because it was Lent or because he was unwilling to further delay his voyage, he did not celebrate his wedding at Messina, but consigned his destined wife to the care of his sister, Queen Joan, and placed both on board a dromon commanded by Sir Stephen de Turnham, commanding the fleet. This vessel subsequently sailed in the van.

On Wednesday, April 10th, the large ships weighed and put to sea, and as soon as Richard had dined, he followed them with the galleys.³

The fleet, the most formidable which had ever been fitted out by England for any foreign service, seems to have consisted of about 230 vessels, with possibly some small craft as well, although different writers give slightly different accounts of it. All the ships were stored for one year, and distributed among them, so as to minimise risk of loss, were the necessary supplies of money for the payment of the officers, men, and troops. Vinesauf describes the order of sailing: "In the van were three large ships, filled with soldiers and stores, and in one of them were the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria, the two others being laden with the most valuable part of Richard's arms and treasure. The second line consisted of thirteen ships, dromons, and busses; the third, of fourteen; the fourth, of twenty; the fifth, of thirty; the sixth, of forty, and the seventh, of sixty vessels. The eighth line, in which was the king himself, was formed of the galleys, which are said by some to have numbered fifty-three, and by others, fifty and fifty-one. The lines were so close that a trumpet could be heard from one to the other, and each

¹ Hoveden, 387.

² Bened. of Peterboro, ii. 644; Hoveden, 392.

³ Hoveden, 393; Vinesauf, 316; Rog. of Wend. ii. 37.

ship was near enough to the next on each beam to communicate by hailing." ¹

It is difficult to understand the objects of this formation, since no enemy was likely to attack from the rear, and since, if there were a post of danger, it was apparently the van, where the princesses were; nor is the formation in accordance with the usual tactics of the period.

On April 11th, the fleet was becalmed off Etna, and was obliged to anchor; but on the following day, Good Friday, a breeze sprang up and progress was made, though it again fell calm in the night. On the 13th a heavy gale from the southward succeeded; seamen as well as passengers became sea-sick and terrified, and many of the ships were dispersed. Richard remained cool and collected, and encouraged those about him by his words and his example. Towards nightfall the gale abated, and the king's vessel, which was indicated by a light at her masthead, brought to to enable the scattered fleet to collect around her. In the morning the wind was fair, and the fleet proceeded for Crete, where it anchored on April 17th; but twenty-five vessels had not rejoined, and among them was the ship having on board the king's sister and his destined bride. Richard, nevertheless, waited only for a day, and continuing his voyage, was in sight of Rhodes on the morning of the 19th. There the fleet lay to until the 22nd, when Richard landed, and, being taken ill, was detained for some days. He utilised the enforced delay by sending galleys in all directions to look for his missing ships, but nothing was seen of them.

Of the dispersed ships three had been wrecked on the rocks of Cyprus, and nearly all on board, including Roger Malchien, the Vice-Chancellor, drowned. The survivors were ill-treated and imprisoned, their effects stolen, and their vessels destroyed by the subjects of Comnenus, who had proclaimed himself independent sovereign of the island in opposition to the Greek Empire. About twenty more of the missing vessels did not rejoin until the second week of May. The ship having on board the two princesses also made Cyprus, but was more fortunate. She entered the Bay of Limasol about a week earlier, and made inquiries as to whether the king had passed; but Sir Stephen de Turnham, perceiving four galleys about to issue from the port, and suspecting their intentions, weighed again promptly, and stood out to sea, lying to, however, when he had made an offing.

¹ Rich. of Devizes, 46; Vinesauf, 316.

On May 6th, the king with the rest of his fleet arrived from Rhodes, and learnt from Sir Stephen de Turnham of the manner in which the princesses had been treated by Comnenus,¹ and how the wrecked crews had suffered at the hands of his subjects. Richard, very indignant, sent two knights on shore to demand satisfaction. Comnenus returned an offensive reply, and provoked the king to make an immediate attack upon the town. Richard himself was the first to land, and the first to strike a blow.² The Crusaders came ashore in small craft from their great ships and galleys,³ and after a very brief contest, Comnenus fled to the mountains. On the day following, the fleet, including the ship of the two princesses, anchored in the harbour. The English pressed their advantage so energetically that on or about May 11th, Comnenus sued for peace, appearing for the purpose before Richard, who was mounted on a Spanish charger, and dressed in a tunic of rose-coloured silk, embroidered with golden crescents. Comnenus undertook to do homage to the king, to resign all his castles, to serve in the Holy War with five hundred knights, to pay 20,000 marks of gold as compensation, to restore the imprisoned crew and their effects, and to hand over his daughter as a hostage. But he had scarcely concluded the treaty ere he broke it, and fled to the interior.

In the meantime Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, the Prince of Antioch, and others, had arrived to offer their services to Richard, and to swear fealty to him. The king put his army under the command of the Prince of Antioch, ordered him to pursue Comnenus, and divided the galleys into two squadrons. One he led himself, and the other he entrusted to Sir Stephen de Turnham, and the two, starting in different directions, swept the coasts of the island, and captured or destroyed every craft they encountered. By these methods, Comnenus was again induced to sue for peace; but Richard would trust him no longer. He ordered him to be thrown into chains of silver, and confined in a castle in Palestine.

Richard's celerity in dealing with and capturing Comnenus is shown by the fact that although the search for that prince appears not to have begun until the 11th, the king was back in Limasol, and was indeed married there, on the 12th of May.⁴ On or about

¹ Hoveden, 393, says that he had refused to allow the princesses to enter the port.

² Rich. of Devizes, p. 46.

³ Hoveden, 393.

⁴ *Ib.*, 394. But the search may possibly have begun earlier.

the 25th, Queen Berengaria, and Joan, Queen Dowager of Sicily, accompanied by the daughter of Comnenus, sailed from Cyprus, convoyed by all the busses and large ships, and arrived at the camp before Acre on June 1st;¹ but Richard, with the galleys, remained ten days longer, to make arrangements for the government of the new foreign possession of England, which he entrusted to the administration jointly of Richard de Camville and Stephen de Turnham. On Wednesday, June 5th, he sailed, his force of galleys increased, by captures and otherwise, to one hundred, of which sixty were "of great excellence."

He steered for Acre, but before arriving there, fought the first sea-fight in which any king of England had commanded since the days of the Conquest. The account of this, chiefly compiled from Vinesauf, is here given, with but little alteration, as it is given by Nicolas:—²

Ploughing their way across the seas, they made the coast of Syria, close to the castle of Margat, on June 6th, and then shaped their course along the land for Acre. On the 7th, when near Beirut, an immense ship was discovered ahead. The vessel, which was the largest the English had ever seen, excited their wonder and admiration. Some chroniclers³ call her a dromon, and others a buss, while one of them exclaims, "A marvellous ship! a ship than which, except Noah's ark, none greater was ever read of!" He also calls her "the queen of ships."⁴ This vessel was very stoutly built, with three tall, tapering masts, and her sides were painted, in some places green, and in others yellow, so elegantly that nothing could exceed her beauty. She was full of men to the number of fifteen hundred, and among them were seven emirs and eighty picked Turks for the defence of Acre. She was laden with bows, arrows, and other weapons, an abundance of Greek fire in jars, and "two hundred most deadly serpents, prepared for the destruction of Christians."

Richard ordered a galley, commanded by Peter de Barris, to approach and examine the stranger, and was told that the vessel reported herself to be bound from Antioch to the siege of Acre, and to belong to the King of France, but that the crew could not speak French, nor show a French or other Christian flag.⁵ Being

¹ Hoveden, 394; Vinesauf, 328.

² Nicolas, i. 119.

³ *E.g.* Matt. Paris.

⁴ Rich. of Devizes, 49.

⁵ Yet Bromton, 1200, and Hoveden, 394, say that the vessel flew French flags.

again interrogated, the enemy varied his tale, and pretended to be a Genoese bound for Tyre. In the meanwhile, an English galley-man had recognised the ship as having been fitted out in Beirut while he was in that port, and in reply to the king's question he said, "I will give my head to be cut off, or myself to be hanged, if I do not prove that this is a Saracen ship. Let a galley be sent after her, and give her no salutation; her intention and trustworthiness will then be discovered." He meant, no doubt, "If you make for her as if with the intention of attacking, you will discover her nature." The suggestion was adopted. As soon as the galley went alongside the ship, the Saracens threw arrows and Greek fire into the Englishman. Richard at once ordered the foe to be attacked, crying, "Follow and take them, for if they escape, ye lose my love for ever, and if ye capture them, all their goods shall be yours." Himself foremost in the fight, he collected his galleys around the royal vessel, and animated everyone by his characteristic valour.

Showers of missiles flew on both sides, and the Turkish ship slackened her way; but although the galleys rowed round her in all directions, her great height and the number of her crew, whose arrows fell with deadly effect from her decks, rendered it extremely difficult to board her. The English consequently became discouraged, if not intimidated; but the king cried out, "Will ye now suffer that ship to get off untouched and uninjured? Oh shame! After so many triumphs, do ye now give way to sloth and fear? Know that if this ship escape everyone of you shall be hung on the cross, or put to extreme torture." Impelled by this threat, the English galley-men jumped overboard, and diving under the enemy's vessel, fastened ropes to her rudder, so that they could steer her as they pleased, and then, laying hold of ropes and swarming up her sides, they succeeded in boarding her.

A desperate conflict followed, and the Turks were forced forward, but being joined by their comrades from below, they rallied, and drove their assailants back to the galleys. The resource of ramming alone remained. The galleys were drawn off a little and formed into line. Then with all the force of their oars, they charged down upon the Turk, stove in her sides in many places, and damaged her so severely that she quickly foundered. Of her crew only thirty-five (Peter of Langtoft says forty-six) were saved, and even these would probably have shared the fate of the rest had not the victors considered that they might be useful in the construction of engines

to be employed against Acre. "If," concludes Vinesauf, "this vessel had succeeded in making her way to the succour of Acre, the place would have never been taken by the Christians." Most of the dromon's cargo seems to have gone down with her, but what was saved was given to the galley-men.¹

There is, of course, nothing particularly creditable to the arms of Richard in the record of this action. The Turks fought with the utmost gallantry, and were overpowered only by the weight of superior numbers, while it would appear that but for Richard's threat that if the dromon got away his men should be crucified, the English, at one period of the contest, would have been very glad to let her depart in peace. It is not said that she ever surrendered, and even if she did not go down, so to speak, with her colours flying, she deserves, although her name has unfortunately not been preserved, to rank with our "little *Revenge*,"² and the United States ship *Cumberland*,³ among the best-fought craft in the history of naval warfare.

Richard reached the camp before Acre on Saturday, June 10th, and on July 12th the town surrendered. After a year and two months' further service in Palestine, where the fleet, though useful, had little or no fighting to do, the king decided to return to England. His buss, however, was so delayed by contrary winds, that he disguised himself and paid the master of a neutral galley to land him and his suite on the Dalmatian coast.⁴ On his overland journey homeward, he was, on December 20th, 1192, arrested by order of Leopold, Duke of Austria, and held prisoner for about seventeen months. When at length the terms for his release had been settled, he proceeded to Antwerp, and in March, 1194, embarked in a galley which, with other vessels under the command of Alan Trenchmer, he had ordered to meet him there. He seems to have travelled in this galley by day, but to have slept every night in a large ship belonging to Rye. Not until the sixth day did he reach the roadstead opposite Gadzand, and there he was detained for five days longer; but on Sunday, March 13th, 1194, he once more landed in England.⁵

¹ Hoveden, 391; Vinesauf, 328; Bromton, 1200, 1201.

² *Ide infra*. August 31st, 1591.

³ Hampton Roads, March 8th, 1861.

⁴ Hoveden, 408, 409; Coggeshall, 830. But a different account is given by Bromton, 1250.

⁵ Hoveden, 418; Bromton, 1257.

Philip Augustus, who, long before, had returned from the East, had chosen to forget the undertaking which he had concluded with Richard before setting out, and which he had confirmed in Palestine, and had attacked Normandy during Richard's absence.

The King of England took advantage of his restoration to liberty to immediately resent this breach of faith. By the third week of April, 1194, he had assembled a large army, and a fleet of one hundred sail at Portsmouth; but, the wind being contrary and the weather foul, he was delayed for several days. On May 2nd, although the circumstances were still adverse, his impetuosity induced him to order the troops and horses to embark, and to himself put to sea in a "long ship," in spite of all remonstrances. Happily, the fleet did not sail with him. Had it made the attempt, it is probable that part of it would have been lost, for Richard was obliged to take shelter in the Isle of Wight, and to return thence to Portsmouth. On May 12th, however, the weather being favourable, he embarked again, and crossed with all his force to Barfleur.¹ He never returned to England; for although, after a five years' war, in which the navy did not participate, he concluded a truce with the French, he prolonged his stay on the continent in order to settle a petty quarrel with one of his nobles, and in the course of this he fell.²

John became king by the will of his brother Richard, and by the wish of the people of England, rather than by hereditary right; for, though Richard left no legitimate issue, there was a nearer heir in the person of Geoffrey Plantagenet (son of Henry II.), by Constance, Duchess of Brittany. The cause of his son Arthur was espoused, feebly and half-heartedly by Philip Augustus, and more generously by the nobles of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, so that John's accession involved the almost immediate breaking of the truce with France, and the renewal of the war.

John, who was at Beaufort, in Anjou, at the time of his brother's death, crossed to England before the truce was actually broken, and, landing at Shoreham on May 25th, 1199, was crowned at Westminster on the 27th. In June, having raised an army and assembled a fleet to transport it, he re-embarked³ at Shoreham for Normandy,

¹ Hoveden, 421: Bromton, 1259.

² The evidence as to the place of his death, etc., is collected in Palgrave's preface to the '*Rotuli Curie Regis*.'

³ Bromton says on July 13th.

and landed without incident at Dieppe. On February 27th, 1200, he returned to England, landing at Portsmouth from Barfleur, but recrossed the Channel from Portsmouth on April 28th, and reached Valognes on May 1st.¹ By this time Philip's championship of Prince Arthur had weakened; and later in the month peace was concluded between France and England, Arthur being obliged to do homage to John for Brittany. The arrangement was not a durable one, and eventually Arthur was captured by John, and imprisoned until his death, the circumstances of which remain in obscurity.

In the meantime the king had created trouble for himself both in England and in France by divorcing his wife, Hadwisa of Gloucester, on the ground of consanguinity, and by marrying Isabella of Angoulême, in defiance of the fact that she was betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche. These steps, and John's refusal to submit the question of Arthur's death to the inquisition of the peers of France, cost him the lands which he held of Philip by homage. Normandy was conquered by the French without much difficulty, and Anjou and Maine were also annexed; but, though John was very apathetic in defending his continental dominions, a few naval episodes of this period demand notice.

In July, 1202, the king informed the barons of the Cinque Ports that he believed the King of France to be preparing vessels to convey provisions by sea to the French army at Arques; and ordered them so to guard the sea that no provisions could be so sent. If the barons fell in with two of the king's galleys, which were then at sea, they were to speak them, for the commanders of the galleys would do anything that was expedient for maintaining the honour of the King of England. After the relief of Mirabeau, where Eleanor, the Queen Dowager, had been besieged by her grandson Arthur, the bailiffs of Barfleur and Estreham were, on August 13th, 1202, ordered² to find "good and secure ships" to convey to England some of the prisoners, who included Arthur's sister Eleanor, known as "the Beauty of Brittany." Hugh de Lusignan, and two hundred knights, twenty-two of whom were subsequently starved to death in Corfe Castle.³ And, on December 5th,

¹ Hardy, Pref. to Pat. Rolls, 45; Hoveden, 456; Matt. Paris, 139.

² Norm. Rolls, 60.

³ Hardy, Pref. to Pat. Rolls.

1203, John, having lost his lands, himself embarked at Barlleur for England, arriving at Portsmouth two days later.¹

The king had been remiss in his efforts to defend his possessions in France. It cannot be said that he was remiss in his efforts to regain them, although it is true that, first his differences with the Papacy, and then his domestic difficulties, prevented him from achieving success.

Towards the end of 1204 he began great preparations by sea and land. At the beginning of October, when knights and money were about to be sent to La Rochelle, the sheriff of Devonshire was ordered to send to Dartmouth three of the best ships that could be procured to defend them on their passage.² At the same time, the wages of the seamen of the ships conveying some of the king's knights and servants to Poitou were paid.³ And on December 4th John invited Hilary de Wateville and his companions to enter his service, with their galleys and as many followers as they could bring, promising them an honourable reception, and such terms as might be agreed upon with the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

To secure shipping for his object, John, early in February, 1205, issued an order forbidding the bailiffs of the ports to permit any ship, vessel, or boat to depart without the king's special license,⁵ but that these directions did not apply to vessels belonging to neutral Powers is shown by a further order of May 13th in the same year, whereby the king's galley-men at Sandwich, who had detained two ships, the property of the King of Scotland, were enjoined to release the captures.⁶

By the beginning of June, a large army and fleet were assembled at Portsmouth. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Pembroke, and others prophesied ill of the projected expedition, probably because they knew better than the king the true temper of the nobles upon whom he mainly depended; but John did not listen to the warnings, and on June 13th put to sea with a few followers. But, perhaps because he found he was not followed, he

¹ Another naval episode of 1203, probably unconnected with the war, was the following:—Early in the year two galleys belonging to William de Braose, and commanded by John de Bucy, captured a ship of Orford laden with wine, and the wine was sent to the king. As the ship did not belong to the enemy, she may have been condemned for smuggling, or for some other irregularity. — Patent Rolls, 29.

² Close Rolls, 40.

³ *Ib.*, 42.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 48.

⁵ *Ib.*, 50.

⁶ Close Rolls, 33.

proceeded to Studland, in Dorsetshire,¹ instead of to Normandy, and, after visiting Dartmouth and Dorchester, abandoned for the moment his purpose. There can be little doubt that the lukewarmness of the nation was the cause of the change of plan, for, soon after his return, John levied large sums of money from the earls, barons, knights, and ecclesiastics who, he alleged, had refused to accompany him.

In the meantime the war was being prosecuted at sea, although few particulars of its progress have been preserved; for it is on record that some sailors of Normandy, who, under Peter de Auxe, had captured one of the enemy's galleys, and apparently retaken an English ship, were, in August, 1205, thanked by the king for their services, and directed to deliver galley, ship, stores, and prisoners to John de Kemes.²

It was in the same year that the celebrated adventurer, Eustace the Monk,³ a thirteenth-century prototype of the far more famous Paul Jones, began to affect the course of English naval history. He was then in the service of John, and he made some kind of capture at sea; for, on November 13th, 1205, the bailiffs of Sandwich were directed to deliver to the Archdeacon of Taunton the money which Eustace the Monk and the men of justice had arrested. In the following year Eustace seems to have made an illegal prize, for all the port bailiffs were directed that, if the Monk did not restore the captured ship of William le Petit to her owner, they were to assist the said Petit in recovering her, wheresoever she might be found.

The king's preparations against France produced more tangible results in 1206. John assembled his fleet and army anew, and, on June 6th or 7th, embarked at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, and landed

¹ Rog. of Wend. iii. 182, and Matt. Paris, 148, gives an erroneous date which is convincingly corrected in Hardy's 'Itinerary of K. John.'

² Close Rolls, 47a.

³ Eustace the Monk (Eustache le Moine), who is the hero of an old French romance (ed. Michell), is there said to have been born at Cors, near Boulogne, and to have become a monk at the neighbouring town of Sauer. Matthew Paris, however, calls him a Flammant. He seems to have quitted the cloister upon inheriting property. Two or more of his brothers, and an uncle, were adventurers like himself. He probably entered King John's service about 1205; but he was soon afterwards outlawed. By June, 1209, he was again in the king's favour, and soon after he held lands in Norfolk, and was a personage of importance. His descent on Folkestone, mentioned elsewhere, was one of the first-fruits of his transfer of allegiance to the rebellious barons and to Prince Louis of France. His defeat at sea by Hubert de Burgh in 1217, and his consequent death, will be described in due course.

at La Rochelle on the 8th. Soon after his arrival, he ordered one thousand silver marks, and all the money (£2688 10s.), taken in a cog which ought to have gone to Nîmes, to be sent to Anjou for the payment of the knights and soldiers, and of fifty ships and galleys. The king reduced to obedience part of his former provinces, but unwisely interrupted the course of his successes by granting to Philip a truce for two years, and returned to Portsmouth on December 12th. Whether he distrusted Philip or feared the pirates of the Narrow Seas does not appear; but in July, 1207, when the Sheriff of Devon was ordered to find a good and safe ship, at as small a cost as possible, to convey the king's money to Poitou, he was also directed to see that no vessel sailed before the treasure-ship, lest perchance news might get abroad that the money was going over.¹

John's next naval expedition was one to Ireland, in 1210. He embarked with his army at Pembroke about the middle of June, and landed, on the 19th or 20th, at Crook, near Waterford, where Henry II. had disembarked thirty-nine years earlier. The fleet employed on the occasion was a very large one, yet its only duties seem to have been those of transportation; and John, after a brief and successful campaign on shore, returned to England on August 24th following.² While he was in Ireland, six galleys, under Geoffrey de Lucy, were searching for pirates in the Narrow Seas.³

In the meantime the truce with France had lapsed; and in May, 1212, Geoffrey de Lucy, and others of the king's officers, knights and mariners, were ordered to detain all ships coming from Poitou, and to send them with their cargoes to England.⁴ It would also seem, although the details, as given by the chronicler, are not in all respects borne out by the records, that in 1212 an English force captured many ships and burnt others at the mouth of the Seine, and, having seized some vessels at Fécamp, and attacked and burnt Dieppe, returning victorious to Winchelsea.⁵ Nor did John confine his attention solely to his enemies in the south. The Welsh had been guilty of aggressions; and the king entered their country, ordering Geoffrey de Lucy, on August 17th, to send eighteen galleys

¹ Close Rolls, 89.

² Matt. Paris, 160.

³ Rotuli de Præstito, xii. John, 179.

⁴ Close Rolls, 117.

⁵ Dunstaple Chron. i. 59, confirmed to some extent by Close Rolls, 117, 118.

to the coasts of Llewellyn's territories to co-operate with the army by destroying the Welsh prince's vessels, and harassing the foe in every possible manner; and to dispatch two other galleys, with stores for John, to Bristol.¹ Three months later, the available strength of the fleet was reinforced by means of a general arrest of shipping.²

This last-mentioned measure was no doubt taken in anticipation of a threatened French invasion. In consequence of his attitude towards Rome, John had driven the Papacy to employ all its terrors against him. His kingdom had been laid under an interdict in 1208, and he had retaliated by confiscating the goods of the clergy, and had so drawn upon himself the further penalty of personal excommunication. But he still remained intractable, and the Holy See now decided to use physical as well as spiritual force. It deposed John, and confided the execution of its decree to Philip Augustus, in particular, and to all Christian princes, in general.

Philip, far from being loath, was only too willing to undertake the mission. Even when John, by an unnecessarily abject submission to the Pope, had secured the countenance instead of the frown of Innocent III., and had obtained the revocation of the Bull of Deposition, Philip remained eager for the conquest. He had a large fleet in the mouth of the Seine, and a large army at Rouen; and, with the weapons in his hands, he was not disposed to lay them aside without using them, although John had sixty thousand men encamped upon Barnham Down, and the strongest fleet that had ever been collected from the ports of England. But it happened that the Count of Flanders, who before had been Philip's ally, did not share Philip's eagerness, and declined, since John had made his peace with the Pope, to have anything further to do with the invasion of England. Philip replied by entering Flanders with his army, and by ordering his fleet, which had been collected in the Seine, to proceed to Damme, now an inland village five or six miles north-east of Bruges, but then a seaport with a very spacious harbour. It is said that the French vessels numbered seventeen hundred; and that in consequence of the size of the fleet, part of it had to anchor outside the port.³

Ferdinand, who was then Count of Flanders, naturally appealed

¹ Close Rolls, 121, 122.

² *Ib.*, 127.

³ Rigord, 'De Gest. P. Aug.' 212.

to John for help; and John, who was glad enough of the opportunity to deal a blow against an armament which might be next directed against himself, dispatched the Earl of Salisbury,¹ the Duke of Holland, and the Count of Boulogne, with five hundred sail, and seven hundred knights, to the coast of Flanders.²

Salisbury came upon the French fleet at a moment when most of the crews of the ships had landed and gone inland for the sake of plunder. He instantly attacked;³ and three hundred vessels laden with corn, wine and arms fell into his hands, while about a hundred more were burnt, not, however, until part of their cargoes had been removed by the victors. The English success ultimately induced Philip to burn the remainder of his vessels, and to evacuate Flanders; but ere the French departed, they inflicted a serious blow upon their assailants; for Salisbury was ill-advised enough to land in pursuit of the fugitives from the fleet, and Philip, who had been besieging Ghent, returned to the coast with a large force, and, meeting the English, defeated them with a loss of nearly two thousand in slain and drowned. He also took many prisoners; and fortunate were those who got back to their ships.⁴

This battle off Damme, which seems to have been fought in April or May, 1213, is important for several reasons, although it cannot be said of it that it was an action which greatly redounded to the credit of the English arms, seeing that the French were admittedly taken by surprise, and that in all probability they were largely outnumbered. It is noteworthy rather as the first of the very long series of general actions fought between English and French; and, more especially, as a good early illustration of the influence of sea-power, and of the laws which govern warlike operations in sea-washed countries.

Philip committed the error of attempting a naval expedition, designed for the ravaging or occupation of territory, whilst a

¹ William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, was a natural son of Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford. He acquired the earldom by his marriage with Ella, daughter and heiress of William d'Evreux, Earl of Salisbury. After the battle off Damme, he was taken prisoner at Bouvines. He subsequently joined the barons against John, but, on the accession of Henry III., did homage to him. In 1224 he commanded in Poitou, and, returning, died in March, 1226.

² The expedition seems to have been ordered to Damme before it was known that the French fleet lay there.

³ Rigord (212) says that the English used their boats for this purpose: so that the affair may be regarded as an early cutting-out expedition.

⁴ Rog. of Wend., 257; Matt. Paris, 165, 166.

formidable and undefeated fleet, belonging to an enemy, was "potential"¹ in the same waters. Knowing, as he certainly did, of the hostility of John, he should not have essayed the naval expedition to Damme without having first defeated or shut up in port the fleet commanded by the Earl of Salisbury. The omission cost him not only the ships which were taken or destroyed by his enemy, but also the ships which, when he realised that the success of the English had given them command of the sea, and had enabled them to blockade Damme, he destroyed himself. Nay more: it cost him the evacuation of the country by his army. Most of his sea-borne supplies had been taken or burnt; he could hope for no further supplies by water; and the English, free to act from the sea upon his left flank, threatened his communications even on land. Yet, plain though the lessons now look, the French had apparently not learnt them when, nearly six hundred years later, Nelson took the place of Salisbury, and Aboukir Bay did duty for Damme.

John was desirous of pushing his advantage, and proposed to embark for Poitou with a large army; but his barons and knights pleaded lack of money: and although the king started, attended only by his personal followers, in August, he thought better of the project, and went no farther than Jersey, whence, finding himself still almost entirely unsupported, he returned presently to England.² He did not, however, cease his efforts to collect an adequate force. In November, the Archdeacon of Taunton was directed to prepare for sea all the king's galleys then in his charge.³ A few weeks afterwards they were sent to Portsmouth;⁴ and, about February 9th, 1214, John, having appointed the Bishop of Winchester Justiciary of England, sailed from the Isle of Wight, accompanied by the queen and by his bastard son Richard, and, with a large army, landed at La Rochelle before the 15th of the month.⁵ But the expedition was unfortunate. The king gained, at first, a few small successes. Later, he lost everything that he had previously gained, and his allies, the Emperor Otho and the Count of Flanders, being crushingly defeated at Bouvines, near Lille, he deemed it wise to secure the mediation of the Papal Legate for the conclusion of a

¹ Or, as some modern writers would express it, "in being." But that term is not a satisfactory one.

² Rog. of Wendover, p. 261; Matt. Paris, 166.

³ Close Rolls, 155.

⁴ *Ib.*, 156.

⁵ Matt. Paris, 172; Coggeshall, 873.

five years' truce. He returned to England on October 2nd, and was at Dartmouth on the 15th.¹ This was the last of his continental undertakings; and withal it was the most disastrous.

When the barons rebelled against his tyrannical exercise of authority, John lost the services of Eustace the Monk, who joined Prince Louis of France, the ally, and later the champion and head, of the insurrection. Philip Augustus did not observe the truce, and seems to have countenanced the fitting out of an expedition which, under James, a brother of Eustace, together with an uncle of that same hero, seized the Island of Sark, and held it until the place was recaptured, towards the end of 1214, by the forces of Sir Philip d'Albini. The prisoners were lodged in Porchester Castle; but some of them were released in January, and the rest were either released or sent to be incarcerated elsewhere in April, 1215.²

John's fortunes were by that time at a low ebb. The king fought with his back to the wall, and still attempted to parry the blows, not only of the barons and of their French allies, but also of the turbulent Welsh. In April, 1215, he laid an embargo on all English shipping, in order to supply his naval needs.³ In May he sent two good galleys, well equipped and manned, to the Earl Marshal at Pembroke. But on June 15th, 1215, Magna Charta was wrung from him. If he had observed its provisions, he might have ended his reign in peace. It is certain, however, that he never intended to observe them. One of the stipulations was, that the royal mercenaries should be banished. We hear little or nothing of the carrying out of that undertaking, but we do hear that, on October 26th, within five months of the acceptance of the Charter, Sir Hugh de Boves, a Norman knight, who had been previously employed by the king, embarked at Calais, with 40,000 followers, including their women and children, in order to assist John against his subjects, the inducement being a promise of immense grants of land in Norfolk and Suffolk. The force of the expedition may be exaggerated by the chroniclers, but it was, no doubt, very great. One of the most complete disasters on record overtook it during the short passage to Dover. A sudden storm caused every ship to founder, and almost all the people on board

¹ Hardy's 'Itinerary.'

² Close Rolls, xvi. : John, 177. See also *Ib.*, 171, 175, and Pat. Rolls, 126, 133.

³ Close Rolls, 197, 203.

were lost. The body of De Boyes himself drifted ashore near Yarmouth. Up and down the coast the beach was covered with corpses, among which were those of women, and of infants in their cradles; and the air was rendered pestilent.¹

In the course of the same year, Eustace the Monk, aided or abetted by William de Abrincis, made a hostile descent upon Folkestone;² but whether this was before or after the concession of Magna Charta is uncertain. Nor is much light thrown upon the question by the fact that, on June 21st, 1215, John ordered the Abbess of Wilton to deliver to Eustace his daughter, who had been held as a hostage.

The king spent part of the autumn at Sandwich and Dover, and, according to Matthew Paris, sought to ingratiate himself with the seamen of the Cinque Ports. About November, he ordered that a ship of Boulogne, which had been taken by Roger de Loveney, should be restored, together with her gear and crew.³

The year 1216 saw the end of the struggle. The king issued orders prohibiting vessels from trading to and from Scotland, and other dominions of his enemies; and in April he called upon Rye, and probably upon other towns also, to send all vessels there to the mouth of the Thames, and to inform him concerning other ships belonging to the port.⁴ But the royal cause, so far as it was embodied in the person of John, was plainly lost. No one who was beyond the reach of his arm heeded him. His Narrow Seas were left unguarded against his enemies, and the cruisers of Prince Louis of France, under the command of Eustace the Monk,⁵ appear to have enjoyed undisputed liberty in the Channel. Even when the Crown of England was offered by the barons to Louis, and when the succession seemed about to pass to aliens, and the country about to become an appanage of France, John could rally neither navy nor army to his side.

Eustace the Monk collected six hundred ships and eighty eogs

¹ Reg. of Wendover, 332; Matt. Paris, 168; Coggeshall, 877.

² Pat. Rolls, xvii.; John, 155.

³ Close Rolls, p. 238.

⁴ *Ib.*, 269, 270.

⁵ The lawless character of Eustace the Monk may be judged from the fact that when in 1216 the Papal Legate demanded permission from Philip Augustus to cross the Channel, that king, while giving him a safe-conduct on French territory, added: "If you should chance to fall into the hands of Eustace the Monk, or any other of Louis's people who infest the sea, impute it not to me, should any harm befall you."—Matthew Paris, *tol.* 169f., 195.

at Calais, Gravelines, and Wissant; and Louis, accompanied by a considerable force, embarked. The squadrons were dispersed by a strong north-easter, and the ship in which Louis crossed anchored alone off Stonar, in Thanet. But it did not matter. There was no one to take advantage of the scattering of the invasion flotilla: there was not even a loyal galley-captain to seize Louis, and to send his head to the king. John, indeed, went to Dover, but, finding it impossible to raise an army, he retired to Winchester. Louis, perfectly undisturbed, assembled his fleet again, and landed, without resistance, at Sandwich. All Kent, except Dover Castle, which was defended by Hubert de Burgh,¹ was easily subdued by Louis, who advanced and joined the barons in London.² The whole kingdom would have quickly fallen to him, but that the situation was opportunely changed in an instant by the death of John,³ on October 19th, and by the patriotic and statesmanlike attitude of Richard, Earl of Pembroke, who, John's son and successor being but a child, became Guardian of the Kingdom, or Regent.

It may be noted, that the summoning by the barons of a French prince to assume the crown of England indicates that, up to the end of the reign of King John, there can scarcely have existed in the country much of the deeply rooted anti-French feeling, which, for many centuries afterwards, played so important a part in the relations between the two Powers. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the adoption of such a policy as that which was pursued by the barons of the beginning of the thirteenth century would have sufficed to array nearly all England against it from the first. The rise and growth of the traditional anti-French sentiment may be traced back to the time of the invasion of 1216. There is no convincing evidence that the conduct of the

¹ Hubert de Burgh was a nephew of William FitzAdeline, steward of Henry II. After serving Richard I., he was made by John Seneschal of Poitou, and later Justiciary of England. His defence of Dover Castle, and his defeat of the French off the South Foreland in 1217, entitle him to high rank as a commander. On the death of Pembroke he became Regent; and in 1221 he married, as his fourth wife, Margaret, sister of the King of Scots, and was created Earl of Kent. In spite of his services, the influence of foreign interests procured his disgrace and imprisonment; and, although he was restored to favour in 1234, he passed much of the rest of his life in retirement. He died at Bansted, Surrey, in May, 1243.

² Coggeshall, 881; Matt. Paris, 195; Rog. of Wend., 367.

³ On July 23rd, 1217, the Sheriff of Devonshire was ordered to find ships, at the king's cost, to carry to France Isabella, widow of King John.—Close Rolls, 315.

followers of Louis, while on shore, had anything to do with the change which undoubtedly took place in English popular prejudices at about that period; but the treacherous career and evil reputation of Eustace the Monk may well have had stronger and more far-reaching influence than is generally suspected. The peculiar hatred with which he was regarded by Englishmen comes out forcibly in all the accounts of the great naval battle of the South Foreland, presently to be described; and no nation has ever been more prone than ours to form its judgments concerning foreign races on the principle of *ex pede Herculem*.

The decisive battle fought in the streets of Lincoln, in May, 1217, cut short the hopes of Louis, and crushed the barons who acted with him. Upon the news of the defeat reaching France, Robert de Courtenay, a kinsman of the French king,¹ collected an army wherewith to succour the prince, and embarked with it at Calais on board a fleet of eighty ships, besides galleys and small craft, under the command of Eustace the Monk.²

It is impossible to discover exactly what naval preparations had been made in England, as the records contain only two or three notices of naval matters that occurred between the death of John and the battle off the South Foreland.³ One of these, however, suggests that, in all probability, the patriotic regent had taken measures with a view to cutting the communications of the French expeditionary force; for, soon after the accession Henry III., the king's men from Ireland, who were with their ships on the coast of Normandy, were ordered to Winchelsea for the royal service.⁴

Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary and Governor of Dover Castle, knew of the collection of the fleet of Eustace the Monk and the army of Robert de Courtenay at Calais, and was deeply impressed with the necessity for waylaying it. Addressing the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl Marshal, and other nobles, he said: "If these people land, England is lost. Let us therefore boldly meet them, for God is with us, and they are excommunicated." But his hearers

¹ Courtenay was also ancestor of the earls of Devon.

² The 'Annals of Waverley' put the French fleet at nearly one hundred sail.

³ But, according to some of the chroniclers, there was a naval engagement in 1217, previous to the battle of the South Foreland. In the course of it several French ships were destroyed: but the general result seems to have been unsatisfactory, if it be true, as is alleged, that the French afterwards landed and burnt Sandwich.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. III., m. 14.

replied: "We are not soldiers of the sea, nor maritime adventurers,¹ nor fishermen; but do thou go to death." Hubert was not discouraged, but, having sent for his chaplain, had the sacrament administered to him, and then solemnly enjoined the garrison to let him be hanged rather than surrender the castle, "for it is the key of England." Whereupon all present pledged themselves to obey his commands.² Another reported conversation upon the occasion runs as follows. When the people of the Cinque Ports saw the French fleet, and knew it to be commanded by Eustace the Monk, they said: "If this tyrant land, he will lay all waste, for the country is not protected, and our king is far away. Let us, therefore, take our souls in our hands, and meet him while he is at sea; and help will come to us from on high." To one exclaiming, "Is there one among you who is ready this day to die for England?" another answered: "Behold me!" And to him the first said: "Take with thee an axe, and when thou seest us alongside the ship of the tyrant, then do thou run up the mast of that same ship, and cut down his banner which is borne aloft, so that thus the other vessels may be scattered and lost, for lack of a chief and leader."³

The English squadron consisted of sixteen large and well-armed ships, manned with trained seamen of the Cinque Ports, and of about twenty smaller vessels. There were not more than forty in all.⁴ But on board, besides Hubert himself, were Sir Philip d'Albini,⁵ Sir Henry de Turberville, Sir Richard Suard, and Richard, natural son of King John, some of the bravest of the English knights of that age.

When the English squadron sailed from Dover, on August 24th, the French fleet was already at some distance from Calais,⁶ and was making across the Channel diagonally, on a nearly northern course, with a view to rounding the North Foreland and entering the

¹ *Pirata*.

² Matt. Paris.

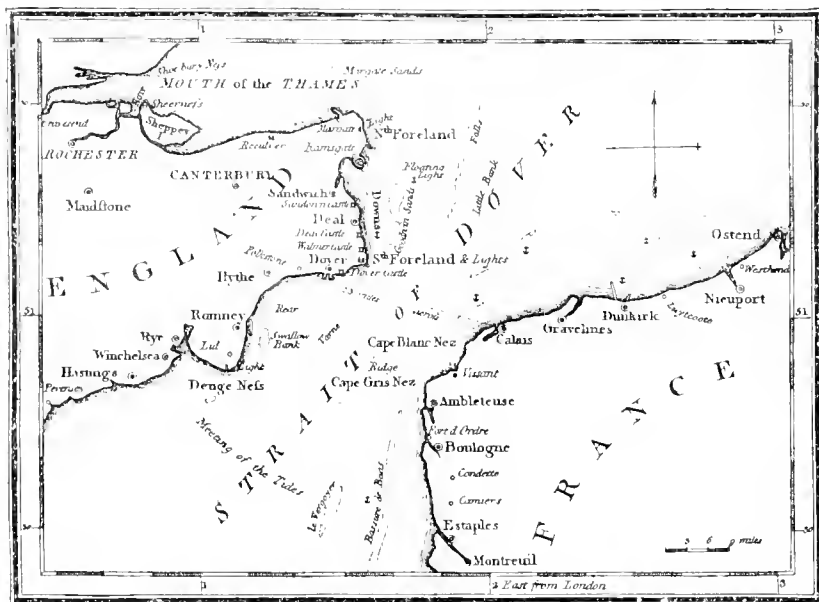
³ Hemmingford (Gale), ii., 563.

⁴ Matt. Paris, p. 206; Hemmingford, ii. 563.

⁵ Sir Philip d'Albini was probably related to the Albinis, Lords of Belvoir Castle. In 1213 he was made Governor of Jersey. After the concession of Magna Charta he supported John and resisted the French, to whose defeat at Lincoln he subsequently contributed. He also contributed greatly to the victory off the South Foreland in 1217. Until 1236, when he made for the second time a journey to the Holy Land, he was intimately connected with naval affairs. He died in Palestine in 1237.

⁶ Matt. Paris, 206; Guil. de Armorica (Duchesne), v. 90; Rog. of Wendover, v. 28.

Thames. There was a brisk breeze from the south-south-east.¹ Hubert de Burgh, instead of making direct for the enemy, kept his wind as if steering for Calais, a manœuvre which caused Eustace to exclaim: "I know that those wretches think of invading Calais, as if they were thieves; but it is in vain, for the folks there are well prepared for them."² As soon, however, as the English had gained the wind of the foe—this is perhaps the first example of manœuvring for the weather-gage—they bore down upon the



THE STRAIT OF DOVER.

(From a Chart published by Joyce Gold, 1816.)

French rear,³ and, as they came up with it, threw grapnels, and so fastened their own ships to those of their enemies.

The crossbow-men and archers of Sir Philip d'Albini did good work by pouring in flights of arrows. The English also made use of unslaked lime, which they flung forward, and which, borne on the wind in powder, blinded the Frenchmen's eyes. Under cover of this the English boarded, and with their axes cut away the rigging and halyards, so that the sails fell upon the French, and

¹ The quarter is not expressly stated, but Matt. Paris (p. 206), says of the French that they *labourant a tergo flatum largidum*.

² Matt. Paris.

³ *Anductur a tergo irruerunt in hostes*.—Matt. Paris, p. 206.

increased their confusion. After a short hand-to-hand combat, involving immense slaughter, the enemy were completely defeated. Some of his ships had been sunk by ramming at the first onslaught, for the English galleys, like the Mediterranean ones, had iron beaks. Most of the rest were taken, and only fifteen in all escaped.¹ The prizes were triumphantly towed into Dover, the victors thanking God for their success. As soon as possible after the action, Eustace the Monk was sought for. He was discovered secreted in the hold of one of the captured vessels, apparently the one in which Robert de Courtenay had taken passage. He offered money for his life, and promised to serve the King of England faithfully in the future. But Richard, the bastard son of the king whom Eustace had used so treacherously, seized the prisoner, and, exclaiming "Base traitor, never again will you seduce anyone with your fair promises!"² drew his sword and struck off the monk's head. It was afterwards shown on a pole throughout England.³

Here was another example of French ignorance, or neglect, of the laws of the influence of sea-power. It is true that the potential fleet on this occasion was a small one, of less than half the numerical strength of that which Eustace commanded; but even an inferior fleet must always be regarded as a potential one, until it has been either beaten or safely sealed up in port; and no admiral is justified, no matter how great his strength, in deliberately endeavouring to carry out some ulterior operation, such as the landing of troops, or the throwing ashore of supplies, while any hostile fleet, no matter how apparently feeble, exists free and unbeaten in his neighbourhood. Necessity may require the running of great risks; that is another matter. But Eustace the Monk met his fate with his eyes open. He must have known of Hubert's squadron being at Dover. He might have attempted to destroy it, or at least to mask it, before venturing to sail for the Thames. Instead, he despised his enemy, and paid the penalty.

The progress of the battle had been watched by the garrison of Dover Castle; and the victors, upon their return, were received by the bishop and clergy, in full sacerdotals, chaunting in procession praises and thanksgivings.⁴ When the spoils of the prizes, which included gold, silver, silk vestments, and weapons of all sorts, had been collected, and the prisoners, who were loaded with heavy

¹ Matt. Paris, 206.

² *Ib.*, p. 206, *rar lect.*

³ Trivet, i., 169.

⁴ Matt. Paris.

chains, had been disposed of, Sir Philip d'Albini dispatched to the king an account of the victory. Why the report was not made by De Burgh is not easily explained. Besides Robert de Courtenay, William de Baris, Ralph de Tornellis, and other persons of distinction, the English captured, in the battle of the South Foreland, one hundred and twenty-five knights, and upwards of a thousand soldiers of inferior rank.¹ It is to be supposed that the number of French slain or drowned was at least twice as great. Some French knights, rather than be taken, leapt into the sea. The English loss is unknown; but it is nowhere suggested that it was very considerable.

The 24th of August, 1217, saw the first great naval victory gained at sea by an inferior English force over a superior French one; and the date deserves to be remembered, for the victory was decisive, and it ended the war. Louis retired, and a treaty of peace² with France was concluded in less than a month from the day of the action. The treaty did not contain any stipulation on the subject, but it appears certain that Louis gave a personal undertaking that, when he should come to the throne of France, he would restore to England all the continental provinces which had belonged to John.³ The fulfilment of this undertaking was often urged in later years, but never granted.

In 1218, as again in 1227 and other years, English nobles took part in Crusades to the Holy Land, but as no naval operations of importance were performed by them, only the mere fact requires mention here.

The peace concluded with France in 1217 was a very precarious one. There were apparently apprehensions that it would be broken in 1221, for on March 6th of that year the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to guard the coasts so strictly that no one who was likely to injure king or realm could land or embark.⁴ And in July, 1222, galleys were directed to be stationed in every port in Ireland, for the defence of that country.⁵ But not until Louis the Lion succeeded his father Philip Augustus in July, 1223, was the peace actually broken. Louis was then called upon to fulfil his

¹ Mailros (Gale), ii. 193; Lanercost Chron., 24. There is a metrical account of the battle in 'Eustace le Moigne' (Michell), 82. In Cott. MSS. Nero, D., V. f. 214, there is a picture, wholly imaginative, of the action.

² 'Frederic,' i. 108.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 5 Hen. III. m. 6.

³ Lingard, iii. 104.

⁵ *Ib.*, 6 Hen. III. m. 2.

personal undertaking to restore to the English Crown Normandy, Maine and Anjou. He refused to do so; and as evidence that he did not even admit the right of Henry to what he retained on the continent, he entered Poitou, and seized La Rochelle and other towns.¹ The war which ensued was waged in a most curious fashion, for it appears to have been confined almost entirely to the land, and there seems to have been, as a rule, peace at sea.

It was determined to send to Poitou a considerable force under the Earl of Salisbury and Richard, the king's half-brother, who had been lately knighted, and who was subsequently created Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poitou. The naval movements of 1225, connected with the dispatch of this expedition, are thus summarised by Nicolas.²

On January 1st, the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were ordered to proceed in person to Ipswich, and if they found there three good ships, to cause them to be fitted out and provided with clays and bridges or brows, for the king's service. If such ships were not found at Ipswich, the sheriffs were to go to Dunwich, and to send thence three ships to Ipswich. The vessels were to be manned with plenty of pilots and other able mariners well acquainted with the coasts of Flanders and Antwerp.³ On January 15th, the barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to meet at Sheppey to take measures for the protection of the sea coast against the king's enemies, and to cause all persons who had served in the time of King John to swear to arm themselves.⁴ Such of the barons who were at Portsmouth, intending to go to Gascony for wine, were ordered to select from the whole of the king's fleet the best and safest ship for the purpose of conveying armour and baggage to Richard, the king's brother, in that province. They were also to see to it that the best sailors and masters were appointed to the ship,⁵ and they were strictly enjoined to keep close to it for its protection during the passage, and not to quit it until it had arrived in a safe port in Gascony. On January 17th, orders were issued to prevent any ship, large or small, from quitting Dover or any other port, unless security were first given that she would not go with her cargo to any place not on the coast of England; and she was to bring back letters from the bailiffs of the ports to which she might go, in order to prove her

¹ Matt. Paris, 221.

² Nicolas, i. 186-188.

³ Close Rolls, 9 Hen. III. 10.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 9 Hen. III. m. 8.

⁵ *Ib.*, m. 2.

compliance with her undertaking. Vessels, however, carrying foreign merchants and others from Dover to Wissant, or elsewhere, and fishing boats, when employed for fishing, were exempted.¹ On the same occasion, the king's great ship and several other vessels were fitted out,² the great ship herself being placed under the command of Friar Thomas of the Temple, to whom the masters of that ship, as well as those of the galleys, were enjoined to pay implicit obedience.³ On February 20th, all the great ships which were at Southampton were ordered to Portsmouth; but all fishing vessels having but twelve oars or less were to be allowed to fish or to go whither they pleased.⁴ In March, seven of the ships at Portsmouth were assigned to the Earl of Salisbury for the conveyance of his horses and equipage to Gascony; and all the great merchant ships were sent from Shoreham to Portsmouth for the expedition.⁵ In December, the keepers of the ports were enjoined not to permit ships to sail for any place in France;⁶ and they were soon afterwards further commanded not to allow any ship to leave a port at all without the king's special orders, and to cause all persons belonging to the ports to hold themselves ready to proceed on the king's service.⁷ It was at about this time that the king's "great ship" captured a Portuguese vessel called the *Cardinal*, on her passage from some place in Gascony.⁸ The cause of her capture is not known, but it may be supposed to have been connected with some breach of blockade regulations.

It is remarkable that, upon its being represented to the king that six scholars taken in the ship had received from their relatives money for their support while on board, he ordered that out of the merchandise captured a sum of forty marks should be paid to the scholars.⁹ This is an early example of respect being conceded to private property taken at sea.

In 1226, when the French appear to have done much as they pleased in the Channel, there were rumours of a projected invasion, and an aid was urgently demanded from the people. In March, Savery de Maloleone, a French baron, and others, were reported to

¹ Close Rolls, 70.

² *Ib.*, 599, 607, 609; Pat. Rolls, 9 Hen. III. m. 7, m. 6; 10 Hen. III. m. 4, m. 5, m. 16.

³ Pat. Rolls, 9 Hen. III. m. 8.

⁴ Close Rolls, 9 Hen. III. 19.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 21, 23.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 116.

⁷ *Ib.*, 11 Hen. III. m. 25.

⁸ *Ib.*, 10 Hen. III. m. 27, m. 11; Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁹ *Ib.*, 89.

be committing depredations afloat, and to be preventing persons from coming safely to England; and the barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to take measures accordingly.¹ In April, all vessels belonging to Norfolk and Suffolk were ordered to be held in readiness to proceed on the king's service on the fifteenth day after the ensuing Easter.² In May, all shipping was directed to assemble at Portsmouth by the end of that month.³ And although, later in the year, it was ordered that no French merchant should be suffered to remain in England after the beginning of November, the bailiffs of the ports were informed on November 5th that they might permit French vessels laden with wine, corn, or provisions to come to England in safety.⁴ But that may have been after the conclusion of a twelve months' armistice, which at about that time was negotiated.

Louis VIII., the Lion, died on November 7th, 1226, and Louis IX. (St. Louis), then a child of eleven years of age, succeeded him.

On November 30th, perhaps in consequence of the existence of apprehension as to the results of the change of government in France, the shipping in every port in England was arrested for the service of Henry;⁵ and in December the bailiffs of Fowey and of other ports were commanded not to permit any ship, no matter to what place belonging, to proceed to any port under the dominion of the King of France, until further orders.⁶ The further orders seem to have quickly arrived; for in January, 1227, the bailiffs of Sandwich were told to permit the masters and rectors of all ships in that port to sail whither they would, provided that they gave security to return to England before mid-Lent. The bailiffs were also directed to enroll the names of all the rectors, and to make them known to the king at Easter.⁷

In 1227 Henry III. was twenty, and Louis was only twelve. The opportunity for wresting back from France some of the territory which she had conquered from John appeared so favourable, that the English king began preparations for a continental expedition. On June 2nd, he issued precepts to all the ports, declaring that he was making ready to cross the sea in person, and ordering the

¹ Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. III. m. 6.

² Close Rolls, 150.

³ *Ib.*, 151.

⁴ *Fœdera*, i. 182.

⁵ Close Rolls, 205.

⁶ *Ib.*, 146.

⁷ *Ib.*, 207.

bailiffs to send their ships, properly manned and well found with arms and provisions, to Portsmouth before St. James's Day, July 25th. He also requested the barons of the Cinque Ports to give him double the length of service for which they were bound, on account of the duration of the contemplated voyage.¹ But he did not sail, in consequence, as is alleged by the chroniclers, of the advice tendered him by an astrologer. Nor, owing possibly to a sufficiency of transports being lacking, did he sail in 1228. In 1229, taking advantage of the fact that Peter, Count of Brittany, was in rebellion against Louis, Henry decided to assist the revolting vassal.² Again transports were lacking, and the young king in his haste laid the blame at the door of Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary, whom he publicly stigmatised at Portsmouth as an "old traitor," and accused of having received a bribe of five thousand marks from the Queen of France. The king, indeed, would have killed Hubert on the spot, had he not been restrained by the Earl of Chester. Later he recognised the injustice he had done to his gallant servant.³

Not, therefore, until the end of April, 1230, was all ready. There were then at Portsmouth even more transports than were wanted, and on May 1st, about one hundred and eighty masters obtained permission for their ships, being unnecessary, to return to their ports.⁴ This was immediately after the embarkation of Henry, which took place on April 30th.⁵ The king landed at St. Malo on May 3rd, and there licensed two hundred other masters to go back to England.⁶ But in spite of his immense army and superfluous resources, he did nothing save waste his substance in folly and extravagance; and in the autumn, when the French, having completed their preparations, were ready and willing to meet him, he contemptibly retired. On August 16th, ships from all parts were ordered to proceed at once to the king at St. Malo and St. Gildas, to convey the army back to England;⁷ and by the end of October, Henry himself was again at Portsmouth.⁸ He continued the campaign in a spasmodic and

¹ Close Rolls, ii. 211.

² Matt. Paris, 229.

³ *Ib.*, 249, 250, repeats this story from Roger of Wendover.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 13 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁵ *Ib.*, 14 Hen. III. 2, m. 2.

⁶ *Ib.*, 14 Hen. III.

⁷ *Ib.*, 14 Hen. III. i. m. 2, 3.

⁸ Rog. of Wend. 365, 366, 367; 'Annals of Waverley,' 192; Hemingford, 572; Wilkes's Chron. (ii. 41) says on Nov. 2nd.

unsystematic manner for several years. In April, 1234, the barons and knights were ordered to Portsmouth, fully equipped for war, to proceed on service to Brittany;¹ in May, the barons of Hastings were called on for ten, and those of Hythe and Romney for five, ships each, properly manned, to carry troops to the same province.² On the other hand, on July 15th, in the same year, the Cinque Ports were ordered to restore all French ships that had been arrested.³ A five years' truce was at length concluded between the two nations on February 3rd, 1236.⁴

In the meantime, what must have been a very splendid naval pageant crossed the North Sea. The king's youngest sister, Isabel, had been betrothed to the Emperor Friedrich II., and on March 24th, 1235, ten ships were ordered to be provided by the ports of Norfolk, and several other vessels by the Cinque Ports, for the princess's passage to the continent.⁵ With them were probably joined "six good galleys," which, earlier in the year, had been ordered to be sent to England by the Justiciary of Ireland.⁶ Henry escorted his sister to Sandwich, where, with a magnificent retinue, she embarked on May 11th, landing at Antwerp after a voyage of three days and three nights.⁷

Immediately after the conclusion of the truce with France, the peace of the Narrow Seas seems to have been very ill kept. In June, 1236, satisfaction was ordered to be made to the merchants of Flanders and Hainault for a ship of theirs which had been plundered off Portsmouth by no less a personage than Sir Philip d'Albini, who, a few years earlier, had gained so much renown in the battle of the South Foreland; and for other ships which had been pillaged by Englishmen returning from Brittany.⁸ And at about the same time a regular war was unofficially carried on by the Cinque Ports with the inhabitants of Bayonne, until, in June, 1237, Henry intervened, and peremptorily ordered the truculent barons to leave the Bayonnais in peace.⁹ It was as if an admiral, ex-second in command of the Channel Squadron, should betake himself to piracy in the Solent; and as if the actual commander-in-chief at the Nore should wage private hostilities with Hamburg; and the facts are sufficient to

¹ *Foedera*, i. 211, 212.

² *Pat. Rolls*, 18 Hen. III. m. 14.

³ *Ib.*, m. 8.

⁴ *Foedera*, i. 221.

Pat. Rolls, 19 Hen. III. m. 14: *Foedera*, i. 225.

⁵ *Pat. Rolls*, 19 Hen. III.

⁷ *Matt. Paris*, 284.

⁸ *Pat. Rolls*, 20 Hen. III. m. 6.

⁹ *Foedera*, i. 232.

show how weak and incompetent a King Henry III. was, and how disorganised was the state of the nation.

With the exception of a piratical quarrel between the Bretons and the Channel Islanders in 1241,¹ there were no naval events of much importance until 1242, when, Henry having decided to assist his step-father, the Count de la Marche, against the King of France, and the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, one of the best warriors of his age, having returned to England from a crusade, begun two years earlier, an expedition to Poitou was undertaken.

In January the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to assist the Sheriff of Kent in impressing ships for the king's service;² and they were subsequently empowered to arrest foreign vessels for the same purpose. On February 20th, the bailiffs of the ports were instructed to arrest all ships capable of carrying fifteen or more horses;³ and persons were sent to each port with the object of securing a force of two hundred of the best vessels, each capable of carrying at least twenty horses, all of which were to be at Portsmouth by Palm Sunday, ready to transport the king's army.⁴ The royal galleys from Ireland, Winchelsea, and other places were also ordered thither; and on March 21st, twenty of the best ships were directed to be reserved for the use of the king and of his suite, and to be stored and victualled accordingly.⁵ The Cinque Ports furnished their proper quota. Henry went down to Portsmouth on April 21st.⁶ He embarked with thirty casks filled with money,⁷ and weighed on May 15th, accompanied by the queen, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, seven other earls, and three hundred knights; but the wind dropped, and the squadron did not get to sea until the 16th. It made Point Saint Mathieu, Finistère, on or about the 18th, and proceeded to the mouth of the Gironde, where the king landed, and went to Pons in Saintonge.⁸ The French had ordered twenty-four well-armed galleys to La Rochelle to resist the invasion,⁹ but the English expedition was not interfered with at sea.

The campaign, like the previous one, was futile and contemptible.

¹ Rotuli de Liberate, 25 Hen. III., m. 6.

² Pat. Rolls, 26 Hen. III., m. 11.

³ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III. m. 9; Pat. Rolls, i. m. 9.

⁴ *Ib.*, m. 7.

⁵ Pat. Rolls, i. m. 8.

⁶ Matt. Paris, 395.

⁷ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III. m. 7.

⁸ Hemmingford, 574; Matt. Paris, 395; Wilkes's Chron. 45; 'Annals of Waverley,' 203.

⁹ Matt. Paris, 394.

and it ended in another five years' truce.¹ Henry wasted alike his money and his opportunities, and, having spent the winter, chiefly in dissipation, at Bordeaux, did not return to England until the autumn of 1243, landing at Portsmouth on September 25th.

While he was away, he repeatedly appealed to England for supplies and assistance. On June 8th, 1242, he desired the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir William de Cantilupe to send him stores and two hundred knights and one hundred horse soldiers, and to concert with the Cinque Ports for the harassing of the enemy. Another requisition for ships, addressed to the barons of the Cinque Ports, stipulated that one-fifth of the captures should be reserved to the Crown.² In the autumn of the same year, the King of France, having decreed the arrest of all English merchants and their goods found within his dominions, retaliatory measures were adopted, and on September 20th, orders were sent to London, Bristol, Northampton, and other towns for the arrest of French merchants there.³ It is clear from the comments of Matthew Paris that such proceedings were unusual in France, even in time of war, and that persons of purely peaceful pursuits were not ordinarily prevented, owing to the outbreak of hostilities, from remaining and trading in the foreign country in which they were provisionally domiciled; although the charter of Henry, granted in 1225, expressly provided for the attachment of alien merchants when war had been declared against their state, and for their detention until the king should inform himself how English merchants were being treated by the enemy. "If," it declared, "our merchants be well treated there, theirs shall likewise be so treated with us."⁴

But for a storm, there would have been a naval battle in the Channel in 1242. A large reinforcement was on its way to Gascony from England; and the French adventurers and privateers, hearing of it, put to sea with a considerable force to intercept it. The two flotillas, apparently after they had sighted one another, were dispersed by a gale. The French got safely into port, but the English and Irish were driven "to remote and unknown coasts," possibly to Spain or Portugal.⁵ The sufferings of those on board were so severe that many died, and many others never recovered their health. Henry again issued retaliatory orders, particularly to

¹ 'Fodera,' i. 251 (April 7th, 1243).

⁴ 'Statutes of the Realm' (ed. 1810), i. 24.

² *Ib.*, i. 246.

⁵ Matt. Paris, 397.

³ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III. 2, m. 4.

the Cinque Ports, the men of which, according to Matthew Paris, slew and plundered like pirates, sparing neither friends nor neighbours, kith nor kin.

Convoy seems to have been practised. On August 27th, 1242, a reinforcement was sent to the king in twenty ships; and all persons having vessels in the Cinque Ports were requested to send them on the same occasion, if they wished them to go over for the vintage.¹ Privateers were also fitted out, for on February 13th, 1243, licences were granted to several persons to annoy the enemy by sea and land, provided that the king received one-half of their gains; and general orders were issued that the vessels of these persons should not be molested.²

Yet the affairs of England did not prosper. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports, applying for assistance to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Custos of the Realm, represented that they had been thrice repulsed by the enemy, especially by the people of Calais, and that all the ships in England were incapable of resisting the fleet which the French had prepared. The country, they declared, was in danger. The Count of Brittany, with all the vessels of Brittany and Poitou, lay in wait to intercept communication between England and king. The Normans, and the seamen of Wissant and Calais, scarcely permitted the English fishermen to ply their calling in the Channel. And, since it was unsafe to send ships to the king, his majesty, at Bordeaux, was practically in prison.³ These considerations seem to have determined the conclusion of the truce, which was made on April 7th.

When the war had just begun, Sir William de Marish, an outlawed knight, who had established himself in Lundy Island, at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, and had become a formidable pirate, was captured by stratagem; and being conveyed, with sixteen of his associates, in chains to London, was there executed.⁴ In June, 1242, the Sheriff of Devon was directed to convey to Uffacombe a galley, which De Marish had partially completed at Lundy, and to cause her to be there made ready for the king's service.⁵

¹ Close Rolls, 26 Hen. III. 2, m. 6.

² Pat. Rolls, 27 Hen. III. m. 17; *ib.*, m. 16.

³ Matt. Paris, 399, 406.

⁴ *Ib.*, 395; Close Rolls, 21 Hen. III. m. 2; Pat. Rolls, 26 Hen. III. and 19 Hen. III.

⁵ Rotuli de Liberate, 26 Hen. III., m. 5.

Immediately after Henry's return, two ships were dispatched to Wissant, to receive on board Sanchia, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence, and sister of the queens of England, France, Naples, and Navarre, together with her mother, Beatrix, daughter of Thomas, Count of Savoy, and to convey the two ladies to England, for the marriage of Sanchia to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, later King of the Romans.¹

For several years nothing of moment occurred in connection with naval affairs; but in 1253, the outbreak of a rebellion in Gascony demanded Henry's presence in that province. An expeditionary force was assembled at Portsmouth by the middle of June, and a thousand ships are said to have been collected, but, owing to mismanagement and unfavourable weather, the king could not embark until August 6th. Escorted by three hundred large ships, and numerous smaller vessels, he crossed the Channel and Bay of Biscay, and landed at Bordeaux about the 15th.² Alfonso, King of Castille and Leon, supported the insurrection, and, it was believed, cherished the intention of invading England and Ireland.³ Heavy reinforcements were ordered to the continent; but on April 1st, 1254, peace was concluded between Henry and Alfonso, the latter agreeing to renounce his claim to Gascony on condition that Prince Edward, Henry's son and heir, should marry Alfonso's sister, the Princess Eleanor, and that Edward himself should receive knighthood at the hands of Alfonso, and serve under him against the infidels.⁴

Henry returned to England in December, 1254, and landed at Dover.⁵

In the course of 1254, what Nicolas calls a remarkable circumstance happened. The facts are related by Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, the latter of whom says:—

“About this season were certain ships driven by force of wind and weather into certain havens on the north coasts of England, towards Berwick, which ships were of a very strange form and fashion, but mighty and strong. The men that were aboard the same ships were of some far country, for their language was unknown, and not understandable to any man that could be brought to talk with them. The freight and

¹ Close Rolls, 27 Hen. III. m. 1.

² Matt. Paris, 582; Hemmingford, 577.

³ ‘*Fœdera*,’ i. 295, 296; Close Rolls, m. 13.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 297, 298.

⁵ ‘*Annals of Waverley*,’ 210; Matt. Paris, 605.

ballast of the ships were armour and weapons, as haubergeons, helmets, spears, bows, arrows, cross-bows and darts, with great store of victuals. There lay also, without the havens, on the coasts, divers other ships of like form, mould and fashion. Those that were driven into the havens were stayed for a time by the bailiffs of the ports. But finally, when it could not be known what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licensed to depart, without loss or harm in body or goods."

Matthew Paris's account does not vary much from the above. That chronicler calls the vessels "ships of the barbarians." Southey¹ supposes the vessels to have been Norwegian, but no northern Englishman of that day would have considered Norwegians in the light of barbarians, nor is it conceivable that, in a large northern port, there was no one who understood so much as a word of the Norwegian language, commercial relations with the Scandinavian countries being then well established. Probably the strangers may have come from the eastern shores of the Baltic. But the whole question remains mysterious and interesting.

The last years of Henry III. were embittered by civil disputes. The Mad Parliament of 1258, by compelling the acceptance of the Provisions of Oxford, practically substituted for the royal power a baronial oligarchy, with Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a Frenchman, at its head. When in January, 1259, Richard, King of the Romans, manifested an intention of coming to England, his well-known loyalty to his brother Henry suggested to the barons that he contemplated intervention,² and they assembled a large fleet to obstruct him; but Richard at length took oath not to interfere.³ In the same year Henry crossed the Channel, and proceeded with his queen on a friendly visit to Paris, returning in April or May, 1260.⁴ During that visit, he surrendered his claims to Normandy and Anjou, and from that time forward omitted his title of Duke of Normandy and Anjou from his grants and letters patent.

In 1261, the king, by a *coup d'état*, recovered some of the power of which his barons had deprived him; and, the fleet of the Cinque Ports having been fitted out on behalf of the barons for the maintenance of their authority as against that of the Crown, Henry went in person to Dover, and, on May 2nd, took into his own hands the custody of the castle there, the custody of the Cinque Ports,

¹ Southey, i. 194.

² 'Fodera,' 377, 378.

³ Matt. Paris, 661, 662.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 44 Hen. III.; 'Fodera,' i. 392; Hemmingford, 578.

and the chamberlainship of Sandwich.¹ In 1262, he once more visited France.²

Some time in 1263, Robert de Neville, to whom had been entrusted the chief command in the north, wrote to the Chancellor that it was reported that the Kings of Denmark and Norway, with a large fleet, had landed in the Scottish islands, and that danger might be apprehended.³ This appears to have been an echo of a descent made by Haco, of Norway, in 1260 and the two following years, and ending in his defeat by the Scots. He is said to have died of chagrin at Kirkwall in 1263.

Henry again visited France in 1264, Louis having offered to arbitrate between the king and his rebellious barons;⁴ but De Montfort was for the moment triumphant, and until the battle of Evesham, on August 4th, 1265, when the great rebel fell, Henry scarcely deserved to be called a sovereign. In the interval, the maritime populations, and especially the people of the Cinque Ports, lapsed into the position of pirates. To such an extent was their audacity carried that, when the Pope sent a Cardinal Legate to mediate between the Crown and the barons, they prevented him from landing, for which offence they were excommunicated and put under an interdict.⁵ The lawless proceedings of the Cinque Ports enhanced the price of all foreign goods, so that the price of wines rose from 40s. to 10 marks, that of wax from 40s. to 8 marks, and that of pepper from 6*d.* to 3*s.* There was, besides, great scarcity of salt, iron, steel, cloths, and other goods. Nor was the situation improved by Henry de Montfort's⁶ seizure of all the wools which reached England from Flanders and elsewhere, and his selling them for his own profit.⁷

Henry, who had been captured at Lewes, was a prisoner; but he was not without powerful friends, among whom were the Pope and the queen, Eleanor of Provence. The latter borrowed money, raised an army of mercenaries, and collected a fleet at Damme.⁸

¹ These ports, which had been held by Hugh le Bigot, were given to Robert Walerand; Pat. Rolls, 45 Hen. III.

² Pat. Rolls, 46 Hen. III.; 'Fœdera,' i. 423.

³ 'Fœdera,' i. 429.

⁴ Close Rolls, 48 Hen. III.

⁵ Contin. of Matt. Paris, p. 671.

⁶ He had been appointed Keeper of the Cinque Ports by his father, Simon de Montfort.

⁷ 'Waverley Annals,' 589.

⁸ Close Rolls, 48 Hen. III.; Wikes (Gale), 63.

De Montfort, always professing to act in the name of the king, stigmatised the queen's forces as aliens, increased the 'daily pay of his own soldiers from 3*d.* to 4*d.*,¹ assembled a fleet off Sandwich "for the defence of the kingdom," and obtained a loan to fit out ships and pay seamen.² And all this in spite of the fact that the queen was coming to rescue the king from duress. Sir Thomas de Multon was appointed "Captain and Keeper of the Sea and Sea-coast"; and, that the attention of the Cinque Ports, which had a quarrel pending with Yarmouth, might not be distracted, De Montfort promised them that, as soon as the disturbances of the realm were settled, the king would cause compensation to be made to them for the injuries which the burgesses of Yarmouth had caused them.³

Unhappily, Eleanor's wifely devotion produced no results. Her flotilla was detained by contrary winds until, her funds being exhausted, she could no longer pay her troops, who thereupon quitted her.⁴ But, in a short time, the defection of some of De Montfort's supporters, and the escape from imprisonment of Prince Edward, put the royalist party in England into better heart, and, by the victory of Evesham, the authority of Henry was restored. Yet it was thenceforth wielded chiefly through the intervention of Prince Edward, until the latter, taking advantage of the cessation of the French war, departed in 1270 on a Crusade.⁵

He appears to have sailed from Portsmouth, with thirteen⁶ ships, early in August, and he reached Aiguesmortes, near Montpellier, about September 29th. There he may have learnt of the death, at Tunis on August 25th, of his ally, Saint Louis, for on October 3rd he left Aiguesmortes for that place, touching on the way in Sardinia, and meeting the new King of France, Philip III., about October 14th.⁷ The combined expedition went to Sicily, and wintered there. A storm off Trepani did much damage to the French, Spanish, and Sicilian squadrons, but none to the English.⁸ In the following spring, Prince Edward sailed for the Holy Land,

¹ Close Rolls, 48 Hen. III. m. 4.

² *Ib.*, 48 Hen. III. m. 4*b.*

³ Pat. Rolls, 48 Hen. III.

⁴ Wikes (Gale), 63.

⁵ A truce for five years had been concluded with France in September, 1269.—*Federat.*, i. 482.

⁶ Hemingford, 589.

⁷ Hemingford and Matt. Paris.

⁸ *Gesta Phil. III.* (Duchesne) v. 522; Matt. of West. 400.

and after calling, like his great-uncle, at Cyprus, landed at Acre with a thousand soldiers about April 20th, 1271.¹ He was on his return in November, 1272, when his father's death summoned him to the throne of England.

Edward travelled very leisurely, visiting the Pope and the King of France, and also spending some time in his continental dominions. On July 4th, 1273, the Cinque Ports were ordered to provide ships and galleys for the king's passage across the Channel.² Yet he still delayed, and did not land at Dover, apparently from Bordeaux, until August 2nd, 1274.³

The pact between Edward and Alfonso, King of Castille and Leon, has been already noticed. Soon after Edward's return to England, Alfonso requested the assistance of his royal brother-in-law against the Saracens; and on May 4th, 1275, Edward replied, saying that he had not decided whether he should again go to the Holy Land, but that if any of his subjects would assist Alfonso, it would be very pleasing to him; and he went on to signify his pleasure that the King of Castille should have the aid "of the ships of our people, and of our sea of Bayonne."⁴ In pursuance of the promise implied in this letter, he directed the authorities of Bayonne to build and fit out twelve ships and twenty-four galleys for the purpose. Taken in connection with this correspondence, it is a curious fact that the Bayonnais of the period, though subjects of Edward, were continually embroiled with his other subjects of the Cinque Ports, and that a piratical war existed between Bayonne and the south coast of England. In May, 1277, however, two citizens of Bayonne were sent to England to conclude a peace, which Edward ratified, giving the Bayonnais £100 to observe the conditions.⁵

It would, therefore, appear that the king did not effectively preserve the peace of his seas. Another piece of evidence, pointing in the same direction, is to be found in a notice of the depredations committed by a piratical fleet, belonging to Zeeland, upon some vessels of the merchants of London. In September, 1275, the Constable of Dover Castle was ordered to investigate the affair, and to consult thereon with the barons of the Cinque Ports.⁶

¹ 'Waverley Annals,' 227; Hemingford, 590.

² 'Frodera,' i. 504.

³ *Ib.*, i. 511.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 522.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 542.

⁶ *Ib.*, i. 529.

In October, 1277, the king conducted an expedition against the Welsh, and was greatly assisted in obtaining possession of Anglesey by the co-operation of the Cinque Ports' fleet.¹ In 1279, he paid a brief visit to France, to confirm a treaty made between his father and Saint Louis.² In 1282, another expedition against Wales became necessary, and the Cinque Ports' fleet again co-operated.³ In the course of the campaign, which terminated in the death of Llewellyn and the extinction of Welsh independence, a bridge of barges, boats, small ships, and planks was thrown by the English across the Menai Strait, to facilitate the attack upon the castle of Snowdon. But the success of the assailants was not uniform. On November 6th, the Welsh inflicted a severe defeat upon their enemies, following them to, and sinking, their boats, and drowning many knights and squires, and two hundred soldiers.⁴

On October 14th, 1286, Edward once more visited France⁵ on a peaceful mission, chiefly in order to mediate between France and Castille. He did not return to England until 1289, when he landed at Dover on August 12th.⁶

During the three or four years that followed, no naval transactions of importance took place; but an event having far-reaching consequences occurred in 1293.

In that year, two of the crew of an English vessel landed for water at a port in Normandy,⁷ and, encountering some Norman sailors, fell into a quarrel with them. In the fight which ensued one of the Englishmen was killed. The other, hotly pursued, fled to his ship, which put to sea, and was followed by many Norman vessels. It does not appear that this particular English ship was caught, but the pursuing force, a little later, met with six English vessels, and attacked and captured two of them, hanging the crews, together with some dogs, at the yard-arms,⁸ and subsequently ravaging the Channel, and committing gross outrage.

The seamen of England retaliated at once, and without waiting for orders. The four ships which had escaped were joined by many

¹ Hemmingford, i. 5; Trivet, 147, 148. For this service additional privileges were granted to the ports.

² 'Fodera,' i. 568-570, 571-575.

³ *Ib.*, i. 604.

⁴ Knighton, 2464.

⁵ 'Fodera,' i. 665.

⁶ 'Fodera,' i. 665, 711; Trivet, 265.

⁷ Walsingham says in Gascony.

⁸ Knighton, 2495; Hemmingford.

more from the Cinque Ports, and sailed in search of the enemy; but, failing to find him at sea, entered the Seine,¹ and there fell upon him at anchor, defeating him, and taking six of his ships. Other reprisals followed, and there was much loss of life and material, but no decisive result, until, if we may believe Knyghton, the opposing parties agreed to collect their strength for a pitched battle, and fight out the question in mid-Channel, at a spot indicated by an anchored hulk. The English enlisted Irish and Dutch support, and mustered about sixty vessels, under Sir Robert Tiptoft;² the Normans obtained help from the French, Flamands, and Genoese, and assembled upwards of two hundred and forty vessels, under Charles, Count of Valois.

The battle appears to have taken place on April 14th, 1293, in very bad weather, accompanied by hail and snow; and it resulted in a decisive victory for the English, who captured about two hundred and forty sail, and, as Peter of Langtoft says, "alle the portes were riche." Nicholas Trivet's account,³ while agreeing that the whole fleet was taken, ascribes the action to a day in May, and declares that it was, so far as the Normans were concerned, an unexpected encounter.

This loud clash of arms in mid-Channel drew the attention of Philip IV. of France to the quarrel which, up to that time, had been of an unofficial character, although Charles of Valois, who was the king's brother, had already connected himself with it. Philip peremptorily demanded redress, entered Gascony, and summoned Edward, as his vassal, to appear before the Royal Court of Paris. After much negotiation, it was agreed that Philip, to save his honour, should occupy Gascony for forty days, and then withdraw; but as, after the expiration of the term, he still occupied the province, Edward formally disclaimed feudal dependence on France, and prepared to recover his inheritance by force.

In 1294, large English fleets were assembled in the Narrow Seas, one in the North Sea, being under Sir John de Botetort,⁴ one in the

¹ It was clearly the Seine, although Knyghton and Hemingford say the Swyn.

² Sir Robert Tiptoft, or Tibetot, son of Henry de Tiptoft, was made Governor of Porchester Castle in 1265, and on the accession of Edward I. was made Governor of Nottingham Castle. His only naval command appears to have been in 1293. He died in 1298.

³ Trivet, 274.

⁴ Sir John de Botetort, Lord Botetort, and Lord of Mendlesham, was Governor of Briavel Castle, Gloucester, in 1291, and in 1293 a justice of good delivery. He served

Channel, being under Sir William de Leybourne,¹ and one, in the Irish Sea, being under a knight named Ormond.² On June 26th, the barons of England were ordered to be at Portsmouth by September 1st, to accompany the king to Gascony; and in July Edward himself was at Portsmouth.³ Meanwhile, wood was hewn for the equipment of above two hundred ships to carry horses; the keepers of all the ports were directed to suffer no man, ship, boat or vessel to quit the kingdom;⁴ and John Baliol, King of Scots, who had done homage to Edward in 1292, was enjoined not to allow any ships or men to leave his country for abroad.⁵

The army destined for Gascony consisted of twenty thousand foot soldiers, with five hundred men-at-arms. It sailed from Portsmouth on August 1st, but, off the Cornish coast, was dispersed by bad weather and driven into Plymouth,⁶ whence it did not sail again until the beginning of October. Entering the Gironde, the fleet appeared about the 28th of the month in the Dordogne before Castillon, which place surrendered at once. Thence the expedition proceeded up the Garonne to St. Macaire, which submitted on the 31st. On the following day the ships anchored off Bourg. On November 8th they were off Blaye, whence they sailed to Bordeaux, where they remained for two days. Failing to reduce it, they again mounted the Garonne to Lieux, where the horses were landed after having been seventeen weeks and some days embarked.⁷

The main expedition was followed by the Earls of Lancaster and Lincoln with reinforcements, probably conveyed in vessels which the Cinque Ports had been ordered to send to Portsmouth by September 8th;⁸ but this division did not sail until the spring of 1295. In the interval, in October, 1294, certain goods belonging to

in Gascony in 1295, and against Scotland from 1298 to 1301, and again in 1309. Soon afterwards he was Governor of Framlingham Castle. He held naval commands in 1294, 1297, and 1315, and died in 1324.

¹ Sir William de Leybourne, Lord Leybourne, eldest son of Sir Roger de Leybourne, succeeded his father in 1272. After serving in Wales, he was made Constable of Pevensey Castle in 1293. In 1299 he was summoned to Parliament as a Baron. He held naval command in 1294 and 1297, and died in 1309.

² Trivet, 279.

³ Gascon Rolls, 22 Edw. I. m. 9.

⁴ *Ib.*, 22 Edw. I. m. 2.

⁵ Federa, i. 801. Baliol was then supposed to be attached to the English interest.

⁶ Plumeteyre; Knighton.

⁷ Knighton, col. 2498.

⁸ *Ib.*, 2507; Federa, i. 809.

French subjects were directed to be seized and sold and the proceeds paid into the Exchequer.¹

Sir Henry de Turberville has been mentioned as having played a gallant part in the defeat of the French at the Battle of the South Foreland in 1217. A relative of his took a less honourable share in the naval history of the reign of Edward I. This knight, Sir Thomas de Turberville, had been made prisoner by Philip IV. : and, eager to advance himself, no matter at what cost, turned traitor. He suggested in 1295 that Philip should fit out a large fleet and crowd the vessels with troops ; and that, in the meantime, he himself should go to England, report that he had made his escape, and endeavour to obtain from his sovereign a command at sea, or the custody of the ports, or both. He would then, on seeing the approach of the French, deliver up his trust, the agreed signal that his plot had been successful being his own banner hoisted above that of the king. Philip accepted the offer, promised Turberville large rewards, and kept two of the traitor's sons as hostages.

Turberville reached England, but, though kindly received, failed to obtain the wished-for command. Philip, on his part, collected more than three hundred ships from Marseilles, Genoa and other places, and sent them to cruise off the English coasts, in waiting for the expected signal.² Not seeing it the commanders grew impatient, and dispatched five of their best galleys to reconnoitre more closely. One of these landed at Hythe. To induce the intruders to advance inland, the king's forces retired before them, and then, suddenly turning, fell upon them and killed them all to the number of two hundred and forty, afterwards taking and burning the galley. The other four galleys rejoined their main body, which was far too formidable to be attacked by such ships as were at the disposal of the English commanders on the spot.³ Turberville's treachery was still unsuspected in England ; but the assemblage of Philip's large fleet could not but be known ; and, with a view to resisting invasion, letters were dispatched on August 28th and 30th to the Bishop of London and other prelates and priors instructing them to take the necessary measures in case the enemy landed ;⁴ and on September 28th the sheriffs were informed that danger was

¹ 'Fœdera,' i. 811.

² Knighton, 2503.

³ *Ib.*, 2503 ; but Trivet, i. 284, says that the galley was driven into Hythe by accident.

⁴ 'Fœdera,' i. 826.

apprehended from the machinations of certain foreign ecclesiastics residing near the sea-board, and recommending their immediate removal inland.¹

But, before this, a descent had actually been made. On August 1st the French fleet had appeared off Dover, and had suddenly landed about fifteen thousand men, who had seized the town and burnt great part of it. The people had fled, but recovering their courage, and being reinforced, had attacked the invaders so vigorously as to kill five thousand of them and to put the rest to flight. Some had escaped to the ships, others had taken refuge in the fields, where they had been afterwards found and massacred. Thirty seamen had maintained themselves in the cloisters of the abbey until night, when they had got away in two boats, only, however, to be followed in the morning by two large craft and sunk. In the whole affray but fourteen Englishmen had lost their lives.

The repulse at Dover and the non-appearance of Turberville's signal disheartened the French, who returned to their ports and dispersed;² yet Turberville's treason was still undiscovered and might have gone unpunished but for the suspicions of a clerk, who delivered to Edward a letter which led to the conspiracy being laid bare, and to the culprit's execution.³

The retirement of the French opened the Channel to the operations of English cruisers. The ships of the Cinque Ports captured fifteen Spanish vessels full of merchandise, bound for Damme, and brought them into Sandwich; and some Yarmouth ships landed a force at Cherbourg, fired the town, robbed an abbey, and carried off an old priest.⁴

Instances of commissions having been granted to privateers as early as 1243 have been already cited. An undoubted example of the issue of regular Letters of Marque and Reprisals occurred in 1295. One, Bernard d'Ongressill, a merchant of Bayonne—then part of Edward's dominions—was the owner of a vessel—the *St. Mary*—belonging to that port, which, while on a passage from Barbary to England laden with almonds, raisins and figs, had been driven by stress of weather into Lagos, on the south coast of Portugal. At anchor there, she had been boarded by some armed Portuguese, who had robbed D'Ongressill and the crew and carried

¹ Federa, i. 826.

² Knighton, col. 2503.

³ Cott. MSS. Caligula, A. 18; Peter of Langtoft.

⁴ Trivet, 284.

ship and cargo into Lisbon, where the King of Portugal had received one-tenth of the spoil, leaving the rest to be divided among his piratical subjects. D'Ongressill declared that in consequence of these proceedings he had lost £700; and he prayed Sir John of Brittany, then Lieutenant of Gascony, to grant him "letters of marque," or, to translate the Latin form used, "licence of marking the men and subjects of the kingdom of Portugal" (*licentia marcandi homines et subditos de regno Portugallie*), and specially those of Lisbon, until he should obtain compensation. Sir John accordingly in June, 1295, granted to D'Ongressill, his heirs, successors and descendants, authority for five years "to mark, retain and appropriate" the people of Portugal, and especially those of Lisbon, and their goods, wheresoever they might be found, until he should have obtained satisfaction. The licence was confirmed by the king on October 3rd, with the proviso that it should lapse upon restitution being made, and that if D'Ongressill took more than he had lost he should answer for the surplus.¹

France sought assistance from Norway; and on October 22nd, 1295, it was agreed that Eric of Norway should aid Philip of France against the King of England, and all his supporters and confederates with two hundred galleys and one hundred large ships, well furnished with arms and munitions of war for four months in each year of the conflict, together with fifty thousand picked and well-armed soldiers, of whom, for each ship and galley, four were to be commanders, Philip undertaking to pay in return £30,000, which sum should be ready by May 1st, 1296.²

John Baliol, King of Scots, also allied himself with France, and denounced the homage which he had previously paid to the King of England. Early in 1296 Edward marched against him, and in March directed a fleet of thirty-three³ sail to co-operate with him in the reduction of Berwick. On the 30th of the month, perceiving that the king's army was in motion, the commander of the fleet took his ships into the harbour on the flood tide to assist in the assault. The leading vessel grounded and was immediately surrounded by the Scots, who, though the crew made a brilliant defence, boarded and captured her with a loss, to both sides, of twenty-eight men. A second ship which grounded was burnt; but

¹ Fawler.

² Jal's 'Archéol. Nav.' ii. 296.

³ Hemingford. But Walsingham, 30, says twenty-four.

her crew got away in their boat. A third ship, carrying the Prior of Durham's household, maintained an unequal fight for about eleven hours, and then, having taken the ground, was burnt, some of her crew escaping in their boat and the rest leaping into the water, and being picked up by the boats of the other vessels. The remaining ships retired. The naval attempt seems to have been made prematurely in consequence of some misapprehension of the movements of the army; but when Edward witnessed the smoke of his burning ships he ordered the trumpets to sound the attack, and the place was quickly carried with great slaughter.¹ Dunbar and Edinburgh were subsequently taken; and on July 10th, 1296, Baliol submitted at Montrose, and surrendered his kingdom to Edward. While the king was thus engaged in Scotland it was rumoured that a thousand Flemings and others were preparing an attack on Yarmouth: but it would appear that the measures taken by Sir John de Botetort and the bailiffs sufficed to ward off the threatened descent.²

Walsingham recounts an act of great gallantry performed in Gascony in 1296 by Sir Simon de Montacute.³ Bourg, on the Garonne, was in the possession of the English, but was closely invested by the French; and its garrison sent to Blaye for assistance. But the river was so full of hostile galleys that the crew of the vessel dispatched from Blaye with provisions refused to proceed. Montacute thereupon undertook the business, and, forcing a way through the middle of the French fleet, reached Bourg in safety, the result being that the French raised the siege of that place.⁴ The exploit was as bold a one as that which led to the raising of the siege of Londonderry in 1689.

In 1297 Edward endeavoured to strengthen his position abroad by concluding alliances with the Emperor, the Count of Flanders, and several of the Netherlands and German princes. A convention, made at Bruges on March 8th, 1297, with Guy, Count of Flanders,

¹ Hemingford, i. 90.

² Pat. Rolls, 23 Edw. I. *passim*; 24 Edw. I. m. 10; 25 Edw. I. 2, m. 14; Mem. in Treas.'s Remembrancer's Off.

³ Sir Simon de Montacute, Lord Montacute, served with the army as early as 1281, and commanded the third division at the siege of Carlaverock. In 1300 he was summoned as a Baron to Parliament, and in 1308 was made Constable of Beaumaris Castle. He seems to have held high naval command only in 1310 and 1313, and he died in 1316.

⁴ Walsingham, 30.

by Edward's envoys, the Bishop of Chester, Sir John Berwick, and "William de Leybourne, Admiral of the Sea of the said King of England," for establishing perpetual peace and concord between the masters and mariners of England, Bayonne and Flanders, and for the greater security of themselves, the merchants, and others of those countries, is of considerable interest. It was agreed that all ships of England and Bayonne, and others of the dominion of England, going to Flanders, should carry "the signal of the arms of the King of England"; and that the ships of the dominions of the Count of Flanders, going by sea, should carry "the signal of the said Count," and also letters patent, sealed with the common seal of the city to which each ship belonged, certifying that it did belong to that town, and was subject to the count; so that the enemies of England and Flanders might not profit by merely hoisting the count's signal. Injuries committed by one party to the convention against the other were to be punished by the simple rule of *lex talionis*; and injuries not capable of being so dealt with were to be redressed according to the law of the place where they were committed; but the general peace was not to be disturbed on account of any murder, robbery or other offence, nor of any delay in making redress.¹ A copy of the convention was delivered to John Savage at Gillingham, in order that it might be proclaimed throughout the navy. The agreement was preliminary to the conclusion of the treaty of alliance against France.²

Edward was delayed by disputes with the clergy and with the merchants concerning the taxes—disputes which eventually induced him to renounce the right of taxation without the consent of Parliament—and did not sail to co-operate with his new ally until August 22nd, 1297. On that day he embarked at Winchelsea in his cog, the *Edward*, and on board ship received the Great Seal from his Chancellor, Sir John de Langton, and delivered it to Sir John de Benstede.³ A large fleet accompanied him, and an army stated to consist of fifteen hundred cavalry, and fifty thousand foot soldiers, of whom thirty thousand were Welsh. He landed at Sluis on the 27th,⁴ but was further impeded by a quarrel which almost immediately broke out between those ancient rivals the seamen of the

¹ 'Fœdera,' i. 861.

² *Ib.*, i. 862.

³ Hardy's 'Catal. of the Chancellors,' 14; 'Fœdera,' i. 876.

⁴ Wikes, 304.

Cinque Ports and of Yarmouth. The people of the Cinque Ports appear to have begun the conflict by boarding the Yarmouth vessels, burning more than twenty of them, and killing the crews. The king's commands were not listened to; and only three of the Yarmouth ships succeeded in putting to sea and escaping from the fury of their assailants.¹ The French had a project for unexpectedly falling upon the English ships at Sluis and Damme and burning them at their anchors; and they would probably have succeeded had they chosen the moment of this disgraceful outbreak; but the carrying out of the plan was postponed until the English had heard of the intention; and then they sailed.

In English history few foreign alliances have brought much good to the country, and the alliance with Flanders was no exception to the general rule. Edward was the catspaw of his nominal friends; his affairs abroad did not prosper; and there is little doubt that his interests were betrayed. In 1299 he found it advisable to conclude a two years' truce with France, upon the understanding that property captured by either party before the commencement of the war should be restored; and orders to that effect were issued on September 18th.²

But long before this Edward had been called home by the pressure of events in the north, where William Wallace had headed a revolt, and defeated the English near Stirling. The king, after having requisitioned from the Cinque Ports a number of ships to facilitate his return, landed at Sandwich on March 14th, 1298, and at once proceeded to join his army in Scotland.

On December 3rd following, directions were issued to the Cinque Ports that the whole of their service, viz., fifty-seven ships, would be needed at Skinburness, near Carlisle, by June 6th, 1299;³ and similar directions were sent to forty-seven other English and six Irish ports, each of which was to provide from one to three ships.⁴

¹ Wikes, 304; Knighton, 2512; Walsingham, 34, has it that the seamen of Portsmouth and Yarmouth were the culprits.

² *Fœdera*, i. 913.

³ *Ib.*, i. 901, 928; Knighton, 2510.

⁴ The ports were required to furnish ships as follows:—*One ship apiece*: Harwich, Orford, Swynhamber (Swine), Dunwich, Skottenmuth with Brunnemuth, Thornham with Holm, Hecham with Flychene, Hull, St. Botolph, Whitby, Ravenseye, Hedon, Grimsby, Northfleet, Gillingham, Sheford, Weymouth, Exmouth, Clyne (? Chine), Poole, Lynn (? Lyne), Teignmouth, Plymouth, Looe, Bridgewater, Fowey, Shoreham with Brighelmston and Portsmouth, Hereford, Waterford, Dublin, Youghall, Ross, Drogheda. *Two ships apiece*: Ipswich, Gosford with Baldsey, Blakeney, Wainfleet

But when the specified time arrived, some of the service of the Cinque Ports was dispensed with; for only thirty of their vessels actually proceeded to Scotland, where the war dragged on until 1304, and broke out again under Robert Bruce in 1306. For the prosecution of it, the bailiffs of the ports were told in May, 1300, to induce the inhabitants to send ships to the king. More vessels were called out on November 10th;¹ and when the rebellion was renewed in 1306, "Gervase Alard,² Captain and Admiral of the king's fleet of the ships of the Cinque Ports, and also of all other ports from Dover to Cornwall, and of the whole county of Cornwall," was ordered to proceed with his fleet to Skinburness or Kirkcudbright; and corresponding orders were dispatched to Edward Charles,³ "Captain and Admiral of the king's fleets from the Thames to Berwick-on-Tweed."⁴ But, although the navy co-operated during the whole of the war, it appears to have had little to do beyond the conveyance hither and thither of troops and stores.

Renewals of the truce with France enabled Edward to concentrate almost his whole strength upon Scotland. The truces led up, in 1300, to the conclusion of a treaty of marriage, wherein it was arranged that Edward should espouse Margaret, Philip's sister, and that Edward, Prince of Wales, should espouse Isabella, Philip's daughter. Later a regular peace was signed, and, in 1304, good relations were so far established that Edward undertook to assist Philip for four months with twenty ships in a French attack upon Flanders.⁵

Edward was on his way to press the campaign in Scotland,

with Saltfleet, Newcastle, Scarborough, London, Aldringham, Hampton (Southampton), Dartmouth, Bristol, Cork. *Three ships*: Lynn.—'Federa,' i. 928. The list gives some clue to the relative importance of the ports at that day.

¹ Pat. Rolls, 29 & 30 Edw. I.

² Gervase Alard came of a seafaring family of Winchelsea. He held high naval command in 1300, 1303, and 1306. Justin Alard, probably a near relative, was one of the captains of the fleet of the Cinque Ports in 1300, and Thomas Alard was Bailiff of Winchelsea in 1304. The family is the most conspicuous naval one of the fourteenth century.—Pat. Rolls, 31 & 34 Edw. I. etc.; Wardrobe Accts., 29 Edw. I.

³ Edward Charles was probably the Sir Edward Charles who, born in 1272, served in Flanders and Scotland, and died about 1330. If so, he was son of Sir William Charles. He does not appear to have held high naval command except in 1306.—Pat. Rolls, 34 Edw. I. m. 21.

⁴ 'Federa,' i. 990.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 961, 962.

when on July 7th, 1307, he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle. He was succeeded by his son Edward II.

As soon as possible after his accession, Edward II. went to France to marry the Princess Isabella, to whom, as has been seen, he was affianced by treaty. Orders as to his passage were issued to the warden of the Cinque Ports in November, 1307;¹ the Sheriff of Kent was required to provide brows and clayes for the necessary vessels, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were directed to furnish means of transport for the king's pavilions and tents.² Edward went down to Dover about January 15th, 1308, and after providing those who were about to cross with him to Boulogne with letters of protection, entrusting the regency during his absence to Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, and settling other matters, sailed on the 22nd.³ He was married at Boulogne on the 28th, and returned to Dover on February 7th.⁴

His father on his death-bed had enjoined him to vigorously prosecute the war with Scotland, but the young king waged it only with indecision and feebleness. In July, 1308, ships were dispatched from Hartlepool and other ports to the relief of Aberdeen, under the command of William le Betour,⁵ and in October ten good ships were ordered to be sent by the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk, and ten more by the ports between Yarmouth and Berwick, to assist in the defence against the Scots of the town last named. With each ship were to be fifty strong and well-armed men.⁶ At the same time, as also in the following year, the keeper of the port of Dover was forbidden to allow any baron, knight, or other notable person to quit the realm during the continuance of the Scots war without the king's licence.⁷

On October 26th, 1309, the Mayor of Yarmouth was directed to provide two ships, with forty men in each, for the defence of Perth,⁸ and on June 18th, 1310, two persons were deputed to choose one hundred and forty of the stoutest and strongest mariners that could be found in the port of London, and in other places as far as Feversham, and to have them before the council at Westminster by the end of that month, armed and ready to proceed on the king's service to Scotland.⁹ On the same day, Sir John de

¹ *Fodera*, ii. 14, 15.

² *Ib.*, ii. 17.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 22, 27, 29.

⁴ *Hemingford*, i. 241; *Fodera*, ii. 31.

⁵ *Scots Rolls*, i. 55.

⁶ *Scots Rolls*, i. 58.

⁷ *Fodera*, ii. 58, 95.

⁸ *Scots Rolls*, i. 78.

⁹ *Ib.*, i. 84.

Caunton¹ was appointed "captain and governor" of the fleet destined for Perth, and letters were dispatched to the ports to the effect that, Robert Bruce having broken truce and renewed the war, Edward intended to go in person to Berwick-on-Tweed, and required the aid of the navy. Every port was therefore to provide one or more ships, armed, manned, and stored, and to send them by August 15th to Dublin, whence they would be conducted to Scotland by Sir Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, to serve with the rest of the English navy which was being dispatched thither. The force thus raised consisted of fifty ships, of which Yarmouth supplied six, Lynn four, other large ports two, and the smaller ports one apiece.² Ultimately the arrangements were altered by an order of August 2nd. The ships originally ordered to make rendezvous at Dublin were assembled at the Isle of Man, and the others went direct to Scotland, under the orders of Sir Simon de Montacute, "Admiral of Our Navy."³ Some of these ships, on their way north, were attacked by pirates from Holland and Hainault, whereupon the Count of Flanders was, on November 9th, earnestly requested to repress the marauders, who professed to be under his protection.⁴

The campaign of 1310 was of so feeble a nature that Robert Bruce was encouraged to carry the war into his enemy's territory. As early as the autumn of the year, intelligence seems to have been received in England of Robert's intention to seize Man, to winter there, and to use the island as a base from which to make attacks upon the English coast, and the sheriffs of the counties nearest to the threatened point were directed to assist the steward of the Bishop of Durham in equipping vessels to repel the descent.⁵

More ships were called out in 1311, and ordered to make rendezvous at Wolreckford, near Knockfergus, to proceed to Scotland under Sir John of Argyle,⁶ "Admiral and Captain of the king's

¹ Sir John de Caunton seems to have been a Leicestershire gentleman. In 1313 he obtained a pardon for having been concerned in the death of Piers Gaveston. His only high command at sea was that of 1310.—Scots Rolls, i. 82.

² 'Fodera,' ii. 109. Similar orders were sent to the Cinque Ports.

³ Scots Rolls, i. 92; 'Fodera,' ii. 111.

⁴ 'Fodera,' ii. 118.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 122; Scots Rolls, i. 96.

⁶ Sir John of Argyle, a Scotsman who sided against his country during its struggle for independence, served abroad under Edward I. in 1297. He held high naval commands in 1311, 1314, and 1315, and died in 1316 whilst on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, leaving one son, Sir Alan, and probably another, Sir Alexander.—Scots Rolls, i. 99, 121; 'Fodera,' ii. 139.

fleet on the Coast of Argyle, and in other parts of Scotland." The army ashore did miserably, for Bruce ravaged the English border counties; but the fleet seems to have done better, unless, indeed, Edward merely desired to make sure of its assistance in the domestic conflict which was fast becoming inevitable, for on October 12th, in a letter to Sir John of Argyle, the king complimented and thanked that officer, and also addressed "his beloved sailors and mariners of England and Ireland," thanking all and each of them, and commanding them to continue their services during the winter.¹

In 1312, the barons, disgusted with the favour shown to Gaveston, took arms under Thomas of Lancaster, and pursued the king to the north. He fled from Newcastle to Tynemouth, and embarking thence in a small vessel with Gaveston, reached Scarborough.² There Gaveston, after a siege, was taken, and he was subsequently beheaded on Blacklow Hill. Civil war lasted until 1322, when Lancaster, in his turn, was taken and executed.

During all these years the war with Scotland continued, although the Scots won most of the advantage, and nearly all the honour of the strife. In 1313, Edward was in France from May 23rd to July 16th, in order to conduct in person negotiations concerning Gascony.³ He was again in France, for the performance of a pilgrimage, from the 12th to the 20th of December.⁴ In that year, apparently because the attempts first made in 1310 to obtain redress for outrages committed by Flanders pirates had failed, an embargo was laid upon all Flamand shipping in the port of London, and in July a considerable fleet was called out and placed under the orders of Sir William de Montacute.⁵

In 1314, when vessels were required to carry further reinforcements to Scotland, the king's two valets, John Sturmy⁶ and Peter

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 107.

² Walsingham, 75; Trokelowe's 'Anno Edw. II.,' 15.

³ 'Fodera,' ii. 212, 317, 322.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 238.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 219, 223. He was eldest son of Simon, first Lord Montacute. For his services in the Scots Wars he was made a K.B. He died in Gascony in 1320.

⁶ Sir John Sturmy was one of the king's valets up to 1314, held land in Norfolk and Essex, and in 1315 and 1318 was keeper of the town and castle of Oxford. He held high naval commands in 1314, 1315, 1324, 1325, and 1326; and, after serving Edward III. in a civil capacity, died about 1343—Scots Rolls, 151, 155; 'Fodera,' ii. 277; Pat. Rolls, 18 Edw. II. 1, m. 36; Gascon Rolls, 18 Edw. II. m. 26, 28; Walsingham, 100; Close Rolls, 19 Edw. II. m. 5, 7, 8; Pat. Rolls, 19 Edw. II. 1, m. 10, 12; 'Fodera,' ii. 637.

Bard,¹ were on March 12th appointed jointly and severally admirals and captains of the fleet for Scotland, and on the same day all civil authorities were enjoined to assist John Sturmy, master of the king's ship *Christopher of Westminster*, and the masters of the king's other ships, *Isabel*, *Blessed Mary*, *St. Michael*, and *Leonard of Westminster*, in selecting mariners and other fighting-men.² Six days later, similar injunctions were issued with reference to twenty-one more of the king's ships, one cog, and one barge; and additional vessels were called out and directed to make rendezvous at Whitsuntide at Aberconway, previous to service in Scotland.³ As Sir John of Argyle was again appointed captain and admiral on March 25th, it may be supposed that Sturmy and Bard were then superseded, although the former of these was often employed afterwards in a similar high command. His squadron went to Ireland to embark four thousand foot soldiers, and also, apparently, to pick up there certain vessels belonging to the Earl of Ulster's command.⁴ The fleet of the Cinque Ports, on the other hand, was ordered on April 1st to go eastward and northward to Berwick, and to make rendezvous there on June 24th;⁵ but before it arrived at its destination Bruce's victory at Bannockburn had been won, and had put an entirely new complexion upon the campaign. The forces already in employment were then judged to be insufficient, and on July 25th yet another demand for ships, this time to the number of thirty, was made, the vessels being ordered to assemble at Kingston-upon-Hull.⁶

Sir John of Argyle was in 1315 re-appointed "captain" of the king's fleet for Scotland and the isles of Argyle, and William de Creye,⁷ and Thomas de Hewys, "admirals of the fleet of the king's ships in Scotland," were instructed to obey him as their superior officer;⁸ so that here we have a fine example of the confusion which, as estimated by modern standards, existed at the beginning of the

¹ Peter Bard, or another of his name, again held high command at sea in 1335 and 1338.—Scots Rolls, i. 155.

² Scots Rolls, i. 116.

³ *Ib.*, i. 117.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 122.

⁵ *Fodera*, ii. 246.

⁶ Scots Rolls, i. 129.

⁷ Sir William de Creye did military service as early as 1282, and was member of Parliament for Kent in 1309 and 1313. He seems never to have held high command at sea except on two occasions in 1315, and for these services he was granted the wardship of a minor.

⁸ Scots Rolls, i. 139.

fourteenth century with regard to the relative rank of admirals and captains. In this case the "captain" was the senior officer. At the same time John, Lord Botetort, was given command of the fleet on the eastern side of the island, from the Thames northward.¹ One of the measures adopted at about the same date against Scotland was the prohibition, under the heaviest penalties, of the sending to that part of the island of provisions, arms, iron, steel, or any other commodities.²

Bruce probably drew most of such supplies as Scotland could not provide from the continent, for the king learnt, early in the year, that thirteen large Scots cogs were at Sluis, loading with arms and stores, and thereupon ordered Botetort, who had, it would appear, just received into one of his ships, the *Christopher of Yarmouth*, one hundred foot soldiers and sailors levied in Norfolk, to proceed to sea with the men of Yarmouth, and to seize the cogs, if they had quitted Flanders. But there is no record that the mission was successfully carried out.

Bruce, in fact, was pressing Edward closely. In the spring he landed a large army at Larne, near Belfast, under command of his brother Edward, who caused a very formidable rising of the native Irish, took Dundaik, received the submission of the O'Neil, defeated the O'Connors and the Earl of Ulster, laid siege to Carrickfergus, and crushed Lord Justice Mortimer. All this obliged the king of England to countermand orders which had been given to the Earl of Ulster to proceed to Scotland, and forced him to send troops and vessels, which he could not easily find, to Ireland as well as to Scotland.

On May 29th, William de Creye was appointed "captain and admiral of the king's fleet of the Cinque Ports on the western coast of England, and on the coasts of Ireland and Wales," and Sir John of Argyll was made "captain of the mariners of the fleet of the Cinque Ports."³ In June, when sufficient ships for the northern expedition had been obtained, the sheriffs of certain counties were empowered to release the vessels which they had been ordered to arrest, and which were not needed. Early in July, John de Athy was made captain and leader of eleven Bristol ships destined for Scotland, and a passage in his patent indicates that, shortly before, William de Creye had been appointed "admiral-in-chief"⁴ of the fleet

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 139.

² Scots Rolls, i. 144.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 140.

⁴ *Capitulum admiraltatis*: Scots Rolls, i. 146.

on the western coasts. Previous to leaving port, the vessels appear to have been systematically surveyed, for in July three surveyors were told off to look to the shipping preparing in the ports on the east coast, and two more to look to those in the ports on the west.¹ A proclamation, ordered on August 12th, rescinded the prohibition of the export of provisions, and commanded merchants to send stores to the north for the army under the Earl of Lancaster, but directed that security should be given that none of these stores should reach the king's enemies.²

In the midst of Edward's anxieties, the King of France applied to him for assistance against the Count of Flanders. The King of England, in his reply, explained his difficulties, and courteously regretted that he could not spare ships, but added that he had ordered his admirals, Sir Humphrey de Littlebury³ and Sir John Sturmy, in particular, and his other admirals in general, to lose no opportunity of doing damage to the enemies of the French king, and to co-operate with his commanders at sea.⁴ But Louis of France, though so anxious for English help, does not seem to have adequately protected English interest; for in November, 1315, Edward again wrote to his royal kinsman to complain that off Margate twenty-two ships of Calais had attacked four ships laden with wool and other goods, and bound from London to Antwerp, and had killed some and wounded others of their crews, taking one ship worth 2000 marks, and refusing to give her up.⁵ At about the same time, the Constable of Dover Castle seized several Spanish ships laden with arms and provisions for Flanders, and as Louis, on hearing of the affair, wrote begging that the ships should be retained and their crews enslaved,⁶ it is probable that if only in order to procure the granting of his own wishes in the one case, the French king made suitable recompense with reference to the other. It will be seen that questions connected with the transmission of contraband of war cropped up again in the following year.

Discipline must have been lax in the navy in those days of foreign war and civil upheaval. In November, 1315, some piratical vessels having appeared off the coast near Berwick, Sir John Sturmy and William Gettour, as "captains and admirals" of six ships, were

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 146, 147.

² *Ib.*, i. 149.

³ *Fodera*, ii. 277.

⁴ *Fodera*, ii. 227.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 279, 280.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 281.

sent after them, with directions to prevent Berwick from being attacked.¹ They chose to do nothing of the kind, and in March, 1316, they were severely reprimanded, it appearing that, instead of proceeding on the duty assigned to them, they had anchored at Kirkley, and other ports, and had suffered their people, without punishment, to plunder and harass the inhabitants of those places. They were curtly reminded of their duty, and commanded to go to Berwick, which needed assistance, without further delay.²

Early in the year, France had to complain that the keepers of the ports had allowed goods and provisions to be conveyed between Flanders and England. Edward, replying on March 19th, doubted the accuracy of the statement, seeing that he knew that Flamands had lately attacked and captured English ships, and killed their crews; but he promised to make inquiry.³ As on a previous occasion, France did not come into court with clean hands. A large Genoese ship, bound for England under the protection of Edward, had, at about the same time, been seized, while lying in the Downs, by one Berenger Bauck, of Calais, who had wounded and otherwise ill-treated the merchants and seamen on board, and, although claims for compensation were repeatedly made, no satisfaction was ever obtained.⁴

Two examples of the enforcement of reprisals against nominally friendly powers occurred in 1316. In one case the offending power was Castille. On May 18th, the seneschal of Gascony was directed to seize Castillian goods and merchandise to the value of 165 marks, and to hold the same until that sum, being compensation for losses incurred by English subjects in the preceding reign, should be paid.⁵ In the second case, the offenders were Englishmen. A subject of Haco, King of Norway, seized at Selag a ship belonging to one Bedeford, of Kingston-upon-Hull, and, upon representations being made, Haco courteously answered that three years previously his ship, called the *Rankie*, with cargo worth £300, had been seized by the said Bedeford and his accomplices of Lym, and that as no satisfaction had been vouchsafed, reprisals had been permitted.⁶

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 151.

² *Ib.*, i. 154.

³ *Feodera*, ii. 288.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 293; Correspondence printed by Entick (1757), 5, 94, 95.

⁵ *Feodera*, ii. 292, 350, 455.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 290.

In the early winter, Sir Robert de Leybourne¹ took command of a fleet against the Scots; a large army for Ireland was placed under Roger, Lord Mortimer of Wigmore; Sir Nicholas Kyriel² was appointed admiral of the fleet, drawn from the Cinque Ports and other ports to the westward, that was destined to convey the expedition, and Bristol and the adjacent ports were directed to send twenty large ships to Haverfordwest, apparently for employment under Kyriel, by February 2nd following.

In 1317, Edward sent to Genoa to hire or purchase five fighting galleys, fully manned and equipped.³ The fleets in the Narrow Seas were under John de Perbroun, of Yarmouth,⁴ who commanded in the north; Sir Robert de Leybourne, who commanded in the west; and John de Athy,⁵ who commanded in the Irish Sea and on the west coast of Scotland. In November, the authorities of the Cinque Ports were forbidden to allow any noble or other eminent person to quit the realm without the king's licence.⁶

In 1318, the Irish rebellion was crushed, on October 5th, at Dundalk, where Edward Bruce fell; but the country was left in a state of ruin, and the *moral*, even of the English settlers, had suffered so severely that a few years afterwards William and Edward de Burgh, scions of a great Norman house, and sons of an English viceroy, so far forgot themselves as to deliberately renounce their allegiance, divide Connaught between them, and adopt the Irish language, apparel, and laws.

In Scotland, Robert Bruce was more successful. He took

¹ Sir Robert de Leybourne was probably a near relative of William, Lord Leybourne. He served in Scotland in 1308, and was member of Parliament for Cumberland and Westmoreland in succession. In 1322 he was Sheriff of Chester. He held high naval command in 1316, 1317, 1322, and 1326, and died early in the reign of Edward III.—Scots Rolls, i. 166; Pat. Rolls, 15 Edw. II. m. 15; 'Fodera,' ii. 487; Pat. Rolls, 20 Edw. II. m. 20.

² Sir Nicholas Kyriel, or Criol, younger son of a knight of the same name, was born in 1283, and served with the army in 1319. His only years of high command at sea were 1316, 1325, and 1326.—'Fodera,' ii. 305; Walsingham, 100; 'Fodera,' ii. 637; Pat. Rolls, 19 Edw. II. f. m. 10, 11; 20 Edw. II. m. 15.

³ 'Fodera,' ii. 313.

⁴ John de Perbroun, of Yarmouth, was member of Parliament for that place in 1322 and 1324. He held high command at sea in 1317, 1322, 1323, 1327, and 1333.—Pat. Rolls, 15 Edw. II. m. 13; 16 Edw. II. m. 11, etc.

⁵ John de Athy, apparently an Irishman, had custody of the county and castle of Limerick in 1309. He held high command at sea in 1315, 1317, 1319, and 1325, but in 1327 was reprimanded for cowardice and neglect of duty.—Scots Rolls, i. 146; Pat. Rolls, 10 Edw. II. m. 22; Abb. Orig. Rolls, 248A, etc.

⁶ 'Fodera,' ii. 347.

Berwick, in spite of the efforts of the English garrison, seconded by a fleet under William Gettour;¹ and, although in August Edward raised a large army and called out more ships, he effected little or nothing against the enemy.

In the winter of the year there occurred a tragedy which is singularly illustrative of the modes of thought of the time. A ship bound from Flanders to Scotland was driven by heavy weather into the mouth of the Thames, and lay for shelter in the Hope, off Cliffe, the inhabitants of which place summoned the strangers to surrender, and, upon their refusing, massacred everyone of them. For the service, Edward rewarded them with the whole cargo, worth £28 10s., taking the ship and her rigging, valued at ten marks, for himself.²

For the prosecution of the Scots war, greater sacrifices than ever were required in 1319. A fresh naval subsidy was raised, and the ports had to provide ships with double crews, and to maintain them for three or four months at their own expense, the king providing wages only after the expiration of that period.³ A squadron was directed to cruise in the Channel under Simon de Dryby,⁴ William de Thewell, and Robert Ashman,⁵ who appear from the patent to have been invested with several as well as joint commands; and as these officers were commissioned to repress "the malice and rebellion of our Scots enemies and rebels," it may perhaps be assumed that Bruce's vessels had ceased to confine their operations to their own waters. On the west, the command was in the hands of John de Athy.⁶ Later in the year, Simon de Dryby was made "admiral and captain of the king's fleet in Scotland."⁷ We learn, incidentally, that Ashman's vessel was the *Michael* of Great Yarmouth, and that South Yarmouth provided two ships called the *Bennet* and the *Garland*.⁸

In 1320, the conclusion of a two years' truce⁹ with Scotland

¹ Scots Rolls, i, 181, 184.

² Abbrev. Orig. Rolls, 12 Edw. II., 243.

³ Scots Rolls, i, 192.

⁴ Simon de Dryby seems to have been a Lincolnshire or Norfolk gentleman. His only high command at sea was held in 1319. He died about 1323.—Scots Roll, i, 194.

⁵ Robert Ashman was Bailiff of Great Yarmouth in 1322. That of 1319 seems to have been his only high naval command.—Scots Rolls, i, 194.

⁶ Pat. Rolls, 12 Edw. II., m. 29.

⁷ Scots Rolls, i, 202.

⁸ *Ib.*, i, 195.

⁹ *Fodera*, ii, 412.

permitted some relaxation of a strain which must have been very severely felt, and allowed Edward to pay a visit to Philip V. of France. The king remained abroad only about a month, and disembarked at Dover on July 22nd.¹

At about this time Edward entrusted the custody of the Cinque Ports to the younger Hugh le Despencer, who seems to have abused his position by committing various piratical acts, among which may be included the capture, in 1322, of two dromons with cargo worth 40,000 marks.² Accepting this as an unexaggerated estimate of the treasure, and making allowance for the then high purchasing power of money, the capture may be regarded as almost as rich a one as was made at sea by any English force, even in the days of the Spanish galleons.

A kind of private war, which had for some time existed between the mariners of England and those of Brittany, was provisionally ended in August by an agreement providing for a truce to last until November, 1322, and for the appointment, in the meantime, of two arbitrators on each side, with power to compel submission to their decision.³ The truce was subsequently prolonged for two years.⁴ This step towards the settlement of a dangerous series of disputes may have suggested to Edward the desirability of making an end to the long-standing dissensions between the barons of the Cinque Ports and the seamen of Poole, Weymouth, Lyme, and Southampton, which had led to many murders, robberies, and burnings of ships. The king ordered the issue of a proclamation forbidding, under heavy penalties, any man to injure the people of the said towns or their property; and directed the warden to send six of the barons to lodge the complaint of the Cinque Ports against the seamen before himself in council, and then to submit to such decision as might be given.

When the truce with Scotland expired in 1322, the Scots entered Northumberland in order to join the English rebels under Thomas, Earl of Lancaster; and after the Earl had been defeated at Boroughbridge, orders were issued to the Warden of the Cinque Ports that no one of whom he had not full knowledge should be permitted to quit the kingdom, and that any rebels venturing within his jurisdiction should be arrested.⁵ Not improbably the

¹ *Fœdera*, ii. 421, 428.

² Walsingham, 92; Knighton, 2539.

³ *Fœdera*, ii. 456.

⁴ *Fœdera*, ii. 498.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 478.

semi-piratical Flamands were in league with the insurgents, for in April a large fleet belonging to them was reported to be off the coast, and to have committed outrages, and the Cinque Ports, Great Yarmouth, and other places were directed to fit out ships to resist them, in case they should seek to take advantage of the king's approaching journey to Scotland.¹ In 1322, and again in 1323, Robert Battayle² was appointed captain and admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, and John de Perbroun, captain and admiral of the northern fleet, and, in the earlier year, Sir Robert de Leybourne held the command on the west coast of Scotland, and in the Irish Sea. John de Athy, who had been admiral on the coast of Ireland, seems to have held command of a special squadron for the defence of Carrickfergus.³ The king's ships employed in 1222 against Scotland were the *Rose*, *Eleanor*, *Godal*, *Magdalene*, two of the name of *Blithe*, *Katherine*, *Squynkyn*, *James*, *Nicholas*, and *John*, the last being a cog.⁴ In 1323, the Scots war was for a time terminated by the conclusion of a thirteen years' truce.⁵ At the moment of its conclusion, an English naval force was being assembled off Dalkey Island, near Dublin, to convey troops to Skinburness, and then to serve against Scotland.⁶

That trade existed between England and Venice is shown by an occurrence of this year. The crews of two Venetian galleys, which had come to Southampton with merchandise, had an affray with the servants and tenants of Sir John de Lisle. Several people were killed on each side, and the Venetians carried off some property which did not belong to them. The affair was settled by the Venetian merchants paying Sir John a sum of money, and by the king formally pardoning them.⁷

In 1324, the piracies of the subjects of the Count of Zeeland led to the seizure of all ships belonging to the Count that happened to be in ports under the jurisdiction of the bailiffs of the Bishop of Norwich. The cargoes of these ships were not to be distrained

¹ *Fodera*, ii. 484, 485.

² Robert Battayle was Mayor of Winchelsea in 1335. He held high naval command only in 1322 and 1323.—*Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. II. c. 13, and 16 Edw. II. c. 18.

³ *Fodera*, ii. 485.

⁴ *Wardrobe Accts.*, 17 Edw. II.

⁵ *Fodera*, ii. 521. It was signed on May 30th.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 516.

⁷ *Ib.*, ii. 514, 516.

upon, but ships and cargoes were to be kept pending further orders.¹

In France, Charles IV. had succeeded his brother Philip, and, choosing to consider his dignity slighted because Edward had not attended his coronation to do homage for Guienne, had entered that duchy with an army in 1223. It therefore became necessary for Edward to send a large force to Gascony. A squadron for the purpose was raised in May, 1324, from Southampton, Portsmouth, Yarmouth, Poole, and nine other ports, and ordered to make rendezvous at Portsmouth by the 22nd of the month; and the port sheriffs elsewhere were commanded to hold ready for the king's service, at three days' notice, all such of their ships as could carry forty tuns of wine or more. They were also forbidden to allow any vessels to go abroad, and to detain such as might return from sea; and warnings were issued to sailors concerning the risks of capture.² As on a previous occasion, the ships were surveyed, the surveyor in this case being a priest.³ The admirals of the year were, for the Gascony fleet, Sir John de Cromwell;⁴ for the western fleet, Sir Robert Beudyn,⁵ and, in his absence, Stephen Alard;⁶ and for the northern fleet, Sir John Stummy.

War was proclaimed by Edward on July 22nd, and in September all Frenchmen in England were arrested, and their goods seized.⁷ In October, a French invasion was apprehended in Norfolk, and special instructions were sent to the inhabitants of Lynn and Norwich to aid Sir Robert de Montalt and Sir Thomas Bardolf, the keepers of the coast in that county.⁸ London was also ordered to prepare all its ships that could be used for war, to doubly man

¹ 'Fœdera,' ii. 544.

² *Ib.*, ii. 552.

³ Pat. Rolls, 17 Edw. II.

⁴ Sir John de Cromwell, Lord Cromwell, was at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300. Edward II. made him a baron, and Constable of the Tower. He afterwards headed an embassy to France. He was again Constable of the Tower under Edward III. His death occurred about 1333.—'Fœdera,' ii. 562.

⁵ Sir Robert Beudyn, a Devonshire man, was sheriff of his county in 1319, and member of Parliament for it in 1320, 1322, and 1324. In 1327 he was member for Cornwall. He held high command at sea only in 1324.—Gascon Rolls, 18 Edw. II. m. 22; Close Rolls, 19 Edw. II. m. 16; Issue Rolls, 18 Edw. II.

⁶ Stephen Alard belonged to the Winchelsea family of seamen, and was in 1307 collector of customs at Rye and Winchelsea. In 1326 he obtained lands at Chedingstone. The high naval command of 1324 appears to have been his only one.—Pat. Rolls, 18 Edw. II. 1, m. 22.

⁷ 'Fœdera,' ii. 570.

⁸ *Ib.*, ii. 573.

them, and to send them to Winchelsea.¹ But the Pope intervened, and, early in 1325, the arrested Frenchmen were released; and in March, Queen Isabella was allowed to proceed to France, in order that she might induce her brother to agree to terms. Before noticing the results of her mission, it will be well to return to the year 1324, in order to chronicle an affair which throws much light upon the then existing customs respecting letters of marque and reprisals.

Two galleys of Majorca had been captured by some English adventurers or pirates, and Sancho, King of Majorca, had sent an envoy to England to obtain reparation. Not succeeding, Sancho dispatched Peter Jacobi to Edward with letters repeating the demand. Edward replied on September 18th, declaring that he had already signified his readiness to do full justice according to the laws of his realm, and that he was investigating the matter, but that the inquiry was not completed. James, King of Aragon, wrote to him on the same subject, and informed him that the practice in Aragon was that if any subjects were accused of robberies at sea, a certificate of the fact would, at the suit of the aggrieved parties, be received in the court of Aragon, and that, if the robbery were proved, the value of the stolen property would be considered to be sufficiently established by the oath of the losers; and that in such a case he would require compensation from the lords of the robbers, and, if these did not comply, that he should grant letters of reprisals to his subjects, so that the injured parties might obtain recompense. But Edward replied that the system of Aragon did not prevail in England, nor between that country and the neighbouring states, where letters of reprisals were only granted when justice, having been regularly demanded, could not be obtained; and he added that he could not legally do anything against the laws and customs of his realm, to the prejudice of his subjects, nor could any other prince do so. To Sancho he also wrote that Jacobi might remain in England until the inquiry was finished.²

In May, 1325, a disgraceful peace was made with France, it being agreed that Charles should hold Guienne until Edward appeared in person at Beauvais to do homage for it, and that the ownership of the Agénois, part of Guienne, should be determined by the French peers.³ There is little doubt that the queen betrayed

¹ Gascon Rolls, 18 Edw. II. m. 25, 29.

² 'Fœdera,' ii. 568, 590, 608.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 601, 602.

her husband over this business; but at first Edward seems not to have suspected her, and he made peaceful preparations for going to France. The Cinque Ports were ordered to have ships at Dover ready for his passage on August 15th,¹ but when, on August 24th, the king went down to the Abbey of Langdon, near Dover, he fell ill. He then proposed, probably at the queen's instigation, that his son Prince Edward should go in his stead to do homage for Aquitaine. This was agreed to, on condition that Guienne and Poitou should be handed over to Charles, and, Edward weakly consenting, the prince sailed on September 12th.²

Isabella, with her son at her side, scarcely took pains to conceal her policy any longer. Edward became at length suspicious, and on September 30th, ordered the keepers of the ports of Kent and Sussex to be particularly vigilant, and to arrest persons whose character or business was doubtful.³ Sir John Sturmy, admiral of the fleet to the northward, was directed to keep his ships in readiness in their ports; but, for some unknown reasons, he represented that there was no real danger, and was allowed to release some of the vessels.⁴ Sir Nicholas Kyriel commanded in the west,⁵ and Sir John Felton also had a command afloat; and, towards the end of the year, the three admirals appear to have been invested with authority to cruise against French commerce, and to have taken one hundred and twenty ships of Normandy.⁶ A little later, Isabella threw off all disguise. Troops were raised in England in her name; Edward withdrew his ambassadors from France, and formally banished his queen and his son, and the troops of Charles again entered Guienne.

Renewed orders were issued in January, 1326, for the examination of suspicious persons and documents at the ports;⁷ neither men, nor arms, money, or provisions were permitted to go out of the realm by way of Dover without the king's licence, merchants on their necessary business being alone excepted,⁸ and various other precautions were taken. The Pope tried to mediate, but in vain. Sir Ralph Bassett, Constable of Dover, received instructions to welcome the Papal emissaries with all care for their protection, and all regard to their dignity; and was specially enjoined not to

¹ 'Feodera,' ii. 604, 605, 606.

² *Ib.*, ii. 607, 608, 609.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 610.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 614.

⁵ Pat. Rolls, 19 Edw. II. m. 10.

⁶ Walsingham, 100.

⁷ 'Feodera,' ii. 617.

⁸ *Ib.*, ii. 618, 619.

approach them with too many ships, lest they should be frightened.¹ Edward, in fact, was ready enough to treat; but France and the queen, fully alive to the superiority of their position, wanted absolute surrender.

In July, the king, in consequence of continued French aggressions, authorised attacks upon all Charles's subjects, except the Flamands and Bretons; but added that, if the King of France would release the English merchants and ships which he had arrested, he, in like manner, would release French merchants and their goods.² In August, great efforts were made to raise ships, and all vessels of fifty tons and upwards in ports north and west of the Thames were ordered to Portsmouth, to serve under Kyriel, on pain of seizure, and the imprisonment of their officers, while the smaller craft were to remain in their ports, and not to go fishing or on other business.³ Meanwhile, all French subjects in England, except Flamands, were arrested.

Charles of France, deterred by the strong representations of the Pope, at length obliged his sister, Queen Isabella, to quit his dominions; and, at the suggestion of the Count of Artois, she went with her son to Hainault, where she secured the support of Count William, and agreed that Prince Edward should marry his daughter Philippa. A considerable force was assembled on her behalf, and shipping for its transport was collected at Dordrecht, with a view to a landing at Orwell, in Suffolk.⁴

Edward, informed of the intended expedition, ordered to Orwell all vessels of thirty tons or more belonging to ports northward of the Thames,⁵ and entrusted the northern or North Sea command, first to Sir Robert de Leybourne,⁶ and then to Sir John Sturmy.⁷ Twelve ships, each having on board forty well-armed men, were summoned from London and the Kentish ports to cruise off the Foreland; twelve more, from the ports in the north, were stationed off Shields; and yet twelve more, from Harwich and Ipswich, served off Orfordness.⁸ In September, Bayonne was ordered to co-operate in the general defence against France;⁹ but by that time it was too late.

Queen Isabella, Prince Edward, and Sir John of Hainault,

¹ 'Fodera,' ii. 628.

² *Ib.*, ii. 635, 659.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 637.

⁴ Buchon's Froissart, i. 10-13.

⁵ 'Fodera,' ii. 639.

⁶ Pat. Rolls, 20 Edw. II. m. 15.

⁷ *Ib.*, 20 Edw. II. m. 20.

⁸ Close Rolls, 20 Edw. II. m. 7, 18.

⁹ 'Fodera,' ii. 640.

brother of the reigning Count, embarked at Dordrecht about September 22nd, with upwards of two thousand seven hundred men-at-arms. After anchoring for a night off the dykes of Holland, the fleet coasted along Zeeland, but was driven out of its course by a gale of wind, and for two days was ignorant of its whereabouts. At length the English coast was sighted, and on September 26th a landing was effected on a sandy beach, probably near Aldborough, or between that place and Southwold. Some of the chroniclers¹ say that the queen landed at Harwich; but this is unlikely, firstly, because it is stated that upon their arrival the troops did not know in what part of England they were—an assertion that cannot be reconciled with the contiguity of one of the largest ports in the kingdom to the place of disembarkation; and, secondly, because there is every reason to suppose that the English ships, ordered to be at the mouth of the Orwell on September 21st, must have been there by the 26th, and because the queen met with no resistance.

Three days were employed in landing the horses and arms. The expeditionary force then marched to Bury St. Edmunds.² Isabella's appeal to the country was entirely successful, and she was joined by all classes of the population. The king's appeal,³ on the other hand, issued on the 27th, and drawing special attention to the presence with the invaders of Roger Mortimer, the queen's paramour, produced no effect; and, on October 20th, Prince Edward assumed the government of the country as Guardian of the Realm.⁴ The king, deserted by all except the younger Le Despencer and Robert Baldock, the Chancellor, fled to the west, where, endeavouring to escape to Lundy Island, or to Ireland, he was taken by Sir Henry Beaumont.⁵ On January 20th, 1327, he was compelled to abdicate, and on January 25th the Prince ascended the throne as Edward III. In the interim, Isabella had rewarded thirty-five sailors of Bayonne with £10 for their services in conveying her to England; and the Constable of Dover had been ordered to provide twenty passage vessels, to convey some of the Hainault troops back to Flanders.⁶

¹ *E.g.* Robert of Avesbury, and Walsingham.

² Froissart, i. 13, 14.

³ 'Fœdera,' ii. 643.

⁴ Moor, 58; Walsingham, 105.

⁵ Buchon's Froissart, i. 16.

⁶ 'Fœdera,' ii. 647.

In the introduction to that period of his naval history which deals with the reign of the young prince, who thus, at the age of little more than fourteen, was called to the throne, Nicolas¹ says:—

“The name of Edward the Third is more identified with the naval glory of England than that of any other of her sovereigns, for though the sagacious Alfred and the chivalrous Richard commanded fleets and defeated the enemy at sea, Edward gained in his own person two signal victories, fighting on one occasion until his ship actually sank under him, and was rewarded by his subjects with the proudest title ever conferred upon a British monarch, ‘King of the Sea.’ But while the history of one part of Edward’s reign is the brightest in our early annals, his exploits were followed by events which teach a lesson to this country of the highest value, and which was, perhaps, never more important than at this time,² when a great nation is her avowed rival on the ocean, with a long series of disasters to avenge.

“Like the Nile, Camperdown, and Trafalgar, the battles of Sluis and L’Espagnols sur Mer led the English to imagine that they were always to command the sea, and, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the Commons in Parliament, the navy was so entirely neglected, that France and Spain obtained, and for many years preserved, the maritime superiority. Defeats, if not disgrace, almost a total destruction of commerce, and, far worse, constant invasions of our shores, attended by rapine, bloodshed, and all other atrocities, were the consequences of this fatal error, which established, however, the momentous truth, that the honour, safety, greatness, and prosperity of England depend upon her navy.”

The words of Nicolas are as true now as they were in 1847, when he published them, except that to-day, instead of one great rival, England has several formidable competitors. It is the duty of Englishmen to see to it that the sequel of their nineteenth-century naval glories shall not be as disastrous as that of their fourteenth-century ones.

Until 1330, the real power was not in Edward’s hands, but in those of Mortimer, the queen, and Henry of Lancaster. In May, 1327, each of the northern ports was directed to supply one or two ships for service against the Scots, who, under Robert Bruce, were preparing an invasion on a large scale. These ships were placed

¹ Nicolas, ii. 1.

² *I.e.* in 1847.

under the orders of John de Perbroun, admiral of the north, and their appointed rendezvous was Yarmouth on May 18th.¹ Waresius de Valoignes was made admiral of the other, or western fleet, which included the squadron of the Cinque Ports; and he was charged to proceed with it to Skinburness.² The campaign ended on March 1st, 1328, in an inglorious peace, whereby the independence of Scotland was recognised, and Joanna, a daughter of Edward II., was promised in marriage to Robert's son David.

Philip VI., who succeeded to the French crown in 1328, lost little time in summoning Edward to do homage for his Duchy of Guienne; and on May 26th, 1329, the young King of England embarked at Dover for Wissant, in a Winchelsea ship, attended by his Chancellor and a large suite. The homage was performed at Amiens on June 6th, and Edward returned to Dover on the 11th of the month.³ In the following year he again visited France, to perform a vow made to Our Lady of Boulogne, leaving Dover on April 4th, and returning thither on April 20th.⁴

The king was meditating a journey to Ireland in 1332, when Edward, son of John Baliol, in vindication of his claim to the throne of Scotland, landed in Fifeshire, with a number of English nobles, who had been dispossessed of property in Scotland. The expedition, consisting of three thousand men, disembarked at Kinghorn, where, it is said, ships had never touched before,⁵ and the ships were then sent into the mouth of the Tay. Baliol's success was at first rapid; and since, immediately after his coronation at Scone, he offered homage to Edward, the latter deemed it prudent to assist him with an army.

In the meantime, Baliol was besieged in Perth by a Scots army, under the Earl of Dunbar and Sir Archibald Douglas, who, not knowing how to deal with the English fleet which was lying in the river, and which was a powerful factor in the defence of the place, sent to Berwick for a celebrated Scots sailor named John Crabbe, described in the so-called Lanercost Chronicle as *pirata crudelis et solemnus*. Crabbe, who then hated the English, although, in return for the ingratitude and ill-treatment experienced from his country-

¹ Pat. Rolls, 1 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 23; Scots Rolls, i. 209, 211; Carlton Ride Roll, 'I.P.R.' 205.

² Scots Rolls, i. 210.

³ 'Fædera,' ii. 765; Buchon's Froissart, i. 42, 43.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 815, 818; 'Hist. Edw. III.' (Hearne), ii. 397.

⁵ Knighton, col. 2560.

men, he subsequently entered the English service,¹ arrived in the Tay on August 24th, with twelve well-found Scots ships of Flanders build, and instantly fell upon the English vessels, which were not prepared for the attack. The enemy boarded and carried Lord Beaumont's barge, and slaughtered the whole of her crew; but the remaining English ships were all so well defended that, after a hot fight, the Scots were completely defeated, Crabbe himself escaping with great difficulty, and regaining Berwick overland. The Scots vessels and their prize were burnt by the victors.²

In April, 1333, John Perbroun was again appointed admiral, and Henry Randolph, of Great Yarmouth, was associated with him in command of a fleet, or of fleets, for the operations against Scotland.³ The western fleet⁴ was entrusted to Sir William Clinton.⁵ Ships were raised in the ports in the usual manner, all vessels of fifty tons and upwards being arrested.⁶

The northern fleet, or part of it, co-operated in the siege of Berwick, where, on shore, Edward commanded in person. Little or nothing is known of the part which the English ships played; but some deeds of gallantry afloat by the Scots have been recorded. One William Seton, while bravely attacking the English ships, was drowned in sight of his father, who was on the walls of the town;⁷ and Sir William Diket, arriving with supplies, boarded some English vessels, killed sixteen men in a barge belonging to Hull, and then entered the town.⁸ But after Edward's victory at Halidon Hill, the place surrendered.

These events did not end the war, but they materially relieved England. In August, ships which had been under arrest in the English ports were permitted to sail upon their own business, so that the interference with commerce was diminished.⁹ In 1334, however,

¹ Hemingford, ii. 273.

² Knighton, cols. 2560, 2561.

³ Scots Rolls, i. 226.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 254.

⁵ Sir William Clinton, first Earl of Huntingdon, was a younger son of John, Lord Clinton, and in 1330 was made Governor of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron. After his service as admiral, in 1333, he was present at the battle of Halidon Hill. In 1337, he was created Earl of Huntingdon. He was a private captain, as would be now said, at the battle of Sluis, and, after further service as admiral, in 1341, died in 1354.

⁶ Scots Rolls, i. 248.

⁷ Fordun, ii. 310.

⁸ Chron. in Harl. MS. 4690, printed by Ritson.

⁹ Scots Rolls, i. 258, 259.

further vessels were ordered to Scotland in September, and some were dispatched in search of Scots cruisers, which were endeavouring to intercept sea-borne supplies destined for the English army.¹ Nor did the Scots confine themselves to the defensive. A force of them landed in Suffolk, and two officers were specially appointed to levy troops to drive them off.² In the same month there was a general arrest of ships of forty tons and upwards; but the foreign vessels then arrested were soon afterwards released.³

The admirals appointed at the beginning of 1335 were Sir John Norwich, for the North Sea, and Sir Roger Hegham, for the western fleet;⁴ but in April, Sir John Norwich appears to have been superseded by Sir John Howard,⁵ senior, and Sir Robert Holland⁶ was made admiral of the fleet on the coast of Wales, and westward as far as Carlingford. The best ships in the northern ports were impressed in February; and in the same month the two largest ships of war at Bristol were ordered to proceed to Dumbarton, against a large, armed vessel, full of stores, which was reported to have arrived there from abroad; and Sir Roger Hegham, for whom twelve ships were levied from the Cinque Ports, Bristol, Falmouth, Southampton, and Plymouth, was directed to send four of them to cruise to the westward, and to station the remaining eight where they would be most likely to intercept supplies destined for the Scots.⁷

In April men-at-arms were requisitioned for Ireland; and the Irish ports were instructed to provide vessels for their conveyance to Scotland, and to send them to Carlingford. To the command of this flotilla Sir John de Athy was appointed.⁸

It is unfortunate that we do not know what success attended the Bristol ships in their expedition to Dumbarton. We are left similarly in the dark as to the results of another minor expedition

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 277-279.

² *Ib.*, i. 299.

³ *Ib.*, i. 305-309, 311.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 8 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 4.

⁵ Scots Rolls, i. 335. Sir John Howard, son of Sir John Howard by Joan Cornwall, was the ancestor of one of the most distinguished of British naval and noble families. He served as admiral in 1335 and 1347. He married Alice, daughter of Sir Robert Boys. His great-great-grandson was the first Duke of Norfolk of the present creation.

⁶ Scots Rolls, i. 336. Sir Robert Holland, or Holand, son of Robert, first Baron Holland, was summoned to Parliament, as second Baron, in 1342. He died in 1373.

⁷ *Ib.*, i. 317, 320, 322.

⁸ *Ib.*, i. 337, 338.

of the same year. The Scots, who had captured a cog belonging to Lord Beaumont, purposed to send her abroad with several persons of distinction and much treasure on board, to raise soldiers for their cause; and, consequently, on May 8th, orders were dispatched to Ravensrode and Hull to arrest three vessels there for the pursuit of the cog.¹

On June 1st, Thomas de Maydeston was made captain and superior officer of six vessels of the Cinque Ports, two of Bristol, and one of Southampton, destined for particular service;² and as this officer was not designated as admiral, his position may have been similar to that of the modern commodore. An analogous command over six ships, which were arrested in the ports between Liverpool and Skinburness, was given to Simon de Beltoft;³ and John de Watewang,⁴ the king's clerk, was made lieutenant, or assistant, to Sir John Howard, to provide men, ships, arms, stores, and provisions at Newcastle, Berwick, and other places, as needed by the fleet. Here we have an early suggestion of the later captains of the Impress Service and the Resident Commissioners; and the appointment is the more interesting seeing that it was conferred upon a member of the family which supplied the gallant officer, Captain Sir John Wetwang, who, more than three hundred years afterwards, was Prince Rupert's Captain of the Fleet in the *Sovereign of the Seas*, and Admiral Sir John Allin's flag-captain in the *Royal James*.

Careful watch was ordered to be kept upon certain Scots ships of war, which lay in Calais ready for sea; but it does not appear whether they ever left port.⁵

Fordun⁶ relates, that on July 1st, 1335, an English fleet of one hundred and eighty ships entered the Forth, and committed much damage on the coast; but his accounts are so intimately intermixed with superstitious fictions that they cannot be altogether trusted. He asserts, however, that one of the best of the English ships, commanded by the admiral, was wrecked upon the Wolf Rock.

On July 6th, Sir John Cobham and Peter Bard were simultaneously appointed captains and admirals of the ships of the Cinque and other western ports,⁷ the former, as he had the power to appoint

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 341.

² *Ib.*, i. 351.

³ *Ib.*, i. 355.

⁴ Or Wetwang. *Ib.*, i. 354.

⁵ 'Federa,' ii. 911; Scots Rolls, i. 357.

⁶ 'Scotichronicon,' ii. 318.

⁷ Scots Rolls, i. 358, 359, 368.

deputies, being possibly the senior officer; and enormous preparations were made to resist an anticipated invasion by the Scots and their continental sympathisers.¹ All ships of forty tons and upwards were arrested; Bayonne was applied to for vessels; and a great council of national defence was summoned to meet in London.² In August, Sir John Cobham was censured for remissness and apathy, and bidden to lose no time in collecting the fleet under his commands and in putting to sea against the enemy;³ and to ensure the proper fitting out of the ships in the Thames, Henry de Kendall was appointed to survey them, and to make a verbal report concerning them to the king;⁴ while the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were enjoined to dispatch to sea all their ships, well manned and armed.⁵ But in September the fear of invasion died away, and the ships under arrest were released.⁶

In 1336, Edward resumed the offensive on shore. In February, all vessels of forty tons and upwards were again impressed,⁷ and Sir Thomas Ughtred was appointed captain and admiral of the North Sea fleet, with authority to impress seamen.⁸ In April, Sir John Norwich seems to have superseded him; and Sir Geoffrey Say became admiral to the westward.⁹ These two admirals were stringently enjoined, in case they met at sea, to compel their crews to behave amicably, so that no dissensions might arise; and they were warned that, if any quarrel took place, they, and all concerned, would be considered as supporters of the enemy.¹⁰ This indicates that the ancient hatred between the seamen of the east coast and those of the Cinque and western ports was still rife. Further orders on the same subject were transmitted to the admirals, and also to the bailiffs of Yarmouth, on August 5th.¹¹

On August 16th, the king issued a noteworthy mandate to the two admirals, declaring that twenty-six of the enemy's galleys were in the ports of Brittany and Normandy, waiting for an opportunity to act against England, and that they were to be proceeded against. It is noteworthy because it contains the following explicit claim to the dominion of the seas: "We, considering

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 359, 369.

² *Ib.*, i. 363, 366, 368; Gascon Rolls, 82, 83; 'Federa,' ii. 915.

³ *Ib.*, i. 374.

⁸ Scots Rolls, i. 401.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 377.

⁹ *Ib.*, i. 415-417.

⁵ 'Federa,' ii. 920.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, i. 432.

⁶ Scots Rolls, i. 379.

¹¹ 'Federa,' ii. 943.

⁷ *Ib.*, i. 409.

that our progenitors, Kings of England, were Lords of the English Sea on every side, and also defenders against invasions of enemies before these times, should be much grieved if our royal honour in such defence should perish or be in aught diminished in our time (which God forbid), and are desirous (the Lord helping) to obviate such perils, and to provide for the defence and safety of our realm and people, and to avert the malice of our foes."¹

Ships were summoned from Ireland to assist the admirals; vessels which had been released were re-arrested; and the Downs was given as the rendezvous for the whole force.² Yet the enemy managed to win several successes. At the end of August, a squadron of galleys appeared off the Isle of Wight, attacked some of the king's ships at anchor there, and after killing some, and throwing overboard others, of the crew, carried the vessels and their cargoes to Normandy. Upon this, all the ships at Southampton and Great Yarmouth were ordered out.³ In September, so unsafe was the Channel that Sir Geoffrey Say was warned to afford special protection, against a force lying at Calais, to some English ambassadors who were about to cross from Wissant; and the barons of Dover were desired to co-operate with him.⁴ English vessels were attacked even in English harbours, and carried off; and so serious was the evil that a special commission, consisting of Sir William Clinton, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Ralph Bassett, of Drayton, Sir Richard Talbot, and Sir Geoffrey Say was appointed, to send to sea every serviceable ship, seaman, and fighting-man that could be laid hands on.⁵

The situation would have been still worse than it actually was if the laws of neutrality had been everywhere as laxly observed as they commonly were in those days. Happily, Sicily and Genoa were, for a time at least, loyal to Edward. When the enemy attempted to hire galleys there, the vessels were prevented by the authorities from putting to sea. The Genoese even burnt the galleys of some who seemed disinclined to obey the orders which had been given.⁶ Edward wrote cordial letters of thanks to both States, and took the opportunity afforded by the dispatch of the

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 442.

² *Ib.*, i. 446, 447.

³ *Ib.*, i. 451.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 451.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 456.

⁶ 'Fœderat.' ii. 946. But later France obtained forty galleys from Genoa and Monaco. — *Jal*, ii. 333.

messages to hire some galleys and viscers, manned and armed, for his own service, and to conciliate the Genoese by paying them 8000 marks in respect of one of the dromons which had been piratically seized by Hugh le Despencer in 1321.¹ As the Scots were regarded by Edward as rebels without belligerent rights, the letting out of the ships by Genoa to England, while a friendly action, was also a perfectly correct one. France, Flanders, Holland, Gelderland, and Norway were less nice. All of them for some time covertly helped the Scots;² and in September, 1336, Flanders went further, and seized all the English merchants and property in its territories; whereupon Edward retaliated upon Flamands and their property in England.³

To reduce the danger to trading ships, two regular convoys were organised at the end of the year for the trade to and from Gascony. One was directed to make rendezvous at Portsmouth, for the benefit of the merchants of the southern and western ports; and the other at Orwell, for the benefit of the merchants of the ports north of the Thames.⁴ In November, Sir John Roos seems to have succeeded Sir John Norwich as admiral in the North Sea;⁵ but it is nowhere implied that the two convoys, which assembled in December, were accompanied either by this officer or by Sir Geoffrey Say, both of whom probably remained in home waters.

Bayonne was again called upon for ships;⁶ but the response, if not from thence, at least from some of the English ports, was so unsatisfactory—and the enemy still committed so many outrages at sea, notably off the Isle of Wight and in the Channel Islands—that on December 11th, Edward appointed a new commission of national defence,⁷ to consist of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earls of Surrey and Lancaster, and Sir William Clinton, and, in his mandate to these officers, once more dwelt upon the sorrow which it would cause him if, in his time, the lordship of the sea, and of the passage of the sea, as enjoyed by his progenitors, should be in aught prejudiced.

At about the same time, Edward, perhaps in consequence of the irritation occasioned him by the succour which his enemies

¹ 'Fœdera,' ii. 948, 1011.

² *Ib.*, ii. 949, 950.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 948, 952.

⁴ Scots Rolls, i. 467, 468, 470.

⁵ Scots Rolls, ii. 468.

⁶ 'Fœdera,' ii. 951.

⁷ *Ib.*, ii. 953.

repeatedly received in French ports, and by Philip's aggressions in Aquitaine, began to style himself King of France. The earliest known documents in which he used the title are dated in October, 1337; but, as Edward claimed as the son of Isabella, and as the old line of French kings had died out as early as 1328, it is improbable that no formal assertion of the claim was made until nearly ten years had elapsed. On the other hand, it is quite likely that, but for Philip's breaches of neutrality, the claim would have never been pressed, and the "hundred years' war" between England and France would have been avoided.

At the beginning of 1337, a fleet was ordered to assemble at Portsmouth by March 15th,¹ with thirteen weeks' stores and provisions on board, for service on the west coast against the Scots; and all other vessels, save those sailing under the king's special licence, were arrested. On January 14th, Sir Robert Ufford² was associated with Sir John Roos in the command in the North Sea, and Sir William Montacute³ was appointed admiral on the west; on January 16th, Nicholas Ususmaris,⁴ a Genoese, was made vice-admiral of the king's ships belonging to Aquitaine;⁵ and when, on February 6th, the northern fleet was given rendezvous at Orwell, and the western fleet at Plymouth, twenty ships belonging to the latter were directed to be detached, apparently under Sir John Norwich,⁶ for Aquitaine, where, it may be supposed, they joined the squadron of Ususmaris. Yet another squadron was organised in March, April, or May, at Bayonne, the command of it being, so far as can be seen, conferred upon Peter de Puyano;⁷ and two ships were directed to be dispatched from Lynn, to capture or destroy five vessels of Flanders alleged to be loading at Shuis with arms and provisions for Aberdeen.

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 477, 478.

² Sir Robert Ufford, second Lord Ufford, was eldest son of Robert, first Lord Ufford; but although he succeeded his father in 1316, he was not summoned to Parliament until 1332. In 1337 he was made joint admiral with Lord Roos, and in the same year was created Earl of Suffolk. He distinguished himself in the naval actions of 1342 and 1350, and also at Poitiers. He was again admiral in 1344, and died in 1369. His son and successor, William, second Earl, served as admiral for a short time in 1376, but died in 1392, when the title became extinct.

³ Sir William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, K.B., eldest son of William, second Lord Montacute, was born about 1300. In 1334, he was Governor of the Channel Islands; in 1337, admiral; and later in the same year, he was created Earl of Salisbury. He died in 1343.

⁴ Or Usdemer.

⁶ Scots Rolls, i. 482.

⁵ 'Federa,' ii. 957.

⁷ 'Federa,' i. 1039.

In spite, however, of the large English naval force in commission, some French galleys, under Nicolas Béhuchet,¹ found their way across the Channel, and, approaching under cover of the English flag, landed a body of troops near Portsmouth, and captured, plundered, and burnt almost the whole of the town, excepting a hospital and the parish church. Presently, according to some chroniclers, the inhabitants rallied, and drove off the enemy, killing many of them;² but others represent the French as having withdrawn without loss. The date of this descent remains in doubt, but it was almost certainly in 1337.³ In the following year, the inhabitants, on account of their misfortune, were exempted from taxation. The depredators, after leaving Portsmouth, landed in Guernsey, ravaged the island, and burnt St. Peter Port.⁴ These and other events of the two succeeding years show how far Edward then was from enjoying that dominion of the seas which he claimed, and which he later, for a time, most triumphantly asserted. For example, the position of affairs in the North Sea was such, that when, in the summer of 1337, the Bishop of Lincoln and the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon were about to return from an embassy to the continent, "certain aliens and other pirates" made bold to collect a squadron with the intention of seizing the mission while on its way home. Edward was obliged to order Sir John Roos, with forty of the best vessels obtainable from Yarmouth, St. Nicholas, and Kirkley, to Dordrecht, to convey the ambassadors, who, in all probability, would otherwise have been taken and held to ransom.⁵

The Scots war was, nevertheless, not neglected, nor were the aims and objects of France lost sight of. On its return to England, the squadron of Sir John Roos took two Scots ships, homeward bound from Flanders, with men, money, and stores, destined by the King of France for the succour of Scotland. Among those on board the prizes were the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir John Stewart, David de la Hay, and some noble ladies, most of whom were killed by the captors, though whether in fair fight or after surrender does not appear.⁶ It seems probable, however, that quarter was not

¹ French historians say that the senior officer was Hugues Quiéret.

² Knighton, 2570.

³ Knighton and De Nangis say in 1337; Hemingford says in 1338. See 'Fœdera,' ii. 1042, 1067.

⁴ De Nangis, iii. 100.

⁵ 'Fœdera,' ii. 975.

⁶ Knighton, 2570. Walsingham, 118. Hemingford, ii. 280.

generally refused, for it is recorded that the bishop, after being mortally wounded, died ere he could be landed at Sandwich.

In June, orders were sent to the Bayonnese to the effect that, since France was preparing a large fleet for operations against English trade, they were to put to sea with as many ships as possible, and join the vice-admiral, Nicholas Ususmaris. The united force was to sweep to the north-east, carefully examining all the French ports and coasts, and taking or destroying every hostile craft that might be met with; but vessels of Germany, Zealand, Holland, Brittany, Spain, Portugal, Genoa, and other countries in friendship with the king, were not to be molested. It is strange that, although the services of this united fleet were urgently called for to repress a very imminent danger, permission was given that, before sailing, the ships might load at Bayonne with wine and other merchandise for England; but it seems to have been felt that compliance with the king's commands was not to be expected unless the duty was made as easy as possible to all concerned; and, as the issue in this and other cases proved, it was, in fact, most difficult to bring about, at this period, anything like satisfactory co-operation for the protection of threatened points and threatened interests.¹

Meanwhile, beacons, in charge of four or six soldiers, were, as on previous occasions, established along the coasts, to give warning of the approach of hostile vessels, and, if necessary, to assist in repelling them;² and on August 11th, Sir Walter Manny³ was appointed Admiral of the Northern, and Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Admiral of the Western Fleet.⁴

Sir John de Athy has already been mentioned as having been Admiral of the Irish Fleet in 1335. In the summer and autumn of 1337, he was employed, with other officers, to arrest and arm ships in some of the northern ports. But he appears to have carried out the objects of his commission with very little energy; for, in

¹ *Foedera*, ii. 977.

² *Ib.*, ii. 996.

³ Sir Walter Manny, K.G., one of the bravest and greatest men of his day, was a native of Valenciennes. While still young, he served in the Scots wars, and he was admiral in 1337 and 1348. He also fought at Sluis and L'Espagnols sur Mer, as well as in many minor naval actions. In 1347, he became a baron by writ of summons, and in 1359 a Knight of the Garter. His wife, Margaret, was a grand-daughter of Edward I. He died on January 13th, 1372.

⁴ *Foedera*, ii. 988; Pat. Rolls, 11 Edw. III. m. 38.

September, and again in November, he was severely reprimanded for permitting Scots, Flemish, and French vessels to pass to Scotland with stores;¹ and after the close of the year he does not seem to have been employed at sea.

But, at about the same time, commendable activity was displayed by other officers, and a most gratifying success was obtained. Off Sluis there then lay an island, now an inland village, called Gadzand.² This had been for some time past held by a company of Flamand freebooters, who had inflicted much damage upon English trade, and whom it was most desirable to dislodge. An expedition against the place was organised under Henry, Earl of Derby, and Sir Walter Manny, who embarked at London with five hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers,³ dropped down the river, and, having arrived off Margate, crossed from thence to the mouth of the Scheldt. The expedition made Gadzand on November 10th, and, wind and tide being favourable, attacked immediately, "in the name of God and St. George." The Flamands, to the number of five thousand, were under Guy of Flanders, brother of Count Louis, and were drawn up on the shore and on the dykes above it. The English squadron sailed directly into the harbour, clearing the sands with flights of arrows, and then throwing ashore all available hands. A close and furious fight ensued; and although the Flamands behaved most stubbornly, and lost a thousand men, they were at last defeated, and Guy was taken. Gadzand was stormed, sacked, and burnt, and Sir Walter Manny, returning, reached Orwell about November 20th, to the great satisfaction of the king.⁴ On the 24th, orders were sent down to Manny to use his discretion as to putting again to sea, but, in any event, not to remain absent from Orwell or Sandwich for more than three weeks.⁵

In January, 1338, two of the king's galleys, respectively commanded by John de Aurea and Nicholas Glaucus, convoyed a flotilla of storeships to the army in Scotland;⁶ and Nicholas Ususmaris, who had returned from his cruise, and who had been made

¹ Scots Rolls, i. 498, 513.

² Also Kadzand, or Calsand.

³ De Nangis says they had sixteen ships.

⁴ Froissart, i. 62, 63. Walsingham gives a somewhat different account of what seems to have been the same affair.

⁵ 'Federa,' ii. 1005.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 1008. The galleys and crews were probably hired from Genoa.

Constable of Bordeaux, was dispatched on a mission to Genoa, to thank the authorities of that place for some offer of assistance, and to beg them to arrest any vessels that might be fitting out there by the enemies of England.¹ This step was, no doubt, part of a new general policy which Edward seems to have adopted at about the beginning of the year. His design was to consolidate all his foreign alliances as much as possible; to assure himself as to who were his friends, who were his enemies, and who might be counted upon for neutrality; and so to simplify his position as to enable him presently to hurl almost the whole of his power against France, and to make good his claim to the French crown. In further pursuance of this object, he resolved, in February, to go personally to Flanders, to endeavour to persuade his allies there to afford him substantial support in the coming final struggle.²

Sir Walter Manny, and the Sheriffs of Kent, Sussex, and fifteen other counties, were peremptorily directed to arrest ships, and to impress men, armour, and stores for the contemplated expedition. Manny's squadron was ordered to make rendezvous at Great Yarmouth, and the squadron of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh at Orwell, by the fortnight after Easter.³ But the arrangements were interfered with, owing to the threatening attitude assumed by France with respect to Aquitaine; and early in March, Burghersh was instructed to send seventy large ships of his command to Portsmouth, to carry across troops for the defence of the Duchy,⁴ as well, it may be assumed, as to repress the activity of the enemy in the Channel. Jersey and Guernsey had been raided; the shores of the Isle of Wight had been ravaged; and numerous merchantmen had been taken. Indeed, such was the panic caused by the movements of the French, that persons who had goods and chattels near the seaboard were enjoined to remove them at least four leagues inland.⁵

It is not, therefore, astonishing that the preparations for the Flanders expedition went forward much more slowly than had been anticipated. The king's anger fell upon Manny and Burghersh who, on April 15th, were forcibly reminded that they were not doing all that had been expected of them,⁶ and who were eventually superseded, in consequence, apparently, of their supposed supineness, though not until after the fleets had sailed.

¹ 'Fœdera,' ii. 1011.

² 'Fœdera,' ii. 1015.

³ *Almaine Rolls*, 12 Edw. III.

⁴ *Avesbury*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 1020.

⁶ 'Fœdera,' ii. 1027.

Pending the delay, a treaty with Flanders was executed in June without the personal intervention of Edward. It was agreed that the Flamands should not aid the Scots; that they should remain neutral in the dispute between Edward and "Sir Philip de Valois, styling himself King of France"; and that there should be free trade between England and Flanders, on the Flamands showing "their sign called coket, or charterparties." It was further agreed that Edward should not cross Flanders to operate against the territories which the Flamands held of France, and that, if he or his forces entered any Flanders harbour, the English ships should not remain for more than one tide, unless compelled by obvious stress of weather.¹

King Edward sailed from Orwell on July 16th; and being joined at sea by the fleet from Great Yarmouth, with troops under the Earl of Lancaster, landed at Antwerp on the day following.² Manny and Burghersh seem to have been then still in command. But on July 28th, Sir Thomas Drayton was appointed "Vice-Admiral" of the Northern, and Peter Bard "Vice-Admiral" of the Western Fleet;³ and, as in a document of a little later date, each of these officers is styled "Admiral" of his respective fleet, there is small doubt that their commissions were not supplementary to, but rather supersessory of, those of Manny and Burghersh. Just before his departure for the continent, Edward, still perhaps cherishing some hope of peaceably obtaining concessions from France, dispatched the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham to treat with Philip; but the French king was in no humour to change his attitude by one hair's breadth.⁴

The date of one or two naval events belonging to about this period cannot now be fixed with exactness. Indeed, the details of the events are involved in much obscurity; and it may be well, therefore, to simply transcribe the accounts as given by that laborious historian, Sir Harris Nicolas.⁵

"Numerous galleys," he says, "landed at Southampton⁶ on a Sunday, while the inhabitants were at mass, and their crews, which

¹ 'Fudera,' ii. 1043.

² Knighton, 2572; Froissart, i. 64; 'Fudera,' ii. 1050; Hemingford, ii. 282.

³ Gascon Rolls, 91.

⁴ Knighton, 2573.

⁵ Nicolas, ii. 34, after Froissart, Walsingham, Knighton, etc.

⁶ French historians appear to identify this raid with the attack on Portsmouth already mentioned.

consisted partly of Normans and partly of Genoese, sacked the town, killed many of the inhabitants, hung some of them in their own houses, and committed other atrocities. They then set the town on fire, carried their booty to their ships, and, as soon as the flood-tide made, disanchored and proceeded to Dieppe. Except the statement of Minot, this is the only contemporary account of that affair; but it is said by modern writers that, before the enemy reached their ships, they were attacked by a small force under Sir John Arundell, who killed no less than three hundred of them, including a son of the King of Sicily. To some extent this assertion agrees with Minot, who says the injuries committed had been much overrated, and that ample revenge was taken on the French."

Nicolas says again: "A very gallant action was fought in this (1338) or early in the following year, and apparently soon after the attack upon Southampton, by two English ships—one, the pride of the English Navy, called the *Christopher*, and the other the *Edward*, which were returning with rich cargoes from Flanders, in company with three smaller vessels—against a French squadron. It is extraordinary that so honourable a conflict should not be mentioned by any native chronicler of the period; and all that is known of the affair, except from modern writers, are the statements in Froissart, in the continuation of De Nangis, and the rhyming description of Minot. Froissart merely says, under the year 1340, that the combined French and Genoese fleets,¹ containing forty thousand soldiers, did great damage to the English, especially at Dover, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Hastings, and Rye, and at other places on the sea-coast; that no vessel could leave England without being plundered, and the crew taken or slain; and that they captured the beautiful large ship called the *Christopher*, which had cost the king much money, on her passage to Flanders, laden with wool, and that all on board were either killed or drowned, whereat the French talked much, being greatly rejoiced with their conquest. The continuation of De Nangis simply states, that 'two notable ships of the King of England, whereof one was called the *Christopher*, and the other the *Edward*, with some common ships heavily laden, were captured at sea by the French, but not without much bloodshed, for upwards of a thousand English were there slain, and the battle lasted for nearly a whole day.' There is nothing in this

¹ This force, according to some French writers, was the fleet under Hugues Quiéret, Nicolas Béhuchet, and Barbenoire, which had sacked Portsmouth.

account to show the force or loss of the French, nor the time or place of the event. Minot gives more details, but verse is not a satisfactory vehicle for nautical, nor indeed for any other facts. He says that, after the French galleys quitted Southampton, they proceeded towards Zeeland and Flanders, and discovered the *Christopher* at 'Armouthe'; that their fleet consisted of more than forty-eight galleys, two carracks, many galliots, and a number of small boats; that, though King Edward was not there at the moment, he soon heard of the arrival of the French, and went with his soldiers to his ships, and found the galley-men were superior by more than a hundred to one; that a conflict ensued, in which the English slew sixty French for every ten of their own men; that the English fought both day and night, but were overcome at last by the superior numbers of the enemy. And he adds, that never before did men fight better than the English on that occasion. It will be observed that Minot says nothing of the *Edward*, and his account of the matter is manifestly imperfect, if not incorrect. The *Christopher* did not, however, long grace the French navy."

It may possibly be that the *Christopher* and *Edward* were two of the four large English ships which, having been sent, during King Edward's presence at Antwerp, to Middelburg, were there captured by French war-galleys. Certain it is that, in this period of the darkness before the dawn, the French at sea did much as they chose. There were fears lest they might seize vessels in English ports, and Sir Thomas Drayton, in the north, and Peter Bard, in the west, were ordered in October, 1338, to arrest additional ships, men, and stores, to guard from capture the wool-ships which were collecting in order to proceed to the king in Flanders.¹ The French fleet, the operations of which were thus feared, was substantially the same as the one which had attacked Portsmouth, and was composed of Genoese—who served both sides with great indifference—Normans, Bretons, Picards, and Spaniards, under, among others, Hugues Quiéret, Nicolas Béhuchet, and Egidio Bocanegra, who, generally known as "Barbenoire" or "Blackbeard,"² directed the Genoese galleys.³ Drayton and Bard were enjoined to watch this force; to attack it wheresoever they should find it; to use Southampton as their base for obtaining provisions and other

¹ 'Fosdera,' ii. 1060.

² See Fabian and other chroniclers.

³ Froissart, i. 70.

supplies; to combine together if necessary for concerted action; and to prevent their crews from quarrelling.¹ But the country, in those early days, had not learnt to repose much confidence in its navy; and on October 23rd, the municipal authorities of London were ordered to prepare against a possible attack on the part of the enemy by fortifying the city on the river side with stone or timber, and by driving lines of piles across the Thames.² They were also directed to compel all men deriving rents from the city, and all others, including ecclesiastics, to assist in the local defence. That instant notice might be given of the approach of a foe, only one bell of any church within seven leagues of the sea was to be rung, except in case of danger; a ringing of all bells being the signal agreed upon as a summons for the defence of the coast.³

When Parliament met in London at the beginning of February, 1339, the Cinque Ports were ordered to furnish sixty ships, properly armed and manned;⁴ and on the 18th of the month, Sir Robert Morley⁵ was appointed Admiral of the Northern, and Sir William Trussell,⁶ Admiral of the Western Fleet.⁷

At Easter, when the Normans made another attempt upon Southampton, with twelve galleys and eight pinnaces, having on board four thousand men, the inhabitants offered so good a show of resistance that the invaders drew off without venturing to fight; whereupon the Southampton people sent after them with the very handsome proposition that, if they would, they might peaceably disembark and refresh themselves for two days, provided that they would then fight, ten with ten, twenty with twenty, or as might be agreed upon; but the Normans neglected the challenge, and put to sea.⁸ More French freebooters threatened Southampton about the middle of May, but, finding the place defended, went elsewhere,

¹ *Fœdera*, ii. 1061.

² *Ib.*, ii. 1062.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 1066.

⁴ Knighton, 2573.

⁵ Sir Robert Morley, second Lord Morley, a most brilliant soldier and seaman, was eldest son of William, first Lord Morley, whom he must have succeeded in or before 1317. After having served in Scotland, he was appointed admiral in 1339, and again in 1340, 1341, 1348, 1359, and 1355, and fought at Sluis and L'Espagnols sur Mer. He died in France on March 23rd, 1360.

⁶ Sir William Trussell was a son of Sir Edmund Trussell, and represented Northamptonshire in Parliament in 1318. After a rather stormy, and very active political life, he was for the first time appointed admiral in 1339; and he served in a similar capacity in 1342. He seems to have died about 1347.

⁷ *Almaine Rolls*, 13 Edw. III. m. 18.

⁸ Knighton, 2573.

making a raid on Hastings on the 27th, and subsequently harrying Thanet, Dover, and Folkestone, but doing little harm, except to the poor. On May 20th, other Frenchmen, with eighteen galleys and pinnaces, burnt a number of vessels, including seven belonging to Bristol, in the port of Plymouth; but the populace bravely ejected the invaders, losing eighty-nine men only, while the French lost, according to some accounts, about five hundred. Two days later, the enemy returned, and burnt all the ships in harbour, and many of the houses; but, the country forces collecting, the invaders retreated on the 25th, and revenged themselves by making a surprise descent on Southampton, and burning two ships there.¹

This was all very shameful, and, looking to the considerable strength of the naval forces which were then undoubtedly at the disposal of Edward, and to the efficiency of those forces as victoriously displayed no later than the year immediately following, is with difficulty explicable. Yet some minor successes were won. In July, for example, a large fleet of the enemy, consisting of thirty-two galleys, besides other craft, appeared off Sandwich; but, finding that preparations had been made for its reception, diverged to Rye, and there did a little damage before the English fleet approached, whereupon it took to flight, and was chased into Boulogne. The English entered the harbour after it, and managed to destroy several vessels, hang twelve captains, burn part of the town, and safely carry back to England a number of prizes.² And soon afterwards, Sir Robert Morley, with a force which included the fleet of the Cinque Ports, burnt five towns in Normandy, and eighty ships.³ The tide of disaster and indignity was beginning to turn.

In September, 1339, a great French naval force was collected off Sluis,⁴ as a convenient base from which to act against King Edward's communications with England by sea. The crews bragged magniloquently to the Flamands of what they were going to do; but when, on October 2nd, the fleet put to sea, it encountered a very violent storm, which led to the destruction of more than half of the flotilla, and drove the rest of it back to Flanders.⁵

¹ Anon. Hist. Edw. III. (Hearne), ii. 420, 421.

² Cont. of De Nangis, 101; Knighton, 2573; Holinshed, iii. 357.

³ Knighton, 2574.

⁴ In the roadstead then called the Swyn (Het Zwijn).

⁵ Knighton, 2575, 2576.

At about the same time the English Parliament met for the second time that year. Discussion arose concerning the mischief done afloat by the French, who had seized Jersey; and much dissatisfaction was expressed at the fact that no English fleet was keeping the sea. The king directed the Commons to consider how the French could be attacked, how that which had been lost could be recovered, and how the custody of the sea could be undertaken; and declared that the navy of England was sufficient for all these objects, if only the people were willing. The Commons, in reply, professed their incapacity to advise on such matters, but suggested that, as the barons of the Cinque Ports had always been honoured above all the commoners of the realm, and enjoyed privileges in return for keeping the sea against aliens, and as they did not contribute to any aids in respect of the land, and had exceptional advantages for rendering the required services, they ought to protect the seas, leaving the land to the Commons, and not expecting pay. As for the defence of the coasts, that ought to be attended to by the local landowners and other inhabitants. This sounds like a sullen and unpatriotic response. Yet one wise measure was passed. The English instinct for trade had induced many merchantmen to put to sea without guard or convoy, and in consequence a large proportion of them had been snapped up by a watchful and energetic enemy, to the great loss of valuable men and material. It was therefore determined that all ships should remain under arrest until the issue of further orders.¹

The barons of the Cinque Ports appear to have taken the hint conveyed to them by the Commons. Indeed, they could hardly do less, for the attitude of Parliament pointed to general discontent with the manner in which the privileged places did their duty, and foreshadowed an effort to deprive them of their charters unless they amended their ways. In December they conferred before the Earl of Huntingdon with the commanders of the ships of Bayonne concerning the equipment and disposition of the fleet against the French; and it seems to have been ultimately decided that the whole available force, united, should put to sea in January under the orders of the admiral of the Western division.² The ships from Bayonne lay, in the interval, at Sandwich.

Parliament re-assembled in the middle of January, 1340. Naval

¹ Parl. Rolls, ii. 104, 105.

² 'Fodera,' ii. 1101.

matters chiefly demanded its attention; and a tenth was quickly granted by way of general aid. The people of the Cinque Ports undertook to have twenty-one of their own vessels, and nine ships belonging to the Thames, ready by March 26th; and the Council promised to pay half the cost, not, however, as wages, but of special grace. The people of the western ports engaged to furnish seventy ships of one hundred tons' burden and upwards, they paying as much as they were able of the cost, and the Council finding the rest of the money. All vessels of that tonnage belonging to Portsmouth and the ports westward of it were to make rendezvous at Portsmouth by March 26th, with the Earl of Arundel¹ as their admiral, and the Cinque Ports fleet was to assemble at Winchelsea, under the Earl of Huntingdon. The admirals were to be directed to arrest all other vessels, and to place small ones in havens secure from the operations of the enemy; and proclamation was ordered to be made for all persons enjoying pardons for crimes committed to hold themselves ready to serve the king at sea and to take his wages. Measures were taken for the special protection of Southampton, which had already suffered so much at the hands of the French; and the place was garrisoned by Sir Richard Talbot, with fifty men-at-arms, a hundred archers, and two pinnaces dispatched thither from Milbrook.²

Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was appointed admiral of the western fleet on February 20th; and Sir Robert Morley was re-appointed admiral of the northern fleet on March 6th, 1340.³ The date of the appointment of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, to the command of the Cinque Ports fleet does not appear, but was probably in February, if not before. These appointments are noteworthy, for they were preliminary to a greater success at sea than England had perhaps ever won over any opponents.

King Edward returned from Flanders, landing at Orwell on February 21st,⁴ with the intention of returning as soon as possible with the large naval force which was in process of assemblage. Vessels as small as of twenty tons' burden were equipped and

¹ Richard Fitzalan, ninth Earl of Arundel, was the eldest son of Edmund, eighth Earl. In 1330 he was restored to the honours of his father, who had been attainted and beheaded in 1326. He served in Scotland, and in 1340 and 1345, as admiral. He was at Sluis and L'Espagnols sur Mer, and died in 1376.

² Parl. Rolls, ii. 108.

³ Gascon Rolls, 104.

⁴ 'Federa,' ii. 1115.

manned and dispatched to Sandwich; and when, on March 29th, Parliament again met, it granted another aid, and ordered provisions to be sent to Sandwich and Southampton for the service of the fleet.¹

The king went to Ipswich in June, when forty ships awaited him at Orwell.² About the tenth, when he was on the point of putting to sea, and when the horses had been already embarked, his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, reported to him that the French had assembled an immense fleet off Sluis with a view to prevent him from landing; but as Edward disbelieved the intelligence, and declared that he would cross, no matter what might happen, the Chancellor returned the Great Seal. This induced the king to take further counsel; and he summoned Admiral Sir Robert Morley and Crabbe, probably the gallant Scotsman, John Crabbe, who had been so ill-treated by his thankless countrymen at Berwick seven years earlier. He asked them whether they believed that there would be danger in attempting the venture. As they were cognisant of the presence of the French fleet off Sluis, they were of the same mind as the Archbishop; whereupon Edward angrily said: "Ye and the Archbishop have agreed to tell the same story to prevent my crossing. . . . I will cross in spite of you, and ye, who are afraid where there is no fear, may stay at home." Both Morley and Crabbe declared that if the king went, he, and all who might accompany him, would run great danger; but that if he persisted, they would precede him, even to the death. The views of officers of such experience and bravery determined the king to renew his confidence in the Archbishop, to again entrust him with the Great Seal, and to collect more ships, as well from London as from the ports of the north and west. In ten days, or, as Hemingford says, in seven, he had two hundred ships at his disposal, and more soldiers and archers than he needed.³

At length, on June 20th, the king embarked in the cog *Thomas*, Captain Richard Fylle,⁴ attended by the Earls of Derby, Northampton, Arundel, and Huntingdon, the Bishops of Lincoln and Coventry, and the Lords Wake, Ferrers, his chamberlain, and Cobham, in whose presence the Archbishop of Canterbury, pleading

¹ Parl. Rolls, ii. 116.

² Hemingford, ii. 319; Avesbury, 54.

³ Avesbury, 54, 56; Hemingford, ii. 282; Parl. Rolls, ii. 118.

⁴ Previously of the *Christopher*.

his infirmities, finally and amicably resigned the Great Seal, which was broken up. A new one, whereon the arms of France were for the first time quartered with those of England, was delivered to Sir Nicholas de la Bèche, for transmission, through the Master of the Rolls, to the new chancellor, the Bishop of Chichester.¹

The armada sailed at about one o'clock on June 22nd. It consisted of two hundred vessels, and, upon sighting the coast of Flanders,² it was joined by the northern fleet of probably about fifty sail, under Admiral Sir Robert Morley, who, it may be supposed, had been keeping touch with the enemy by means of his light craft. At noon on June 23rd, the combined fleets, then off Blankenberghe, descried the French, ten miles away, lying in the port of Sluis.³

Edward himself puts the force of the enemy at one hundred and ninety ships, galleys, and great barges; Hemingford, at two hundred and fifty ships; Knighton, as well as Walsingham, at two hundred ships, besides other craft; Froissart, at upwards of one hundred and forty large vessels, besides smaller ones; and, according to Jacob Meyer, Flamand writers place it as high as three hundred and eighty, or even four hundred sail of all kinds; but the king's estimate may be safely accepted as being likely to be as correct as any.

Upon sighting the enemy, Edward landed Sir Reginald de Cobham, Sir John Cundy, and Sir Stephen de Laburkin, with their horses, to reconnoitre. These gentlemen, riding along the coast, ascertained the strength and disposition of the foe, and discovered that there were with the French nineteen exceptionally large ships, including the captured *Christopher*, and that the fleet lay at anchor near the land in three divisions, irrespective of the small craft.⁴

The French fleet, according to Edward, whose dispatch will be given later, was manned by above thirty-five thousand Normans, Picards, and Genoese. Froissart and Knighton say forty thousand; Walsingham says twenty-five thousand. It was commanded by Hugues Quiéret, Nicolas Béhuchet, and Egidio Bocanegra.

The tide on the afternoon of Friday, the 23rd, did not serve for the attack, and the English spent the latter part of the day in

¹ 'Foedera,' ii. 1129.

² Walsingham says, after the French had been sighted.

³ Hemingford, ii. 320; Knighton, 2577.

⁴ Froissart, i. 105; Knighton, 2577.

maturing their plans. In the meantime the French weighed and dropped down towards the mouth of the estuary on which Sluis then lay. Knighton says, as far as Grogne; and one of the continuators of De Nangis says, in the direction of Catat; but no places bearing these names can be identified. How far, in the subsequent action, the English were assisted, either on land or afloat, by the



THE LOWER NETHERLANDS.

(From a map by Thomas Kitchin, c. 1750.)

Flamands is a matter of doubt. Edward's account of the subject is obscure. English writers deny that any assistance was rendered; and although some French and Flamand writers¹ assert that help was given, their versions of what occurred are vague and unsatisfactory.

Nor have some other details, which would be of assistance to

¹ Cont. of De Nangis, iii. 102; Froissart, i. 107; 'Ann. Rer. Fland.' (Meyer), 141.

the proper understanding of the course of the engagement, been handed down. We do not know how the wind lay that day; we do not know how the land bore; we do not know the particulars of the order of battle on either side. We do know, however, that at sunrise¹ on Saturday, the 24th, the two fleets were not far from one another, and that, owing to the tide, the English could not enter the port until about noon. High water on the day of the fight, on the coast near Sluis, occurred, as was ascertained by Sir G. B. Airy, at 11.23 A.M. and 11.46 P.M. Probably Edward desired to go in on the top of the flood,² and had been unwilling, owing to the risks of a night action, to utilise the high tide of 10.58 on the night of the 23rd.

Edward disposed his largest ships in his van, filling them with archers; and between each two of these large craft he stationed a vessel full of men-at-arms. The remaining small ships, with archers on board, formed the second division, and acted as a reserve.³ Several ladies of high rank, who intended to join the queen at Ghent, were with the fleet. Three hundred men-at-arms were assigned for their protection, and, in all probability, they were transhipped to the transports or storeships, and placed in comparative safety out of the way of the fighting vessels.

The French fleet, which had been in three divisions, was now in four, the ships of each division being fastened to one another by iron chains and by cables.⁴ Each had a small boat full of stones triced up to the mast, so that the men in the tops could fling the stones upon the English decks. In the van of the fleet, as if in contemptuous defiance, were the *Christopher*, commanded by John Heyla,⁵ a Flamand, and full of Genoese archers, and three other large cogs, the *Edward*, the *Katherine*, and the *Rose*, all of which were prizes captured from the English.

Upon the whole, the presumption is that, before the action began, the French were under sail in the mouth of the estuary, heading slowly to the north-west, with a gentle breeze from the north-east, and that the English were nearly due west of the foe.⁶

¹ Hemingford, ii. 320.

² Minot is assuredly wrong in saying that the battle began at half-ebb.

³ Froissart, i. 106.

⁴ Avesbury, 56; Hemingford, ii. 320.

⁵ Taken, and beheaded at Bruges.

⁶ Nicolas puts the English "to the westward and to leeward of the enemy," adding "that the wind was about north-east, and that the French bore nearly south-west of them."

Soon after 11 A.M., Edward ordered his fleet to prepare for action, and to make sail on the starboard tack, to gain the wind.¹ This manœuvre appears to have been misinterpreted by the French, who imagined from it that the English were loath to fight. Avesbury says that the English thus stood off because they realised that they could not break the French line, the ships of which were chained together; and that, deceived by the apparent flight, the French then cast off and gave chase. That any ineffectual attempt to break the line was ever made is altogether improbable; yet it may well be that the French were betrayed into separating, as Avesbury represents. All that is quite certain is that eventually the English gained the wind, and then bore down upon the enemy, the battle beginning at about noon.

Admiral Sir Robert Morley opened with an attack upon one of the van ships, probably the *Christopher*, the re-capture of which was ardently desired throughout the English fleet; and he was well seconded by the ships of the Earls of Huntingdon and Northampton. Sir Walter Manny's was the fourth ship to be engaged. As the other vessels crowded up there was a general *mêlée*, the ships grappling one another, and the men boarding with swords, axes, and pikes, while the archers in their rear discharged showers of arrows. The French fought with determination and gallantry, and the slaughter was prodigious, four hundred dead being found in one ship alone: but the English impetuosity was not to be resisted, and ere long several vessels of the French van were in their possession. Among these were the four much-coveted English prizes. The *Christopher* was at once manned by her old owners, and sent to the attack of the Genoese galleys.

The collapse of their van disheartened the enemy, and the other divisions, instead of maintaining the contest, endeavoured to make off. But the second and third, consisting of somewhat smaller craft, were presently surrounded, and their crews, flinging away their arms in panic, rushed to their boats, most of which they swamped, a loss of two thousand men being alleged to have been caused by this fact alone. Some of the fugitives reached two large French ships, the *Saint Denis* and the *Saint Georges*, which seemed to have succeeded in getting away. Most of the fourth division, consisting of the

¹ And to prevent the sun from being in their faces.—*Froissart*, i. 106.

Genoese galleys, also escaped;¹ but, with these exceptions, the fleet of France was almost entirely taken or destroyed. The fourth division was pursued by a detached force, said to have been commanded by John Crabbe; but, though losing heavily, it beat off its assailants, and even took or destroyed two of them, one being a ship containing the king's wardrobe, and the other a vessel belonging to Hull. Part, however, of the force, stated at twenty-four ships, which thus temporarily got away, was captured a few days after the battle, so that the catastrophe was as nearly as possible complete. The action lasted for ten or twelve hours, and in that time the French and their allies lost about twenty-five thousand,² and the English about four thousand men.³ Hugues Quiéret appears to have fallen;⁴ Béhuchet was taken, and, perhaps in revenge for the atrocities which he had committed on the coasts of England, was killed, and hanged to the mast of one of his own ships.⁵ The only person of importance killed on the English side was Sir Thomas de Monthermer, first cousin to the king.⁶ All authorities agree that the battle was one of the most bloody and desperate on record.

It is interesting to note the names of some of the nobles and others who, by their conduct on June 24th, 1340, contributed to the gaining of this great victory. Among them are Henry, Earl of Lancaster (then Earl of Derby), Lawrence, Earl of Pembroke, Richard, Earl of Arundel, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford and Essex, William, Earl of Huntingdon, Hugh, Earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Morley (Lord Morley), Reginald, Lord Cobham, Henry, Lord Percy, Roger, Lord de la Warr, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Richard Stafford, Sir Walter Manny, Sir John Chaudos, Sir William Felton, Sir Thomas Bradeston, Sir William Trussell, Robert, Count of Artois, Henry of Flanders, and probably Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby. For conspicuous valour during the battle, a young esquire, Nele Loring, afterwards K.G.⁷ received his knighthood. Loring

¹ Hemingford, ii. 321. From what Knighton says, more than half these may have been barges, and only twenty-three galleys or ships.

² Knighton, 2578; but Avesbury and others say 30,000.

³ Ann. Rer. Fland., 141.

⁴ Cont. of De Nangis says that Quiéret was taken.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 102; but, according to Knighton, 2578, he was killed in the fight.

⁶ Hemingford, ii. 321. Sir Thomas was son of Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, by Joan, daughter of Edward I.

⁷ He was one of the Knights Founders of the Order, and was an ancestor of Lady Jane Grey, *de facto* Queen of England.

belonged to a family which has since given several distinguished officers to the British Navy, and which may fairly claim to be one of the oldest naval families in existence.

It is remarkable that rumours of the victory prevailed in London as early as the 25th;¹ but King Edward did not send off his official dispatch until the 28th, and this could not have reached his son, Prince Edward, who was at Waltham Abbey, before June 30th, or July 1st. Some days after the action, the king, accompanied by a brilliant suite, landed in state to return thanks at the shrine of Our Lady of Ardenberg.² Thence he rode to Ghent, where he met the queen.

Edward's letter to his son is the earliest English naval dispatch in existence, and for this, as well as for other reasons, deserves quotation. A copy of the original is preserved in the archives of the City of London, and is in French. The following is a translation of it:—

“VERY DEAR SON—We are persuaded that you are desirous to know good news of us, and how we have fared since our departure from England. Therefore we would have you learn that on the Thursday after the day when we quitted the port of Orwell, we sailed all day and the night following; and on Friday, about the hour of noon, we arrived upon the coast of Flanders, before Blankenberghe, where we had a sight of the fleet of our enemies, who were all crowded together in the port of the Swyn; and seeing that the tide did not serve us to close with them, we lay to all that night. On Saturday, St. John's Day, soon after the hour of noon, at high tide, in the name of God, and confident in our just quarrel, we entered the said port upon our said enemies, who had assembled their ships in very strong array, and who made a most noble defence all that day and the night afterwards; but God, by His power and miracle, granted us the victory over them our enemies, for which we thank Him as devoutly as we are able. And we would have you know that the number of the ships, galleys, and large barges of our enemies, amounted to one hundred and ninety, and that they were all taken, save twenty-four altogether, which fled, and some of which are since taken at sea. And the number of men-at-arms and other armed people amounted to thirty-five thousand, of which number, by estimation, five thousand have escaped; and the rest, as we are given to understand by some people who have been taken alive, lie dead in many places on the coast of Flanders. On the other hand, all our ships, that is to say, the *Christopher*, and the others which were lost at Middelburg, are now re-taken; and there are taken in this fleet three or four as large as the *Christopher*. The Flamands were inclined to come over to us in the battle from first to last (*'estoient de bon volente d'avoir venuz a nous ala bataille du commencement tanqe ala fin.'*) Thus God, our Lord, has shown abundant favour, for which we and all our friends are ever bound to render Him grace and thanks. Our purpose is to remain in peace in the river, until we have taken in hand certain questions with our allies and our other friends in Flanders, concerning what is to be done. Very dear Son, may God be your keeper.

“Given under our secret seal in our ship the cog *Thomas*, Wednesday, the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul.”³

¹ Avesbury, 56.

² Froissart, i. 107; Hemingford, ii. 321.

³ June 28th.

Immediately after the receipt of this despatch, the news of the victory was publicly announced by a proclamation which was nominally addressed by the king to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which expressed gratitude to God for the mercy vouchsafed to the country, and ordered general prayer and thanksgiving. This was dated "in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, and in the first of our reign of France."¹ On July 9th, the king wrote to Parliament, requesting an aid, and referring the Peers and others, for details of the victory, to Huntingdon, Arundel, Gloucester, and Trussell. Parliament met, after adjournment, on the 13th, and intelligence of the victory was then formally communicated to it. The royal demands were willingly granted, and provisions and wine were ordered for the refreshment of the fleet.²

Nicolas³ is of opinion that in many particulars the Battle of Sluis did not surpass, even if it equalled, Hubert de Burgh's victory off the South Foreland in 1217. De Burgh certainly displayed high strategical and tactical ability, as well as extraordinary bravery; whereas Edward, beyond manœuvring for the wind, and, as some of the historians say, to avoid having to fight with the sun in his eyes, employed both strategy and tactics but little. And it must be admitted that the record of Sluis seems to suggest that the division of Bocanegra, which escaped, may have failed in its duty. Yet both victories were gained against superior forces; and from the point of view of completeness, the second scarcely fell short of the first: while, on both sides, there were far larger forces off Sluis than at the South Foreland.

The failure of the French, whose gallantry upon the occasion has never been impeached, may be attributed, among other causes, to the fact that, *cæteris paribus*, an allied fleet can never be as strong as a homogeneous one, and to the circumstance that they waited to accept battle in comparatively narrow waters instead of going out and obtaining plenty of sea room. They should, undoubtedly have assumed the offensive. Jealousy between the two French admirals, incompetence on the part of Béhuchet, and unsatisfactory personnel, have been alleged by French authors as additional explanations of the result; and these writers also lay great weight upon the assistance

¹ 'Fœdera,' ii. 1129. Also given in Avesbury and Hemingford. It was witnessed by the prince.

² Parl. Rolls, ii. 117, 118, 119.

³ Nicolas, i. 66.

supposed to have been rendered to Edward by the Flamands; but concerning such points as these it is difficult, in default of adequate evidence, to offer any conclusions. One fact stands out beyond dispute. Sluis was a severe blow to France, and a glorious and substantial addition to the naval renown of England.

In August of the same year, the Admirals of the North and West, and of the Cinque Ports, were ordered to proceed to sea in company, with their united fleets, to cruise against the Normans and Spaniards, who were reported to be in search of English merchantmen; but no hostile encounter took place.¹ On September 25th, a nine months' truce was concluded with France;² and on November 30th, King Edward arrived at the Tower from Flanders.³

There is no specific account extant of what Genoese galleys were captured of those which escaped from Sluis under Bocanegra; but six Genoese galleys appear to have been taken off Brittany sometime in the course of this year; for, two years later, their fate was still a subject of correspondence between Edward and the Duke of Genoa, who seems to have done very little to prevent his subjects and even his relatives from aiding the enemies of England, and to have treated Edward, his nominal ally, with scant courtesy.⁴

Although the truce with France was not to expire until June, 1341, English preparations for the re-opening of the hostilities began as early as February, when all vessels of sixty tons and upwards were ordered to be ready for sea, and properly armed, by April 16th.⁵ In April, Admiral Sir Robert Morley was directed to provide a hundred small transports with a view to the king's passage to the continent;⁶ and on June 4th, Edward accepted an offer of ships from Bayonne, asked for more, and desired the Bayonnese to appoint an admiral to command their contingent. Peter de Puyano was, as in 1337, appointed to this office.⁷ But a prolongation of the truce for a year appeared to render unnecessary any immediate measures for defence and offence; and vessels were being returned to peaceful employment, when an entirely new cause of quarrel arose with France.

The Duchy of Brittany had become vacant by the death of Duke John. France supported the claim of Charles, Count of Blois, in right of his wife; Edward espoused the claim of John, Count of Montfort, who judiciously did homage to him in England as King of

¹ *Foedera*, ii. 1133.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 1185.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 1156.

² *Ib.*, ii. 1135.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 1177.

⁷ *Ib.*, ii. 1163, 1173.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 1141.

France. French troops were thrown into the disputed territory; England levied an army; and in October the Cinque Ports fleet was called out and ordered to Portsmouth by November 18th, and numerous vessels were arrested in the ports of the west.¹ In February, 1342, more ships were summoned, and directed to make rendezvous at Orwell by March 24th;² and Admiral Sir Walter Manny, who was appointed to command them, was enjoined to seize all the ports and fortified places on the coast of Brittany, on behalf of Montfort.³ He seems to have succeeded in sailing on March 20th. There was urgent need for his services, for the Countess of Montfort was besieged by the Count of Blois in the town of Hennebont, near Lorient. Nevertheless, Manny, who carried with him a thousand archers and a hundred and twenty men-at-arms, met with contrary winds, and was sixty days on his passage; and the garrison was upon the point of surrendering when he arrived and quickly raised the siege. Froissart relates that as a reward for their opportune succour, the Countess kissed Sir Walter Manny and his companions one after the other, two or three times.⁴

The Count of Blois had the advantage of the co-operation of Don Luis de la Cerda,⁵ one of the best naval commanders of the age, who assisted him with a Hispano-Genoese squadron, and, having captured Dinan, invested Guerande, in which port he took many vessels laden with wine from Poitou and La Rochelle. Utilising these craft, he captured the place, and then, re-embarking, cruised, with other Spaniards and Genoese, along the coast, but landed to ravage Quimperlé. Manny, with Sir Amery de Clisson, embarked three thousand archers and pursued the marauders. The English found the enemy's ships at anchor off the coast below Quimperlé, and, boarding them, put their crews to the sword and captured immense booty. Leaving three hundred archers to defend the fleet and the prizes, the victors landed, and defeated the enemy very signally on shore.⁶

But though Manny did so well, the modest force at his disposal was, of course, insufficient for the entire conduct of the campaign; and, after King Edward had held a kind of naval council at Westminster in April, a large fleet was assembled at Portsmouth in July.⁷

¹ 'Fodera,' ii. 1177.

² *Ib.*, ii. 1187.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 1189.

⁴ Froissart, i. 152, 153.

⁵ Great-grandson of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castille.

⁶ Froissart, i. 155-157.

⁷ 'Fodera,' ii. 1201.

It sailed at about the end of the month, under the Earl of Northampton, who had been appointed the King's Lieutenant in France and Brittany, and who was accompanied by Robert of Artois, the Earl of Devon, Lords Stafford and D'Arcy, and other noblemen.

Froissart mentions an action which, if ever fought at all—of which there is some doubt,—must have been fought by this fleet in the course of its passage. The enemy, which is represented as having been in superior force, is said to have been commanded by Don Luis de la Cerda, Carlo Grimaldi, and Otto Doria; and the battle is reported to have been interrupted by bad weather, and to have terminated indecisively.¹ Possibly some meeting of the fleets did take place, but, as no note of it is made by any contemporary English writer, and as English writers can scarcely have had any reason for being deliberately silent concerning it, it may be concluded that the affair was at best of inconsiderable importance.

By way of reprisals for the capture by French subjects during the truce of a rich ship of London, the king, on July 10th, ordered all Frenchmen in London, Southampton, Wells, St. Botolph, Lynn, Ipswich, and New Sarum, to be imprisoned, and their goods seized.²

In the meantime, on or before April 10th, Sir John Montgomery had been appointed Admiral of the Western fleet, and preparations were made for the transit to Brittany of the king in person. Ships were stringently arrested, and public prayers were offered for the success of the expedition.³

Edward embarked at Sandwich in the *George*, and on October 4th, on board that ship, delivered the Great Seal to the new Chancellor. Next day he made the Duke of Cornwall guardian of the kingdom during his absence; and, sailing soon afterwards, he landed at Brest, towards the end of the month.⁴ He was there joined by Sir Walter Manny.⁵ Siege was laid to Vannes, the fleet co-operating; but the ships would have been more useful at sea, where Don Luis de la Cerda, Carlo Grimaldi, and Otto Doria, were cruising and intercepting communications. On one occasion these chiefs found a small English squadron lying in a bay near Vannes, and sank and took seven ships composing it ere they were driven off by the troops from before the town. After this experience, Edward sent part of

¹ Froissart, i. 166–168.

⁴ Knighton, 2581; 'Fadera,' ii. 1212; Avesbury, 98.

² 'Fadera,' ii. 1202.

⁵ Knighton, 2582.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 1209.

his fleet into Brest, and part into Hennebont—a disgraceful, and almost inexplicable confession of his failure to take advantage of the victory which he had won at Sluis, only two years before, and which ought to have established him in the mastery of the seas about his dominions.¹

In December, 1342, Sir Robert Beupel² superseded, or was joined with, Sir John Montgomery as Admiral of the Western, and Sir William Trussell superseded Sir Robert Morley as Admiral of the Northern fleet; and, in the following January, both were preparing to convey fresh armies to Brittany, when, on the 19th, a three years and eight months' truce with France was concluded at Vannes.³ Edward, who immediately set out to return to England, had a most prolonged and dangerous voyage. He was driven by contrary winds to the coast of Spain, lost two or three ships, and did not reach Weymouth until March 2nd, after a five weeks' passage.⁴

No reliance was placed upon the long duration of the truce, and while, on the one hand, the garrisons in Brittany were reinforced, on the other, measures were taken to strengthen and refit the navy. As on some previous occasions, assessors were summoned to advise with the king in council on nautical matters; the Cinque Ports, having failed to equip eight large ships which were required of them, were reminded of their duty; and a commission was ordered to Gascony to endeavour to effect an alliance with the Kings of Portugal, Castille, and Aragon.⁵ In May, 1344, Sir Reginald de Cobham⁶ was made Admiral of the Western, and Robert, Earl of Suffolk, Admiral of the Northern fleet.⁷

Philip of France violated the truce even sooner than had been expected, "it being his firm purpose to destroy the English language and to seize the territories of England." Edward, at the request of

¹ Froissart, i. 175.

² Sir Robert Beupel was the son of a Devonshire knight, and was member for Devon in 1314. He served chiefly with the army, but was admiral in 1342. He was an ancestor of Lady Jane Grey, through his grand-daughter, wife of Sir Nele Loring, K.G.

³ Knighton, 2583; Avesbury, 109.

⁴ Chron. of Lanercost, 340; 'Fœdera,' ii. 1220; Avesbury, 109; Knighton, 2583.

⁵ 'Fœdera,' iii. 4, 8-11; Froissart, i. 183.

⁶ Sir Reginald de Cobham was born about 1300, and served at Gadzand, Sluis, Crécy, 'L'Espagnols sur Mer,' and Poitiers. He was appointed admiral in 1344 and 1348, and was made a K.G. in 1352. In 1342 he had been summoned to Parliament as a baron. He died in 1361.

⁷ 'Fœdera,' iii. 13.

Parliament, prepared to proceed to Gascony; and the admirals were directed to arrest all vessels, including even large boats and fishing smacks, with a view to setting sail in September.¹

Egidio Bocanegra was by this time in the service of the King of Castille. He had honourably received on board his galleys the Earl of Derby, and other members of the commission which had been sent to Gascony; and when these noblemen returned in August, they brought with them the great adventurer's offer to serve even the King of England, for pay. Edward wrote on September 1st to thank Blackbeard, and sent an envoy to talk matters over with him.²

In October, 1344, an embargo was laid upon all English shipping;³ but no active operations of any importance were undertaken by sea during the year; and it would appear that the French cruisers in the Channel continued to have much their own way. On February 23rd, 1345, Richard, Earl of Arundel, was made Admiral of the Western fleet;⁴ and at about the same time the Earl of Suffolk, with Richard Donyngton as his lieutenant, appears to have been re-appointed to the fleet of the north. More ships were arrested; the full service of the Cinque Ports was ordered to be ready at Sandwich by May 6th; and troops and supplies were sent to Brittany and Gascony.⁵ Arrangements were also completed for the king's passage to Flanders; and Edward sailed thither from Sandwich on July 3rd in a flute called the *Swallow*, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, and a large suite. He reached Sluis two or three days later; but, being unsuccessful in his efforts to induce the Flamands to transfer their allegiance to the Prince of Wales, he re-embarked, and returned to Sandwich on July 26th.⁶ Ere he quitted the soil of the Netherlands, his cause there received a deadly blow in the murder of his most influential ally, Jacob van Artevelde, the leader of the popular party, who was slain in his own house at Ghent, after having practically ruled the major part of Flanders for eight years with the title of Ruwaard, or Protector.

In the course of the summer, some ships and galleys from

¹ Avesbury, 114; Froissart, i. 177; Rolls of Parl., June, 1341, ii. 148; Fr. Rolls, 28; Federa, iii. 15, 16.

² Federa, iii. 22.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 21.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii. 31.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 32-35, 41.

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 47-51, 53; Froissart, i. 204-206.

Bayonne, under Bernard of Toulouse, retook Cornet Castle, Jersey; and in August, when they joined the English fleet, Bernard was ordered to hand over the castle to Sir Thomas de Ferrers, and then to return to Bayonne.¹ It was probably felt that in view of the naval activity of France, his presence was more urgently required in the waters of Gascony than in those of the Channel. Moreover Edward still meditated the immediate resumption of active operations on French soil. The admirals were directed to be ready to carry him thither in October; but for one reason or another, the voyage was postponed, first until the middle of February, and finally until July, 1346. In the meantime more ships had come to England from Bayonne, and Peter Donyngan had received command of them, with instructions to arrest other Bayonnese vessels for the royal service.²

The Pope made efforts to stay hostilities which, in consequence of the magnitude of the preparations on both sides, threatened to be of an unusually bloody, and perhaps of a decisive character; but to the cardinals, his emissaries, Edward wrote on July 2nd, from Porchester, that he was then about to proceed to France, and had no leisure to speak with them.³ He embarked from the Isle of Wight on the 10th, and sailed on the 11th with a fleet estimated by Avesbury at a thousand vessels, and by others at eleven hundred large and five hundred small craft. With him, in addition to many noblemen, went the Prince of Wales, ten thousand archers, four thousand men-at-arms, and a number of Irish and Welsh foot-soldiers. On Wednesday, July 12th, the fleet reached La Hogue, and the king at once landed; but the disembarkation of troops and stores was not completed until Tuesday, the 18th.⁴

Much of the fleet was immediately sent back to England; but two hundred vessels, with four hundred archers and a hundred men-at-arms, under the Earl of Huntingdon, were retained to operate along the coast.⁵ At La Hogue, eleven French ships, eight of which had fore and stern castles, were taken and burnt; at Barfleure, on the 14th, nine ships with fore and stern castles, and several smaller craft, including two crayers, were set on fire; and subsequently the town itself, which was deserted, suffered the same

¹ 'Federa,' iii. 56, 57.

² *Ib.*, iii. 68.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 84.

⁴ Walsingham, 156; 'Federa,' iii. 85; Avesbury, 123; Murimuth, 98; Knighton, 2585; Froissart, i. 217-220.

⁵ Avesbury, 123; Villani, 871, 872 (ed. 1587); Froissart, i. 220.

fate. All the coast, from Rouen to Caen, was ravaged and devastated; Cherbourg was burnt; and sixty-one ships of war, twenty-three crayers, and many smaller vessels laden with wine, were destroyed there or in the vicinity.¹

It is not necessary to follow the military operations of the expedition. Army and fleet acted in conjunction, and Caen fell. Crécy was fought and won on August 25th, and Edward then laid siege to Calais, the fleet again assisting him.

While Edward was thus pressing the French in Normandy, his lieutenants were active in Gascony, where Aiguillon, on the Garonne, was besieged. Sir Walter Manny, who commanded the naval flotilla there, had numerous conflicts with the enemy, and, as before, greatly distinguished himself;² but, upon the whole, the English in that quarter were less successful than in the north.

The siege of Calais necessitated the despatch thither of continual supplies; and, as the French fleets were at sea under Pierre Flotte, Carlo Grimaldi and others,³ strong measures had to be taken for the protection of the convoys. A squadron to effect this purpose seems to have been assembled at Sandwich.⁴

Parliament, which met on September 11th, though willing enough to provide for the support of the army, for the service of which it granted a fifteenth, requested that the sea might be defended at the king's expense only, and that the people might be released from that burden. The reply, on behalf of the sovereign, was to the effect that the ancient practice must be continued; and that there was no better way of defending the sea than by fighting abroad.⁵

Parliament, then as on many other occasions, seems to have believed that the safety of the narrow seas and of the coasts could be ensured by the retention of fleets in the home waters; and that there, and not on the enemy's confines, was the proper place of the Navy: while professional opinion took the sounder view, and advocated an offensive defence as the sole effective one. This conflict between popular and technical opinion re-rose continually in after ages; and, although the naval view often won the day, it can scarcely be doubted that the ignorant opposition to it frequently, and sometimes very dangerously, hampered the thorough

¹ Avesbury, 123-127; Knighton, 2585; Edwards' Dispatch of July 30th, 1346.

² Froissart, i. 211.

³ 'Fodera,' iii. 91, 93.

⁴ Jal, 'Arch. Nav.' ii. 338.

⁵ Parl. Rolls, ii. 157-161.

effectiveness of the fleet. Happily the professional view is now, theoretically at least, accepted by statesmen and publicists as well as by seamen. There is always, however, a risk that, as in the past, the unreasoning panic of the vulgar may, in time of stress, force the hands of a British Admiralty, and by keeping too much of the Navy at home, limit the usefulness of the entire organisation.

Edward thus had to drag his most important sinews of war from an unwilling, because an uncomprehending nation. It was difficult enough for him to obtain vessels with supplies for the siege. Much more difficult was it for him, when he realised that to take Calais he must secure command of the Channel, to secure the necessary reinforcements of his fighting fleet. He perceived that the place could not be reduced so long as French ships hovered in the offing, ready, upon the slightest relaxation of the stringency of the blockade, to run in with provisions and supplies to the garrison; but the people at home were dull to recognise the fact.

Nevertheless, by dint of great exertions, a really formidable naval force was raised. It comprised 738 vessels, of which about fifty were fighting ships with fore and stern castles, and the rest, barges, ballingers and transports; and it was manned by about 15,000 officers and men.¹ In February, 1347, all the ports were required to send delegates to the Council at Westminster to report upon the state of their preparations; and from each of the maritime counties two knights or other persons were summoned to advise the Government on the subject of national defence.² On February 23rd, Sir John Montgomery superseded the Earl of Arundel in command of the Western fleet; and on March 8th, Sir John Howard was appointed to the Northern command, to succeed the Earl of Suffolk; and it was decided that sixty ships of each command (every ship having sixty mariners and twenty archers) together with twelve hired Genoese galleys, should assemble at Sandwich by April 2nd, in readiness for a cruise against the enemy.³ Whether they sailed, and if so, what they effected, does not appear. Certain it is that they did not prevent a convoy of thirty ships and galleys

¹ Roll of Calais, in Harl. MSS. 246, 78; Cott. MSS. Titus E. iii. f. 262. This specifies the number of ships contributed by each port, and by Bayonne, Ireland, Spain, Flanders, and Gelderland.

² 'Fœdera,' iii. 105, 106.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 109, 111, 112, 117.

from entering Calais about the middle of April, and from getting out again unmolested. But from that time forward, matters were better managed.

The Earl of Warwick, with eighty ships, cruised in the Channel, and kept command of it:¹ in May, the Earl of Lancaster brought across a large and welcome reinforcement to the king; and soon afterwards Lord Stafford and Sir Walter Manny, at the head of a considerable force, met a French convoy bound for the beleaguered town, and captured twenty sail of it, besides galleys.² Again, on June 25th, the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke are said to have intercepted a French convoy of forty-four ships. Lords Morley, Talbot, Bradeston, and the two admirals were also concerned in the affair; from which fact it may, perhaps, be concluded that the chroniclers of the period were apt to jump to the conclusion that the personages of highest civil rank engaged in any action were the actual commanders on the occasion. The main credit for what happened should certainly be attributed to Montgomery and Howard.

A contemporary account is cited by Avesbury as having been written by one who was with the English army. The writer says that the English, while in search of the enemy, met him about the hour of vespers off Crotoy, at the mouth of the Somme; and that such of the French vessels as were in the rear threw their provisions into the sea, some making towards England, and others for Crotoy. Ten galleys, which had abandoned boats as well as cargo, headed out to sea; and one flute and twelve victuallers, which were in the van, were so closely chased that they ran under the land, and their people, jumping overboard, were all drowned. "But the night following, about daybreak, two boats came from the town (Calais), which, being soon perceived by a mariner called William Roke, with one Hikeman Stephen, one boat returned to the town with great difficulty, but the other was chased on shore, in the which boat was taken a great master, who was the patron of the Genoese galleys and of the Genoese who were in the town, and with him seventeen of those persons and full forty letters. But before the said patron was taken, he fastened an important letter to a hatchet and threw it into the sea; but this letter and hatchet were found when the water ebbed."³ The letter in question was from the

¹ Knighton, 2592.

² 'Fowler,' iii. 121; Knighton, 2592, 2593.

³ Avesbury, 156.

Governor of Calais; and it declared that, unless the place was immediately relieved, it must surrender, owing to the terrible condition to which the inhabitants had been reduced. It did surrender on August 4th, and Edward, having concluded a truce with France until the following July, returned to England, landing at Sandwich after a very stormy passage, on October 12th.¹

While the king had been busy in France, important military events had taken place on the borders of Scotland, where David II. had been captured; but no naval events of interest were associated with the Scots campaign. Andrew Galdford, admiral on the coast of Ireland from May 30th, 1347, doubtless fulfilled his instructions to prevent to the utmost the transmission of men and supplies to points north of the Tweed.²

England had been extraordinarily successful both by sea and land; yet, of course, individuals and localities had suffered severely, and French raiders had won small triumphs, which, though entirely without influence upon the general result of the war, caused great hardships. Many must have been the complaints similar to that sent up from Budleigh, in Devonshire, in 1348. The place had been ruined by the enemy, who had taken three ships and twelve boats, with a hundred and forty men, many of whom remained unable to ransom themselves.³ But there is little doubt that, upon the whole, even in those days of limited trade, the country at large prospered during the war, in spite of the wretched financial management of the king and his advisers.

Early in 1348 the good faith of the French, as was usual after a few months' continuance of truce, began to be suspected; and the intended voyage of the Princess Joan to Bordeaux, on her way to marry the heir to the kingdom of Castille, was taken advantage of as an excuse for the assemblage at Plymouth of a squadron of forty vessels, ostensibly to convey the bride.⁴ Edward also raised an army, purposing to renew the war as soon as the truce should expire or as other occasion should offer. In the meantime, on March 14th, Sir Walter Manny was re-appointed to his old command of the Northern fleet, and Sir Reginald de Cobham again took charge of the Western one.⁵ An Italian was given command of the king's

¹ 'Fœdera,' iii. 139; Walsingham, 128; Murimuth, 100.

² Scots Rolls, i. 698.

³ Parl. Rolls, ii. 213.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 200; 'Fœdera,' iii. 146, 149, 151, 156.

⁵ 'Fœdera,' iii. 156, 157.

galleys,¹ Englishmen being apparently insufficiently acquainted with the tactics suited to those essentially Mediterranean craft; and on June 6th, Manny, who had been summoned to Parliament as a baron in the previous year, was, for some unknown reason, superseded by Robert, Lord Morley, who then took command of the Northern fleet for the fourth time.² Among the ships ordered for service in July were the *Katherine*, the *Welfare*, the *John*, and the *St. Mary*, together with three large French prizes.³ In October the king went down to Sandwich, intending to sail as soon as possible; but on November 18th the truce with France was renewed, and all idea of the expedition was for the time given up.

The year 1349 saw little naval activity. In August, Sir John Beauchamp⁴ was appointed admiral of a special squadron to repress piracy in the North Sea, where, between Newcastle and Berwick, Walter atte Park and other Scots rovers, had captured a trader of Scarborough;⁵ and in November, Don Carlos de la Cerda, son of Don Luis, in defiance of the truce, captured several English ships laden with wine, off Bordeaux, and savagely murdered their crews.⁶ This latter action gave rise, as will be seen, to serious results. In the last month of the year, the king and Prince of Wales, with Sir Walter Manny and nine hundred men, sailed rather suddenly to Calais in order to checkmate an apprehended surprise of the town by the French. Edward appears to have returned immediately after having repressed the treacherous attempt, which was duly made on January 2nd.

In 1350 came the day of reckoning with De la Cerda. That freebooter, having pillaged a number of English vessels, went to Sluis to load up with merchandise preparatory to returning to Spain. He seems to have known that Edward did not intend to allow him to escape unopposed; for he armed his ships with every kind of

¹ *Federa*, iii. 159.

² *Ib.*, iii. 162.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 165.

⁴ Sir John Beauchamp, one of the original Knights of the Garter, and the first sole Admiral of the English fleets, was second son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, and was born about 1315. He was present at Sluis, Crécy, and Calais. He had an admiral's command for the first time in 1349, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1350. In 1355 he was again admiral; and in 1360 was made Admiral of the Fleet, but died in the same year.

⁵ *Federa*, iii. 187, 188; *Scots Rolls*, i. 728.

⁶ *Avesbury*, 185. A somewhat different account is given by Knighton, who places the scene of the outrage off Sluis.

artillery and missile, and crowded them with soldiers, cross-bowmen, and archers.¹

The English preparations for dealing with De la Cerda began in May, when orders were issued for the manning of—

SHIP.	MASTER.
<i>Thomas</i>	William Passelewe
	Robert Shipman, constable
<i>Edward</i>	William Piers
<i>Jouette</i>	Walter Langdale
<i>Plenty</i>	John Wille
<i>Isabella</i>	John Ram
<i>Gabriel</i>	John Rokke
<i>Michael</i>	John Maikyn
<i>Welfare</i>	John Stygey

with the *Mariote*, master unmanned.² As there is every reason for believing that these vessels took part in the action of the following August, the names of their commanders are worth preserving. Other king's ships present in the battle were the *Jerusalem*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, *Mary*, *Godibiate*, *John*, *Edmund*, *Falcon*, *Buchett* and *Lawrence*, together with the vessels serving as the king's "hall" and "wardrobe." Of all these ancient and meritorious names, only *Falcon* has taken root in the Navy, and has been perpetuated as a ship-name to the present age.

On July 22nd, Lord Morley received a new appointment to the Northern fleet;³ but the king himself determined to command the punitive force; and the Prince of Wales and many young noblemen decided to serve with the squadron. Before sailing, Edward addressed the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, apprising them of the motives of his action, and desiring them to cause prayers to be offered for his success.⁴ He went down to Winchelsea about the middle of August, accompanied by the queen, the princes, and a great suite, including the Earls of Lancaster, Derby, Arundel, Hereford, Northampton, Suffolk, and Warwick; Lords Percy, Stafford, Mowbray, Nevill, Clifford, Roos, and Greystock; Sir Reginald de Cobham, Sir Walter Manny, Sir Thomas Holland, Sir Robert de Namur, and nearly four hundred knights.⁵ The Earl of Richmond, better known as John of Gaunt, was only eleven years of age, and too young to wear armour, but he would not be separated from his brother, the Prince of Wales. Robert de Namur, a son of

¹ Froissart, i. 285.

² *Ib.*, iii. 200.

³ Froissart, i. 285.

⁴ 'Fuedera,' iii. 195.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 201.

John, Count of Namur, commanded the king's "hall," the vessel on board of which was the royal household. He was afterwards a Knight of the Garter. The English fleet is supposed to have consisted of about fifty ships, large and small.¹

Edward seems to have embarked on August 28th, in his old ship, the *Thomas cog*. The fleet, however, remained at anchor in the Channel, instead of seeking the Spaniards on the coast of Flanders; although it may be accepted as certain that cruisers were sent out to watch for the coming of the enemy. During this period, Sir John Chandos, one of the most famous generals of his age, amused the royal party by singing a German dance to the accompaniment of the minstrels who were in the flagship; but the king continually gazed up at the look-out man in the top, in hopes of receiving intelligence from him.

De la Cerda had forty ships, all large and of the same class. He had filled his tops with soldiers and with stones for them to fling upon the English decks, and Froissart says that he had quite ten times as many men as his opponents, he having engaged many mercenaries in Flanders. Both sides were eager for the conflict, and confident of the result.

On the afternoon of Sunday, August 29th, the wind being fresh from the north-east, and the English being still within sight of Winchelsea, the Spaniards were sighted, coming down Channel. Edward weighed, caused the trumpets to sound, ordered wine to be served to himself and his knights, and armed for battle.

The Spaniards might have avoided an action, but nothing was further from their intentions, and, with the wind fair behind them, they bore down upon the English. Edward at once directed his ship to be laid alongside a leading Spaniard. The shock of collision brought down the enemy's mast, and all who were in its top were drowned; but the king's ship suffered at least equally, for she sprang a leak, and, although the fact was not then conveyed to Edward, his knights had to bale her to prevent her from sinking. The king would have grappled and boarded his opponent, but the knights persuaded him to pass on to another vessel, into which the grappels were thrown. Then ensued a fierce hand to hand contest, both sides fighting for their lives, for the sinking state of the flagship could by this time be no longer concealed, and the Spaniards expected no quarter. After a short struggle, the enemy was carried.

¹ So says Stow, 250.

and all remaining alive on board him were thrown into the water.

The king at once transferred himself and his people to the prize, and proceeded in her to find a fresh foe. The action had become general, though it appears to have chiefly resolved itself into fights between single ships. The Spanish crossbow-men inflicted great damage, and the superior height of their vessels gave them much advantage in hurling down stones and iron bars upon their adversaries. Moreover, their ships were the stronger built, and their men were the more experienced.

The Prince of Wales was sorely pressed, his ship, grappled by a Spaniard, being, like his father's, reduced to a sinking condition. She would probably, in spite of her stout resistance, have gone to the bottom with all hands, had not the Earl of Lancaster opportunely ranged up on the Spaniard's other beam, and boarded with the cry of "Derby¹ to the rescue." This encouraged the prince's party, and presently the Spaniard surrendered. Her entire crew was, nevertheless, as was the custom in that age, and long afterwards, flung overboard. The prince and his followers had barely time to crowd into the prize before their own craft foundered.

The action had begun at about 5 P.M. As evening closed, victory declared generally for the English, but the king's "hall," which, under Robert de Namur, had been grappled by a Spaniard, was in great peril. The Spaniard could not subdue her, but making all sail before the wind, was rapidly dragging her from the scene of the fight, with the intention of obtaining assistance for reducing her at leisure. As they passed almost within hail of Edward's vessel, the unfortunate English shouted for help, but were not heard, and matters would have fared badly with them had not Hannekin, the valet of Robert, displayed exceptional gallantry. Sword in hand, he jumped on board the Spaniard, and cut the halliards, bringing down the sail with a run. He then severed some of the shrouds and stays, and rendered the ship unmanageable, and in the consequent confusion, the English boarded successfully and carried the enemy.

Froissart says that fourteen Spaniards were taken; Avesbury and others put the number at twenty-four, and Walsingham gives it at twenty-six, besides ships that were sunk. The victors undoubtedly suffered very heavily, especially in wounded, and apparently

¹ The earldom of Derby had been revived in 1337 in favour of Henry Plantagenet, Earl, and later Duke of Lancaster.

at least two of their best ships were sunk ; but the result was glorious and decisive. The only Englishman of rank reported to have been killed was Sir John (or Sir Richard) Goldesborough. Among other distinguished persons who, in addition to some already mentioned, took part in the fight, were Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir William and Sir Henry Scrope, Sir John Boyville, Sir Stephen Hales, Sir Robert Conyers, and Sir Thomas Banestre, the last, in consequence of the service, receiving a pardon for a homicide which he was alleged to have committed previously.

At night the English fleet anchored at Rye and Winchelsea, and the king, the Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Richmond returned to the queen, who had remained in a state of great anxiety in an abbey about six miles from the shore.¹

Such was the Battle of Winchelsea, or, as it has been more generally called, "L'Espagnols sur Mer." If the English fleet was numerically the larger, the Spanish ships were the more formidable as regards both size and complements, so that, upon the whole, the victors had no material advantage in their favour. Yet they crushingly asserted their superiority over a gallant foe whom they then encountered for the first time in a general action. The presence of the king and the two princes, and of a very considerable body of the higher nobility of the realm, added special brilliancy to the affair, and seems to have inspired the English participants to the display of more than ordinary valour ; yet Nicolas was the first of British naval historians to pay much attention to it, and many a history of England that has pretensions to a character for seriousness and accuracy does not mention it at all. Indeed, it may rank as one of the many almost forgotten glories of a race whose later triumphs have made its memory shorter than it should be. It gained, however, for Edward III. the appellations of "Avenger of the Merchants," and "King of the Sea."²

Soon after the battle, the king sent word to Bayonne that the remnants of the Spanish squadron were at sea, and desired his subjects there to disregard the truce, and to despatch a force against the enemy. Again, in October, a special convoy was provided for ships going to Gaseony for wine, it being supposed that they might be intercepted by the fugitives.³ But it appears that the enemy

¹ Froissart, i. 286 *et seq.*; Avesbury, 185; Otterbourne, 135; Cont. of Murimuth, 102; Walsingham, 160; Stow, 250.

² Parl. Rolls, ii. 311.

³ 'Fœdera,' iii. 203, 206.

returned to Sluis, for, on November 11th, Sir Robert Herle, captain of Calais, and others were deputed to treat with the Spanish officers and seamen in Flanders for an amicable termination of hostilities.¹ In the meantime, a treaty for twenty years had been concluded with Spain, and the truce with France had been extended,² the result being that, for some years subsequent to the Battle of Winchelsea, there were but few naval events of much importance.

The appointments to high naval command during this period of comparative quiet were as follows:—To the Northern fleet: Admiral William, Earl of Northampton,³ March 8th, 1351; Admiral Lord Morley, March 5th, 1355. To the Western fleet: Admiral Henry, Duke of Lancaster,⁴ March 8th, 1351; Admiral Sir John Beauchamp, March 5th, 1355. To other commands: Sir Thomas Cock, captain of a squadron, March, 1352; John Gybon, admiral of a squadron to Normandy, March, 1354.⁵

But although peace prevailed generally, there were rumours of wars, and even some actual aggressions. In 1351, a French descent upon the Isle of Wight was apprehended, and Lancaster and Herle made forays in France beyond the English pale.⁶ In 1352, several ships, including the *Jerusalem*, *St. Mary*, *Edward*, *Falcon*, *John*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, and *Rode cog*, all king's vessels, were got ready in anticipation of a probable termination of the truce.⁷ And it may be added here that in 1353 there was concluded with Portugal a treaty of commerce, which was to endure for fifty years, and which is remarkable as having originated what has been, upon the whole,

¹ 'Fosdera,' iii. 210.

² *Ib.*, iii. 228, 232, 254, 260, 276.

³ William, Earl of Northampton, was a younger son of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by a daughter of Edward I., and was created Earl of Northampton in 1337. He served at Sluis, Crécy, Calais, and L'Espagnols sur Mer, and was given the first Garter that fell vacant. His sole appointment as Admiral was in 1351. He died in 1360. His youngest daughter was wife of Henry IV.

⁴ Henry, Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster, was the only son of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, a nephew of Edward I., and was born about 1312. After seeing some naval and military service, and having been created Earl of Derby in 1337, he succeeded as Earl of Lancaster and Leicestershire in 1345, and in 1348 became one of the first Knights of the Garter. Soon afterwards he was made Earl of Lincoln, and in 1351, Duke of Lancaster. He had been both at Sluis and at L'Espagnols sur Mer, when, in 1351, he was for the first and only time made admiral. He died in 1361, leaving two daughters, one of whom married John of Gaunt, and became the mother of Henry IV.

⁵ 'Fosdera,' iii. 273.

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 217, 218, 220; Knighton, 2601.

⁷ *Ib.*, iii. 245, 246.

an unusually lasting international friendship.¹ A notice of some of its provisions will be found in the preceding chapter. A curious episode belonging to the year 1354 was the issue to the Admiral of the Northern fleet of an order to provide three vessels to carry the Bishop of Durham to London, that he might attend to his parliamentary duties there.²

In 1355, Edward refused to agree to a renewal of the truce, and it was decided that the Prince of Wales should go to Gascony with a large army.³ The usual directions were accordingly sent to the ports for the provision of the necessary shipping, and seamen were impressed.⁴ So eager was the search for vessels that a Spanish craft was inadvertently seized, and the King in consequence wrote a letter of apology to his brother of Castille.⁵ On September 8th, the Prince of Wales left Plymouth with three hundred troopers and transports, and after a quick passage he landed in the Gironde.⁶

The king himself had sailed earlier from Rotherhithe with forty large ships, carrying fifteen hundred dismounted men-at-arms and two thousand archers, and accompanied by his younger sons, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt; but, leaving Gravesend about July 22nd, had met with bad weather in the neighbourhood of the Channel Islands, and had been driven into Sandwich and detained there until August 15th. Thence he proceeded with difficulty to Winchelsea and the Isle of Wight, but was again driven back.

While he was at Portsmouth during his ineffectual efforts to cross the Channel, news reached him that the King of Navarre, who had promised his alliance, and who was to have joined the English fleet off Jersey, had broken his engagement, and allied himself with the King of France before Calais.⁷ The receipt of this intelligence led to the calling out of more ships and troops, which were assembled at Sandwich, and in October the king embarked there with his younger sons and a large retinue. He was joined at Calais by mercenaries from Flanders, Brabant, and Germany.⁸ He at once marched against the French, who fled before him, and were energetically pursued. He then returned to England to meet Parliament on November 12th, but an invasion of the Scots, who had taken Berwick, called him immediately afterwards to the north,

¹ *Federa*, iii. 264, 265. ² *Ib.*, iii. 275. ³ Knighton, 2608; Avesbury, 201.

⁴ *Federa*, iii. 297. ⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 306. ⁶ Knighton, 2608; Avesbury, 201.

⁷ Knighton, 2610; Parl. Rolls, ii. 264; Avesbury, 203, 204.

⁸ Avesbury, 205. Froissart (i. 304, 305) is incorrect.

necessitated fresh levies of ships and men, and, by diverting attention, for a time hindered the prosecution of the French campaign.¹

The Northern fleet, reinforced by newly arrested ships under John Colyn, lieutenant to the Northern admiral, seems to have assisted in the recovery of Berwick, though twelve ships were lost on their passage thither and the others were dispersed.² But neither the military occurrences in Scotland, nor those in France where the victory of Poitiers was won by the Black Prince on September 19th, 1356, can be followed here.

In May of that year, Sir Guy Bryan³ superseded Sir John Beauchamp as Admiral of the Western fleet, Robert Ledrede having at the same time an independent or subsidiary command over a convoy to Gascony.⁴ Sir Guy appears to have created great astonishment by the celerity with which some of the vessels belonging to his station crossed and recrossed the Channel with troops in June. They landed their men at La Hogue, and returned to Southampton within five days. These troops belonged to the forces of the Duke of Lancaster, who with the rest followed in fifty-two transports, sailing on the 18th of the month.⁵ In August, certain Scots and other ships having committed depredations off the coast of Ireland, Robert Drouss, of Cork, was appointed admiral of an Irish squadron and ordered to proceed against them.⁶ Three predatory Scots ships, with three hundred soldiers on board, were in the following year driven into Yarmouth and taken.⁷

In 1357, the prisoners captured at Poitiers were brought to England. In April the Prince embarked at Bordeaux in one ship, and King John, of France, was put on board another. It was expected that the French in Normandy would make efforts to intercept the convoy, and the English ships were therefore specially manned with two thousand archers and five hundred men-at-arms; but nothing was seen of the enemy, and after an eleven days'

¹ 'Fodera,' iii. 314; Parl. Rolls, ii. 261.

² Froissart, i. 311, 312; Avesbury, 237.

³ Sir Guy Bryan, son of a Devonshire knight, was born about 1310. In 1350 he was summoned to Parliament as a baron. He was admiral in 1356 and 1370, in which latter year he was also made a K.B. His naval services were very numerous and distinguished, but towards the close of his life he was exclusively employed ashore. He died in 1390.

⁴ 'Fodera,' iii. 328; Gascon Rolls, 127.

⁵ 'Fodera,' iii. 338.

⁶ Avesbury, 245, 246.

⁷ Knighton, 2617.

passage, the flotilla reached Sandwich on May 4th.¹ On May 23rd, a truce was concluded to last until Easter, 1359.²

Preparations with a view to the termination of this truce were made towards the end of 1358. The admirals, Lord Morley and Sir Guy Bryan, were directed on December 8th to impress ships and barges, and to see that they were at Sandwich by the following Palm Sunday in readiness for the King's passage across the Channel.³ But Edward's sailing was postponed, and in June, 1359, fresh orders were sent out, pointing to a departure in July, vessels being then obtained from Sluis, Gravelines, and Dunquerque, as well as from the English ports.⁴ The King did not actually sail from Sandwich until October 28th. He weighed early in the morning in a ship called the *Philip*, of Dartmouth, and landed at Calais at about four in the afternoon, accompanied by one of the largest armies that ever quitted England, and publicly professing his intention never to return until he had ended the war by a satisfactory and honourable peace or had died in the attempt.⁵

The new campaign in France was little more than a triumphant military promenade. Edward had, unfortunately, no right to treat himself to the luxury of this progress. At sea he had been more successful than any previous English sovereign. There can be no reasonable doubt that he understood all that the maintenance of the dominion of the sea meant to his island realms, and it is absolutely certain that, with the men and the material at his command, he might, had he listened to the counsels of sense and prudence, instead of to the promptings of blind ambition and immoderate love of empty glory, have completely crushed the French at sea, and rendered them impotent on that element until the last days of his reign. But his delight in pageantry and display got the better of him. The conclusive processes of naval warfare were too slow, too dull, and too monotonous to suit his hasty spirit. He had the dash of a Cochrane, but he lacked the steadfast and single-minded application of a Nelson, or a Collingwood. And so, after covering himself with quickly acquired glory at Sluis and Winchelsea, he neglected his navy to submit to the seductions of military spectacle. It was a strange and disgraceful infatuation.

¹ Froissart, i. 367. But Walsingham and Knighton say that it made Plymouth.

² * Fœdera,' iii. 348.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 412.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii. 445; Scots Rolls, i. 840.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 452; Froissart (who wrongly says that the king embarked at Dover), i. 417.

While he was parading to no good end on French soil, the French squadrons were working havoc against us in the Channel. In the spring of 1360, panic reigned at Southampton, Portsmouth, and Sandwich, at each of which places a descent of the enemy was expected. Fleets should have been sent against the foe; but the creation of fleets, and their maintenance, required large sums of money, and Edward had nearly emptied the coffers of the state that he might pay for his continental adventures. All that could be done by way of defensive precaution was to levy troops and send them to the threatened points, and to draw ships high up on the shore, in hopes that the enemy, when he came, would overlook them.¹ To such a pass was the power of England reduced.

The French did not strike where they had been expected, but they raided Rye and Hastings, and on Sunday, March 15th, they landed in great force at Winchelsea.² Villani says that they had a hundred and twenty ships; Knighton, that they had twenty-nine thousand men. These numbers are probably exaggerated, but the point is immaterial. They made their onslaught while the people were at Mass, spared neither age nor sex, fired the town, committed unspeakable atrocities, and carried away a number of the best-looking women. At length, it is true, they were driven off with a loss of upwards of four hundred men, and thirteen of their vessels were taken by the seamen of the Cinque Ports; but the moral effect of this bloody insult to the coast was nevertheless tremendous, and was remembered for many a year afterwards.³ So great was the number of slain that Winchelsea churchyard had to be enlarged to receive them, and to this day the road on that side is known as Dead Man's Lane.

On the very day of the landing, which must have occurred early in the morning, the news reached the council, which was sitting at Reading. Something had to be done at all costs. At once every large ship and barge fit for war was ordered to be impressed; such English shipping as was in Flanders was sent for,⁴ and on March 26th, the regular admirals, Morley and Bryan, being apparently in attendance on the king in France, Sir John Paveley, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, was appointed admiral

¹ *Federa*, iii. 471.

² *Ib.*, iii. 476, 477; Walsingham, 166.

³ Anon. Hist. Edw. III., ii. 424; Issue Rolls, 34 Edw., III. 173 (ed. Devon); Walsingham, 166; Knighton, 2622.

⁴ *Federa*, iii. 476.

of a squadron which was directed to cruise to the westward of the Thames to repel invasion.¹ A perfect panic prevailed. Troops were levied everywhere. Southampton and Pevensey were fortified anew. Even inland strongholds, like the castles of Old Sarum and Malmesbury, were hurriedly put into a condition for defence; and as it was believed that John, the captive French king, was to be rescued, he was removed from Somerton to Berkhamstead Castle, and subsequently thence to the Tower.²

By way of retaliation, a division of the fleet, consisting of eighty ships, with fourteen thousand soldiers and archers on board, was sent to operate against the coasts of France. Exactly what it did is uncertain. Walsingham tells us that it captured the Isle of Saints, a place difficult to identify, but Knighton, who says that the fleet was made up of a hundred and sixty sail, implies that it ravaged the French coasts about Boulogne and Harfleur.³ The French War was, however, terminated on May 8th, by the Treaty of Bretigny, which stipulated that John should be ransomed, and should cede Gascony, Guienne, Poitou, Calais, Guisnes, and Ponthieu, and that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, and his claims to Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou. The arrangement, which by the way involved a very large reduction of the original English demands, and was scarcely the honourable peace which Edward had declared he would die rather than forego, was solemnly ratified at Calais in the following November, but most of its provisions were never carried out.

The king came home in May, landing at Rye on the 18th, and going back to Calais in July and again in October, for the ratification of peace. He returned once more early in November.⁴ On July 18th of the same year, Sir John Beauchamp, K.G., was appointed "Admiral of the King's Southern, Northern and Western fleets,"⁵ and for the first time united in the person of a single officer the command of the entire English navy. He died at the close of the year and was succeeded in the same high office by Sir Robert Herle⁶ on January 26th, 1361.⁷ Sir Ralph Spigurnell⁸ succeeded Herle

¹ *Foedera*, iii. 479. ² *Ib.*, iii. 471-479. ³ Walsingham, 167; Knighton, 2623.

⁴ *Foedera*, iii. 490, 499, 518, 520.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 505.

⁶ Sir Robert Herle, son of Sir William Herle, was made captain of Calais in 1350, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, etc., in 1361, when he was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. He died about June 1364.

⁷ *Foedera*, iii. 597.

⁸ Sir Ralph Spigurnell, or Pigornel, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in 1364, but little is known of his previous naval services or qualifications. He died in 1373.

on July 7th, 1364.¹ Each of these officers was in addition Keeper of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

These were, so far as naval matters are concerned, very uneventful years. Ships, men, and supplies were dispatched from time to time to Gascony; and convoys were occasionally provided for princes and noblemen proceeding to Ireland, Calais, etc.; but not until 1369 was there much renewal of naval activity. In that year the experiment of concentrating the command of the fleet in the hands of a single individual was temporarily abandoned; and on April 28th, Sir Robert Ashton² was appointed to the Western, and on June 12th, Sir Nicholas Tamworth was appointed to the Northern squadron.

Charles, who in 1364 had succeeded John as King of France, invaded Poitou, and fitted out ships against England; and in 1369, the unstable peace created by the Treaty of Bretigny came to an end. A general arrest of vessels of twenty tons and upwards, except fishing boats, was ordered in February, part to be sent to Southampton, and part to Dartmouth: all fencible men between sixteen and sixty were called out in March, and in April the king's ships *Dieu la Garde*, *Edward*, and five more were sent to sea, the *George* following in May.³ In June, Edward denounced the attitude of France to Parliament, and decided to resume the title of King of France; and hostilities were recommenced.⁴

Charles had the co-operation of Henry, King of Castille and Leon, who promised to assist with as many galleys and twice as many ships as France should equip; and a large fleet, under Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was collected in the mouth of the Seine. The English naval preparations were less actively pushed on; and although Southampton and the Isle of Wight were garrisoned in August, no fleet seems to have put to sea until after Portsmouth had been burnt⁵ by the enemy and much other damage had been

¹ 'Fodera,' iii. 741.

² Sir Robert Ashton was a distinguished man with very varied experiences. After seeing service in France, he was made Chancellor of Ireland in 1364, and keeper of the castle of Sangatte, near Calais, in 1368. He was appointed admiral in 1369, and again in 1371, and held other commands at sea. He was also, at different times, Justice of Ireland, Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Household, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, and Ambassador to France. He died about 1384.

³ 'Fodera,' iii. 861, 863, 865.

⁴ Froissart, i. 567; Parl. Rolls, ii. 299; 'Fodera,' iii. 868.

⁵ 'Fodera,' iii. 880.

done. Sir Nicholas Tamworth was, however, appointed to the Northern fleet in June.¹ In November, perhaps owing to the very natural apprehension at home, the Duke of Lancaster was recalled from Calais.²

At the beginning of 1370 a squadron was at sea under Sir Guy Bryan, who on February 6th and again on May 30th was appointed to the command of the fleet of the west. On May 30th also John, Lord Neville of Raby, was made admiral of the north; and in July, Sir Ralph Ferrers was given an independent command in the Channel over a force largely composed of vessels hired from the Netherlands, and of craft belonging to Jersey and Guernsey.³ Sir Robert Ashton, too, commanded a flotilla, which went to Cherbourg to bring the King of Navarre to England.⁴ Edward went to France; Lancaster went to Gascony: few craft fit for service escaped arrest; but the feverish activity produced little tangible result. Ships were despatched northward to prevent communications between France and Denmark, and between France and Scotland; but all maritime matters seem to have been mismanaged. A large ship of Bayonne, with merchandise belonging to London, was taken by thirty French vessels, which afterwards landed and burnt Gosport; troops were hurried to Dover to repel an anticipated descent there; and the Chancellor declared to Parliament that France had soldiers enough to oust Edward from the continent, and apparently ships enough to destroy the whole navy of England.⁵ It is indeed not astonishing that the country was in a panic.

The Commons complained. They represented that the cities, ports and boroughs, and the whole navy of the realm, had for a long time suffered great damage unknown to the king and his Council (a very mild expression of the true facts), to the annihilation of the said places and navy; that they had formerly enjoyed certain franchises and usages, by which they had been enabled to maintain their houses, their navy and themselves, and support the good estate and great honour and safety of their lord and all his people, to the fear of foreign countries, by the power of the merchants and navy of the realm; but that now, since their franchises had been seized, one third part of the towns, boroughs and ports was almost ruined and

¹ 'Fodera,' iii. 871.

² Issue Rolls, 44 Edw. III., 376.

³ 'Fodera,' iii. 892; Issue Rolls, 44 Edw. III., 149, 267, 286.

⁴ Issue Rolls, 44 Edw. III., 187, 277.

⁵ Parl. Rolls, ii. 303.

uninhabited—the walls broken down, and the shipping nearly ruined, so that the merchants were reduced to poverty and could scarcely live. They therefore prayed that their ancient privileges and franchises might be restored, so that, when occasion required, they might do good service to the king and discomfit his enemies.

The causes of naval decline were declared to be: firstly, that arrests of shipping were often made long before vessels were wanted, the owners being in the interval at the expense of ships and crews that were making no profit, by which many of them became so impoverished as to be obliged to quit their business and see their ships ruined: secondly, that the merchants who supported the navy had been so impeded in their voyages and affairs by divers ordinances that they had no employment for ships; that great part of the mariners had consequently abandoned their calling, and gained a livelihood in some other way; and that their ships were hauled up on the shore to rot: thirdly, that as soon as the masters of the king's ships were ordered on any voyage, they impressed the masters and ablest part of the men of other ships, and, those vessels being left without persons to manage them, perished in large part, to the loss of their owners. The king promised redress, and asked for a specification of the grievances arising from loss of franchises;¹ but it does not appear that matters were sensibly ameliorated in Edward's time.

In March, 1371, there was an arrest of all vessels of a hundred tons and upwards, and of all "pikards" of ten tons and upwards, in Wales and the Bristol Channel, Bristol excepted. These were ordered to Plymouth to join the command of Sir Guy Bryan.² In May the two admirals were directed to restore some Flamand vessels which had been improperly captured; and, from the documents concerning the transaction, it is apparent that neutral vessels carrying property belonging to states at war with England were then held liable to seizure, and that free bottoms did not make free goods.³

On October 6th, 1371, Sir Ralph Ferrers succeeded Lord Neville as Admiral of the Northern, and Sir Robert Ashton, Sir Guy Bryan as Admiral of the Western fleet.⁴ In the same month, the French menaced the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk.⁵

Froissart relates the account of a naval action which, if it

¹ Parl. Rolls, ii. 306, 307. ² *Foedera*, iii. 912. ³ *Ib.*, iii. 917.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii. 923, 924. ⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 925.

occurred at all, probably occurred during the year. There is, however, little or no corroborative testimony, and several of the statements made appear to be inconsistent with known facts. His story is to the effect that an English squadron, under Sir Guy Bryan, having on board the Earl of Hereford, met a Flamannd squadron off "the Bay," meaning Bourgneuf Bay,¹ in the modern department of Loire Inferieure; that the enemy was commanded by Sir John Peterson; that the battle lasted three hours; and that Peterson was defeated and taken, and all his ships were captured.² Froissart may have confused the affair with the capture in or near the Bay of Bourgneuf of twenty-five ships laden with salt, as related by some of the chroniclers.³ If so, he greatly magnified the importance of the business. In any case, it was almost the last naval success of a reign which closed with disaster and disgrace.

At the end of 1371 an Act was passed prohibiting the selling of any English vessel to a foreigner;⁴ and early in the next year, a treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded with Genoa.⁵

The year 1372 witnessed the arrest of more ships,⁶ and the supersession on March 7th of Sir Ralph Ferrers by Sir William Neville in command of the Northern, and of Sir Robert Ashton by Sir Philip Courtenay in command of the Western fleet.⁷ On March 28th, peace was proclaimed with Flanders;⁸ but fears of an invasion by France continued, and the country was still in a state of panic, which was accentuated by a naval disaster which happened in June.

La Rochelle was besieged by the French; and in April the young Earl of Pembroke,⁹ who had been appointed Lieutenant of Aquitaine, was directed, in company with Sir Guichard d'Angle, and other knights, to proceed to the relief of the beleaguered town. He sailed from Southampton on June 10th. France, cognisant of the project, dispatched the Castillian fleet of forty large ships and thirteen barges to intercept the expedition. This fleet was commanded by Ambrosio Bocanegra, Admiral of Castille, Cabeza de

¹ From this bay, where there were salt-pans, "bay salt" seems to have taken its name.

² Froissart, i. 631, 632.

³ Walsingham, 182; Murimuth, 127; Otterbourne, 128.

⁴ *Federa*, iii. 930.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 931.

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 933.

⁷ *Ib.*, iii. 937.

⁸ *Ib.*, iii. 938.

⁹ John, Lord Hastings, second Earl of Pembroke, who was captured off La Rochelle in 1372, was son of Lawrence, first Earl of Pembroke, and had, as his second wife, a daughter of Admiral Sir Walter Manny. He died in 1375.

Vaca, Fernando de Peon, and Ruy Diaz de Rojas; and it awaited the very inferior English squadron off La Rochelle.¹

Pembroke sighted the enemy on June 22nd, and with great courage prepared for the inevitable battle, placing his archers in the bows of his ships. The Spaniards, who employed cannon, as well as missiles to be hurled by men from the tops, weighed and gained the wind, and then bore down with cheers on the English. The action, which was very severe, was continued until nightfall, when, Pembroke having lost only two barges, laden with stores, the forces separated.

The fight had been witnessed from the town, and Sir John Harpeden, commander of the place, endeavoured to induce some of the inhabitants to put to sea to assist their friends; but they objected that they were not sailors and that they had their own work to do on shore. Three knights only, Sir Tomai Bouton, Sir James de Surgières, and Sir Maubrun de Linières, with four barges, went out at daybreak on the 23rd to join Pembroke. The Spaniards, who had anchored for the night, then weighed, it being high water, and, taking advantage of the wind, bore down on the English in such a manner as eventually to surround them. The usual hand-to-hand fight ensued. Pembroke's ship was grappled by four large Spaniards under Cabeza de Vaca and Fernando de Peon, and after an obstinate resistance was taken. Among the killed were Sir Aimery de Tarste, Sir John Lanton, Sir Simon Housagre,² Sir John Mortainge (or Mortaine), and Sir John Touchet. Among the prisoners were Pembroke, Sir Robert Timfort,³ Sir John de Gruières,⁴ Sir John Tourson,⁵ Sir Guichard d'Angle, and Sir Otho Grandison. The entire English squadron was taken or destroyed; and all the prisoners of rank would have been massacred had they not undertaken to ransom their followers. One ship, carrying treasure to pay the troops in Guienne, was sunk. Sir James de Surgières was landed at La Rochelle, where he reported the disaster; the other prisoners were taken to Spain, where most of them were roughly treated. The catastrophe is said to have materially hastened the loss of Guienne.⁶

At about the same time a Welsh adventurer named Ewan, claiming to be a son of a prince who had been killed by Edward,

¹ 'Fodera,' iii. 941; Froissart, i. 636, 637.

² Perhaps Sir Simon Whitaker.

³ Perhaps Sir Robert Beaufort.

⁴ Possibly Sir John Grimstone.

⁵ Perhaps Sir John Curzon.

⁶ Froissart, 635-639; Walsingham, 182; Anon. Hist. Edw. III. (Hearne), ii. 439.

joined the French, and was sent to sea by them with three thousand men. Sailing from Harfleur, he landed in Guernsey, defeated the governor, Edmund Rose, and, having besieged him in Cornet Castle, would probably have taken him, had not the force been recalled to take part in the blockade of La Rochelle.¹

Edward seems to have felt it imperatively necessary to attempt some bold stroke by way of reprisals; and he equipped and took command of a fleet for the relief of Thouars, which, if not reinforced, had agreed to surrender on September 29th. The king embarked at Sandwich in the *Grace de Dieu* on August 30th with a large force, but, delayed by contrary winds beyond the day for the appointed surrender, he returned ingloriously to England, landing at Winchelsea about October 6th. No sooner had he arrived than the wind became fair; but it was too late; and the £900,000 said to have been spent in the fitting out of the armament was wasted.²

The Welshman, Evan, joined a Spanish force under Admiral Roderigo de Rosas, and the combined squadron, consisting of forty ships, eight galleys, and thirteen barges, blockaded La Rochelle until it fell.³ It is astonishing that, instead of returning safely to England, Edward did not endeavour to save or recover the place; but he seems at this period of his career to have been completely demoralised.

Parliament, which met in November, renewed its remonstrances on the state of the navy and prayed for a remedy. The king's reply was that it was his pleasure that the navy should be maintained and kept with the greatest ease and advantage that could be.⁴ Very little, however, was done to remove the causes which had led to so much loss and disgrace. But the fleet had shortly before been reinforced by some Genoese galleys under Peter de Campo Fregoso, and Jacob Pronan.⁵

At the beginning of 1373 there were fresh fears of an invasion, an immense Franco-Spanish force under Evan, Roderigo de Rosas, the Count of Narbonne,⁶ Jean de Raix,⁷ and Jean de Vienne,⁸ being

¹ Froissart, i. 640, 641.

² 'Fodera,' iii. 961, 962; Anon. Hist. Edw. III., ii. 399, 400; Froissart, i. 658; Walsingham, 182.

³ Froissart, i. 647, 654.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, ii. 311.

⁵ 'Fodera,' iii. 965, 970.

⁶ Then Admiral of France.

⁷ Or De Roye.

⁸ Of Jean de Vienne's naval career there is a good though brief account in Laughton's 'Studies in Naval History.' See also 'Jean de Vienne,' by the Marquis Terrier de Loray (Paris, 1877). John de Vienne was born in 1311, and fell at the battle of Nicopolis on September 28th, 1390.

at sea or in process of assembly. In February, the Earl of Salisbury was given command of an English squadron, and, with the Admirals Courtenay and Neville, he appears to have made some effort to blockade the mouth of the Seine, but to have been obliged by the allies to retire. He proceeded to St. Malo, where he destroyed eight Spanish merchantmen, and thence to Brest, where, while assisting in the defence of the place, he was himself virtually blockaded by the enemy, who also kept such good command of the Channel that an expedition under the Duke of Lancaster, destined for Guienne, could not go thither directly, and had to land at Calais and make a terribly disastrous march through France.¹ Yet, in the Chancellor's speech to Parliament, Salisbury's proceedings were highly eulogised.² His almost sole service, with the eighty ships under his command, appears to have been the influence which he exerted towards inducing the French to raise the siege of Brest.

The year 1374 produced no very notable naval actions, although both sides cruised continually in the Channel. In January and February there were impressments of men for eight ships which were ordered to keep a look-out on the western coasts;³ in May a number of ship-masters were summoned to attend the council at Westminster to give information and advice;⁴ and between July and September a convoy was collected at Dartmouth and Plymouth to carry over the Earl of Cambridge and an army to Brittany.⁵ But it was, nevertheless, a very important year, for it saw the commencement of the construction, for the first time, of a regular royal navy of France. Jean de Vienne, who has been already mentioned, had been appointed Admiral of France on December 27th, 1373; and, convinced of the advantage of vessels built especially and exclusively for war over craft hired from the merchants and adapted, he at once began the building of war vessels at Rouen in 1374.⁶

A year's truce between England and France and Spain was concluded in June, 1375, but it was not strictly observed; for when, in August, a fleet, which had conveyed Sir Thomas Felton to Bordeaux, and Sir William Elman to Bayonne, had taken in cargo in the Bay of Bourgneuf, with a view to returning to England, a Spanish squadron under Reyner Grimaldi⁷ and Evan, the Welsh

¹ Froissart, i. 668, etc.; 'Fodera,' iii. 971.

² Parl. Bolls, ii. 316.

³ 'Fodera,' iii. 996, 997.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii. 1002.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 1006, 1017.

⁶ 'Studies in Nav. Hist.'

⁷ Nephew of the elder Grimaldi who had commanded the Genoese contingent at Sluis.

adventurer, fell upon them unexpectedly, and took or destroyed twenty-eight ships, five cogs, one crayer, and two barges, then estimated to be worth, with the goods on board, £17,739, besides killing the masters and crews.¹ The loss, appraised in the money of to-day, may be set down at certainly not less than £130,000. The merchants who had suffered appealed to the King in 1376. Edward tamely protested that he had done and would continue to do, his best to obtain redress;² but he was too weak to compel justice; and in those days justice in international affairs was seldom rendered save to those who demanded it with might as well as right behind them.

In 1376 fleets, collected in the usual manner, were ordered to assemble in Southampton Water and at Sandwich,³ but the nominal truce was renewed until April 1st, 1377, and the vessels were returned to their owners in June, to be again arrested in July, to bring back the Duke of Bretagne and the Earl of Cambridge from Brittany.⁴ On June 8th, England lost the Black Prince, and with him her strongest hope of issuing with credit from her ever-increasing difficulties.

On July 16th, the Earl of Suffolk and, on November 24th, Sir Michael de la Pole, were appointed to the Northern fleet; and on July 16th, the Earl of Salisbury⁵ and, on November 24th, Sir Robert Hales, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, were entrusted successively with the Western fleet.⁶

Early in 1377, the work of Jean de Vienne had begun to bear fruit, and by the spring he had ready for sea thirty-five large ships, built as men-of-war, well armed with the most improved guns, besides eighty-five smaller or hired vessels, the whole manned by about 15,000 seamen, men-at-arms, and archers. To this force there was added a Spanish contingent. Once more, something like panic reigned in England. All craft of twenty tons and upwards were arrested and concentrated in the Thames;⁷ troops were hurried

¹ Parl. Rolls, ii. 346. One of the prizes, the *Christopher*, of Exmouth, was of 300 tons.

² *Ib.*, ii. 346.

³ *Foedera*, iii. 1046, 1049, 1050.

⁴ *Fr. Rolls*, 115.

⁵ William, second Earl of Salisbury, K.G., born in 1327, served at Crécy and Calais, and was one of the original Knights of the Garter. He was present at L'Espagnols sur Mer and Poitiers; and was admiral in 1376. He died in 1397, leaving his honours to his nephew, John, third Earl.

⁶ *Foedera*, iii. 1057, 1065.

⁷ *Ib.*, iii. 1072, 1076, 1077.

to the coast; the Scots were supposed to be about to invade from the north, and everything was in confusion, when, on June 21st, the king died.

Richard II., who succeeded him, was a child of about eleven. Those responsible for the government were animated by personal hatreds and animosities, the treasury was empty, the navy was almost non-existent, and, on the other hand, France and Scotland were more formidable than they had ever been.

Jean de Vienne struck promptly. He put to sea from Harfleur, with Reyner Grimaldi, Jean de Raix, and De Torey as his seconds, and, leaving a few ships to watch Jersey and Guernsey, crossed over to the coast of Sussex. On June 29th,¹ he landed near Rye, and plundered and burnt the town. Before Winchelsea he was repelled; but at Rottingdean he defeated a small force, and, advancing to Lewes, took, sacked, and burnt it. Re-embarking, he went to Folkestone, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, all of which he laid in ashes. By the beginning of August he was back at Harfleur.

England was more occupied in the crowning of her child-king than in fighting the enemy; but ships were arrested, men were called out for service by sea and land, and the two admirals who had held office at the end of the last reign were reappointed.

After assisting the Duke of Burgundy for a short time at the siege of Calais, Jean de Vienne put to sea again, with a view to prevent reinforcements from being sent from England to the besieged; but, being driven by an easterly wind to the coast of the Isle of Wight, and finding it to be almost undefended, he landed there, apparently near Yarmouth, and levied a thousand marks from the inhabitants. Thence he made a hasty demonstration against Southampton; attacked and burnt first Poole and then Hastings; created a scare at Dover; and on September 10th, was again before Calais. After lying there for seven days he was compelled by bad weather to go to Harfleur, where, probably to the immense relief of the English, he laid up his ships for the winter.²

When Parliament met in October, there were fresh complaints concerning the state of impotence to which the navy had fallen;

¹ Or on July 6th.

² Froissart's account does not exactly agree with the accounts of Walsingham, Otterbourne, etc. The account as given is substantially that adopted by Prof. Loughton: 'Studies in Nav. Hist.,' 17, 18.

but, as before, the representations led to little or no amelioration.¹ The Government, having heard that a squadron of Spanish ships lay windbound at Sluis, thought the opportunity a good one for taking vengeance on one wing of its enemies, and, in November, despatched a fleet under Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Bretagne, Lords Latimer and Fitzwalter, and Sir Robert Knollys. But a gale, which came on in the night of the 11th, dispersed it, caused some of the smaller ships to founder, and forced all the rest to return to port, whence, however, when they had refitted, they sailed again. The Spaniards, who had quitted Sluis, were followed to Brest; and there the English would have attacked them. But, at the critical moment, the division of Lord Fitzwalter not only mutinied, but went so far as to fall upon the division of the Earl of Buckingham, which, if not supported by the valour of the Earl of Kent, would have fared badly. This expedition, which returned to England soon after Christmas, afforded other sad examples of misbehaviour and cowardice. It may be noted that very general immorality is said to have prevailed throughout the fleet; and there is no doubt that any fleet in which numerous women of bad character are embarked must be ill-disciplined, and very unfit for war service.²

Yet even in those dark and disgraceful days there were redeeming exploits. The ship of Sir Thomas Percy had been obliged to remain behind, when the fleet sailed a second time. As soon as he was ready for sea, he sailed with two barges and some smaller craft. In the Channel he fell in with about fifty ships, some Spanish and some Flaman. He desired the latter—Flanders being at peace with England—to withdraw; but, as they would not, he desperately and impulsively attacked the whole convoy, which, we may take it, was not composed of fighting-ships, and succeeded in taking twenty-two sail. So, at least, says Walsingham,³ who also relates that, a little earlier, Sir Hugh Calverley, Captain of Calais, had made a raid on Boulogne, and, finding there two barges and twenty-six smaller craft, had burnt them and part of the town.⁴

On December 5th, 1377, Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was ap-

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 3, 5, 6, 24, 25.

² Monk of Evesham, 4; Walsingham, 199, etc.

³ Walsingham, 209.

Ib., 199.

pointed to the Northern, and Richard, Earl of Arundel,¹ to the Western fleet.²

About January, 1378, the people of Rye and Winchelsea seem to have made an independent effort to avenge the injuries which had been inflicted on them by the enemy. They are said to have embarked in their barges, and to have sacked and burnt Peter's Port and Vilet, in Normandy;³ but, as these places cannot be identified, the importance of the expedition cannot be appraised.

France, at this time, became aware that the King of Navarre had offered his daughter in marriage to Richard II., and with her all the towns, except Cherbourg, held by Navarre in Normandy. Preparations were therefore made to seize the possessions in question ere they could be handed over to the English. They fell rapidly to the French arms, and by the end of April, Port Audemer, at the mouth of the little river Rylle, alone held out against them. Reyner Grimaldi, with a squadron, blockaded it; and Jean de Vienne besieged it on the land side. Salisbury and Arundel, with a hundred and twenty ships, attempted to relieve it, but in vain. They then made an ineffective attack on Honfleur. Port Audemer, unsuccoured, surrendered; and the King of Navarre, having nothing left to him in Normandy except Cherbourg, and being threatened at home by the *de facto* King of Castille, despaired of being able to hold his own in France, and handed over Cherbourg in pledge to Salisbury and Arundel, who apparently placed a garrison there.⁴

In the meantime, England was still in a state of panic. Oxford was fortified, to serve as a central point of defence for the kingdom, in case the French should invade it; Thanet was filled with troops; and the royal jewels were pawned.⁵ The main part of the fleet being on the French coast, nine ships hired from Bayonne were directed to patrol the Channel, where they won a considerable success by the capture of fourteen sail of a Spanish convoy of merchantmen, laden with wine and other goods.⁶ But such a

¹ Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel, was eldest son of the ninth Earl, and was born about 1348, succeeding his father in 1376. He served in 1377 as admiral, and in 1386 as Admiral of the Fleet. At about the same time he was made a K.G. In 1388 he was reappointed Admiral of the Fleet. He was beheaded on a charge of high-treason in 1397.

² Parl. Rolls, 1 Rich. II. m. 22.

³ Walsingham, 211.

⁴ Again the text substantially follows 'Studies in Nav. Hist.,' 19, 20.

⁵ 'Fœdera,' vii. 185, 190; Pat. Rolls, 1 Rich. II. p. 4, m. 31b.

⁶ Walsingham, 211.

triumph could have no great influence upon the course of the war. An action of a far more important character had a less satisfactory result.

When Jean de Vienne learnt of the transfer of Cherbourg to the English, he summoned the allied Spanish squadron, then probably consisting of twelve ships, to make rendezvous with him off the town, and himself proceeded thither with twenty-five ships of the French Royal Navy and some smaller craft. Before he could be joined by his friends, he fell in with the fleet of Salisbury and Arundel, which, though numerically superior, was made up of less powerful vessels. The English attacked with confidence; but the French held their own until the Spaniards arrived on the scene, and decided the fortunes of the day. Sir Peter Courtenay,¹ or one of the other sons of the Earl of Devon, appears to have commanded the English rear, and, by the gallantry of his conduct, to have saved his friends from utter annihilation; but his division was sacrificed, and he himself was taken prisoner.²

This was early in July. It left the French free, for the time, to blockade Cherbourg and to control the Channel. The Duke of Lancaster, having collected a large force at Southampton, sailed to the relief of Cherbourg in August, with Salisbury in naval command. The number of his ships is unknown, but they had on board eight thousand archers and four thousand men-at-arms. Jean de Vienne was not strong enough to oppose so great a force, and retired up the Seine, while Lancaster threw reinforcements into Cherbourg, and then attacked St. Malo, where he captured a few small vessels of no importance, and landed troops to lay formal siege to the town.³

Here he made the crucial mistake of neglecting the "potential fleet." Jean de Vienne was not defeated, not blockaded, not even watched. He quitted the Seine with his Spanish allies, crossed the Channel, ravaged the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, burnt Fowey, and returned unmolested, and with a rich booty.⁴

St. Malo proved quite strong enough to defend itself; and, as winter approached, Lancaster raised the siege, and returned to Southampton.⁵

¹ Walsingham (211) says, Sir Hugh Courtenay; Monk of Evesham (6) says that Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay were present.

² *Studies in Nav. Hist.*, 20, 21.

³ Froissart, ii. 39; Monk of Evesham, 7.

⁴ *Studies in Nav. Hist.*, 21; Walsingham, 215.

⁵ Froissart, ii. 40; *ib.*, 215.

While so much official ineptitude was being displayed, a private citizen exhibited remarkable energy and patriotism. John Mercer, a Scotsman, had collected a flotilla of Scots, French, and Spanish adventurers, and had taken several ships belonging to Scarborough. The Government did nothing towards the repression of these piracies; and John Philpott, a wealthy merchant of London, took the matter into his own hands. At his own cost, he equipped a thousand men and a number of ships, and not only recovered the captured vessels, but also made himself master of fifteen Spanish craft which had gone to Mercer's assistance. He was informed by the Council that he had acted illegally in sending an armament to sea without their consent. "I did not," he replied, "expose myself, my money, and my men to the dangers of the sea, that I might deprive you and your colleagues of your knightly fame, nor to acquire it for myself; but from pity for the misery of the people and the country, which, from having been a noble realm with dominion over other nations, has, through your supineness, become exposed to the ravages of the vilest race; and, since you would not lift a hand for its defence, I exposed myself and my property for the safety and deliverance of our country."¹ This brave trader seems to have been at the time Mayor of London. His patriotism, shown on more than one other occasion, deserves recollection.

Once more, after the meeting of Parliament in 1378, the state of the navy was made the subject of warm remonstrances, the occasion being a demand on the part of the Crown for a further aid; but nothing was done to remedy the situation.² The only naval changes of the year were the supersession on September 10th of the Earl of Arundel by Sir Hugh Calverley as Admiral of the Western; and, on November 5th, of the Earl of Warwick by Sir Thomas Percy³ as Admiral of the Northern fleet.⁴

For the naval necessities of 1379, large sums of money were borrowed from private individuals.⁵ To Parliament, which met in April, it was reported that Scarborough had been attacked, and that

¹ Evesham, 6; Walsingham, 213.

² Parl. Rolls, iii. 34, 35, 42, 46.

³ Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was second son of Henry, Lord Percy, and a near relative of the famous Hotspur, and was born about 1311. He obtained a Garter about 1376. His appointments as admiral were in 1378, 1385, and 1399, when he was made Admiral of England and of Ireland. He had been created Earl of Worcester in 1397. He was beheaded in 1403 for complicity with Hotspur.

⁴ Fr. Rolls, 127.

⁵ *Foedera*, vii. 210, 211.

another descent upon it was to be feared. Measures for its defence, and for the protection of shipping in the North Sea, were recommended; and it was advised that a duty should be levied upon certain incoming ships and goods: but a representation by the Commons that mariners and archers, who received but fourpence a day, and were in consequence quitting their employment, should be better paid, was not complied with.¹ On the other hand, it was enacted that mariners deserting the king's service should be fined and imprisoned for a year.²

The admirals, Percy and Calverley, cruised early in the year in the Channel, and took a ship of war and seven merchantmen.³ In August, Calverley convoyed an army under the Duke of Bretagne to St. Malo. The English men-of-war first entered the harbour. As soon as they had done so, a squadron of French and Spaniards, which had been lying in wait along the coast, attacked the transports and storeships in the rear, plying them with gunshot, and threatening to capture the whole of them. The wind was against Calverley: but he got out, apparently by warping his ship, and, singlehanded, poured in so deadly a flight of arrows that the enemy's galleys took to flight, and the transports safely made the harbour.⁴

But the year 1379 ended very disastrously. Reinforcements for Brittany were collected at Southampton under Sir John Arundel, brother of the earl. A squadron to transport the troops had among its commanders Calverley, Percy, Sir Thomas Banastre, Sir Thomas Morieux, Sir William Elmham, and other knights, and lay ready in the port. As the wind was unfavourable, Sir John Arundel, in disregard of what were then the Articles of War,⁵ violently and sacrilegiously billeted his men in a Southampton nunnery, where, in consequence, gross outrages took place. In retaliation, a priest excommunicated and anathematised the culprits; and there is no doubt that the terrible tragedy which followed was ultimately associated in the minds of the people of the town with these events. It should be here said at once that neither of the admirals had any part in the disgraceful conduct of Sir John; and it may be added as a curious coincidence that, if Walsingham may be trusted, neither of their ships lost man or horse in the subsequent catastrophe.

When the wind was fair the troops embarked, and the squadron

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 63.

² Statutes, ii. 8.

³ Walsingham, 224.

⁴ Walsingham, 232.

⁵ 'Black Book of the Admiralty,' i. 24.

put to sea. The master of Arundel's ship, Robert Rust, of Blakeney, predicted an approaching storm, but was not listened to. Percy and Calverley probably felt that they had no option when Arundel sailed but to accompany him. Soon the storm burst upon the fleet. To lighten the vessels, the soldiers threw overboard as many things as they could dispense with, and even drowned sixty wretched women, some of whom had been kidnapped from the shore. The ships were driven out into the Irish Channel, and there buffeted about for several days. At length, on December 15th, Arundel, by violence, obliged his crew to run for a certain island off the Irish coast, perhaps Cape Clear or Sherkin. Rust tried to put the ship between the island and the mainland, but found himself in the midst of rocks, where the vessel struck. He perished in a gallant attempt to save Sir John; and two of Sir John's esquires, Deyvock and Musard, besides Sir Thomas Banastre, Sir Nicholas Trumpington, and Sir Thomas Dale, with many men, were also lost. Twenty-five other ships, following Arundel's ill-advised lead, perished in the same way.¹

Elsewhere the storm did equal damage, for it dispersed a large fleet of French, Spanish, and Portuguese ships which had been assembled to oppose Arundel's landing. As soon as the weather had cleared a little, Admiral Sir Thomas Percy fell in with a Spanish vessel full of troops, and, after an action of three hours, took her.²

The representations of Parliament, renewed in 1380, concerning the causes of the evil state of the navy, and in particular with regard to the practice of arresting vessels before they were needed, produced an order that owners should receive 3s. 4d. per ton per quarter of a year while their ships were in the service of the king.³ The innovation, however, was to remain in force only until the following Parliament, and was merely experimental. On March 8th, Sir Philip Courtenay was appointed Admiral of the Western, and on April 8th, Sir William Elmham, Admiral of the Northern fleet.⁴ The latter was reappointed in July.⁵

The superiority of the French in the Channel during the period under review is painfully indicated by the fact that, in the course of the summer, when it was desired to send troops under the Earl of Buckingham to Brittany, the force, as in 1373, had to be landed,

¹ Froissart, ii. 85; Walsingham, 243.

⁴ Fr. Rolls, ii. 131.

² Otterbourne, 150; Walsingham, 238-242.

⁵ Scots Rolls, ii. 25.

³ Parl. Rolls, iii. 86.

not on its intended scene of action, but at Calais. The longer passage could not be attempted in face of the numerous French, Spanish, and Portuguese galleys.¹ The exhaustion of England is indicated by the fact that, but for the patriotic exertions of John Philpott, there would not have been sufficient transports, and many of the soldiers would have gone unarmed.² Private effort on the part of the people of Hull and Newcastle contributed something towards the repression of piracy in the North Sea, and led to the capture of a Scots vessel worth 7000 marks.²

But, so far as the Government was concerned, the coasts were almost entirely undefended. The enemy harried the English shores from Yorkshire to Cornwall, sacking Scarborough, entering the Thames and burning Gravesend, capturing Winchelsea, destroying Hastings and Portsmouth, and seizing Jersey and Guernsey. In July they attacked Kinsale; but there, with the aid of the Irish, four of their barges and a balingier were taken, twenty-four English vessels were re-captured, and numbers of the enemy were killed.³ When Parliament met in November, a subsidy was demanded that the king might be enabled to prevent the recurrence of these attacks; but nearly every vessel arrested was employed in the prosecution of the war in France; and in December there was a special impressment of shipping to reinforce the Earl of Buckingham, who was besieging Nantes.⁴

The internal condition of England was not less bad than its external state. The resources of the country needed concentration; and foreign expeditions should have been abandoned pending the clearance of the foe from the Narrow Seas; yet early in 1381 a force under the Earl of Cambridge was sent to assist Portugal in her struggle with Spain.⁵ A little later, when Anne of Bohemia was on her way to England to become the bride of the king, the home seas were so unsafe that the princess remained a month at Brussels, fearing capture by Norman pirates who were known to be cruising along the Netherlands coast; and finally, rather than risk crossing from Sluis, Ostend, or Flushing, she went overland to Calais, and thence reached Dover.⁶

¹ Froissart, ii. 94; Walsingham, 243; Monk of Evesham, 19.

² Walsingham, 248.

³ *Ib.*, 249.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, iii. 88; Fr. Rolls, 4 Rich. II. m. 20.

⁵ Froissart, ii. 169; Walsingham, 257, 259; Otterbourne, 151.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 181.

On October 26th, 1382, Sir Walter Fitzwalter became Admiral of the Northern, and Sir John Roche, who had previously held a minor command, Admiral of the Western fleet.¹ The naval events of the year were few. In the spring, some ships of Rye re-took an English vessel, the *Falcon*, sometime the property of Lord Latimer, and captured six other craft;² but no other successes are recorded; and, from the tone of the remonstrances by Parliament, it must be supposed that the trade and the coasts continued to suffer, as before, from the depredations of the enemy. The remonstrances in 1383 told the same tale.

A curious arrangement for the protection of the coasts seems to have been made at about this time; for in May, 1383, all persons were enjoined to aid and assist two merchants and two mariners who had undertaken to keep the sea-coast from Winchelsea to Berwick. Ships and men were impressed for the same object.³ It is possible that the business was farmed out by the Government, the undertakers receiving a large proportion of captures and perhaps a subsidy; but the arrangement, whatever it may have been, does not appear to have endured for long. It was in accordance, however, with the spirit of the age; for in the same year, Henry Spencer, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, made a kind of contract to carry on the war in Flanders, and to relieve Ghent.⁴ Ships were arrested for the passage, which was delayed until about the middle of May by bad weather, many of the vessels collected being seriously damaged. As soon as he had crossed, the bishop marched from Calais, and besieged Ypres.⁵ The French fitted out five balingers, especially to cut his communications by sea; but ships from Portsmouth and Dartmouth captured the whole of the vessels.⁶ Other light is thrown upon the subject by the proceedings of Parliament, which, while granting a moiety of a fifteenth for the defence of the realm, and continuing the duty on wines and other goods for the keeping of the sea, stipulated that the money should be delivered to the admirals, and not put to farm. The admirals, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, in the north, and Edward, Earl of Devon, in the west, undertook to do what they could; but declined to give Parliament any guarantee to

¹ Fr. Rolls, ii. 138.

² Walsingham, 308.

³ Fr. Rolls, ii. 142.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, iii. 148.

⁵ 'Federa,' vii. 394, 394-399; Chron. de St. Denis, i. 259; Otterbourne, 157; Froissart, ii. 268; Knighton, 2672; Walsingham, 327.

⁶ Walsingham, 331.

secure the safety of the sea. Not content with this, the Commons desired to withdraw what they had previously granted; but the king declared that he himself, with the advice of his Council and the admirals, would provide for the keeping of the sea, and would see that the whole of the grant should be applied for that object.¹

In January, 1384, a provisional truce was concluded with France; but it was quickly broken by a barge of Dieppe which captured a ship belonging to York off Great Yarmouth, and, apparently, also by a French attempt upon the Isle of Wight. In April, the Mayor of Southampton was ordered to seize the French craft in his port by way of reprisals for the first-mentioned breach of the convention.²

In January, 1385, there was an impressment of ships for an expedition to Portugal, and Portuguese vessels, seamen, and goods in English ports were arrested. Sir Thomas Percy was in the same month appointed to the Northern, and Sir John Radyngton, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to the Western fleet.³

The year was a critical one for England. Charles VI. of France, advised by Jean de Vienno, assembled at Sluis a fleet of six hundred sail and an immense army for the invasion of England.⁴ Richard, conscious of his weakness, attempted to negotiate, and in March secured a partial truce for two months; but the delay benefited him but little, and enabled Charles to complete his preparations. Nor did the truce cover operations by sea.⁵ The English admirals more than once sighted the French fleets in the Channel, but, deterred either by fear or by internal dissensions, dared not attack them.⁶ Some private ships of Portsmouth and Dartmouth, however, set an example to the navy by entering the Seine and taking four and sinking four French vessels which they found there,⁶ and at length some rather spiritless efforts against the French at Sluis were made, but without important results.⁷

The scheme of the enemy involved the dispatch to Scotland of a

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 152, 160.

² Close Rolls, 7 Rich. II. m. 7.

³ *Fœdera*, vii. 153, 155; Fr. Rolls, 8 Rich. II. m. 12.

⁴ Chron. de St. Denis, i. 350.

⁵ Walsingham, 342.

⁶ *Ib.*, 342; Knighton, 2676.

⁷ Des Ursins, 47.

relatively small force, its object being to draw Richard to the north; and the subsequent descent upon the south and east coasts of England of the main body. In pursuance of this, Jean de Viëne sailed in May with sixty ships, and in due course entered the Forth.¹ The Scots, though hostile to England, did not particularly welcome their French allies; and the behaviour at the Scots court of the Admiral of France is said to have seriously offended King Robert II.² But the plan worked as had been intended; and Richard, with an army of about 70,000 men, hurried northwards. Had the invasion from Sluis been then attempted, it would probably have been successful, for the English fleet was mismanaged and demoralised, and the flower of the English army had been drawn away. But, the energetic influence of Jean de Viëne having ceased to supervise the preparations in the Netherlands, the French fleet was not ready when it was wanted; and so, for the time, the project fell through. The ships were ordered back to their various ports in September, to be laid up for the winter; and while they were dispersing, they suffered in more ways than one.

One division of them was overtaken by a storm in the Channel, many vessels being driven ashore near Calais. On September 14th, eleven French craft foundered in sight of Calais, and their crews were taken prisoners. On the 17th, seventy-two French ships, while passing the Strait of Dover, were attacked by the Calais garrison under Sir William Beauchamp, and a large barge and eighteen other vessels were captured. Again, on the 20th, after an action of six hours with forty-five very large French vessels, the Calais flotilla took two ships and a cog, together with two French admirals, and killed or took two hundred and twenty-six men.³ On yet another occasion, Sir John Radington took two richly laden carracks. In short, before the end of the year, a great number of vessels, estimated by Knighton at forty-eight and by Walsingham at more than eighty, became English prizes; and, if only the navy had been properly handled, the French fleet should have been entirely disabled.

Unhappily the Government starved the fleet as usual, and

¹ Froissart, ii. 314; Chron. de St. Denis, i. 361; Knighton, 2674; Walsingham, 342; Otterbourne, 160; Monk of Evesham, 61.

² Chron. de St. Denis, i. 390, 392; Des Ursins, i. 49.

³ Walsingham, 346; Otterbourne, 161; Evesham, 64. Knighton (2676) says that forty-eight vessels were taken in the action of the 20th.

snubbed the Commons, who endeavoured to improve its inefficiency and to secure better management of it. The allowance per ton in respect of ships serving the king was set at 2*s.* instead of at 3*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, as Parliament had recommended; and the Commons' request to know who were to be appointed admirals for the ensuing year was answered by the king's assurance that he would appoint competent persons.¹ The officers eventually selected in February, 1386, were Sir Philip D'Arcy for the Northern, and Sir Thomas Trivet for the Western command;² but on December 10th, the two fleets were combined under Richard, Earl of Arundel, who held the office of Admiral-in-Chief until May 18th, 1389.³

It was perfectly well known that the French intended to renew the attempt at invasion in 1386; yet the country was deliberately drained both of ships and men early in that year, in order to enable John of Gaunt to prosecute his claim to the throne of Castille. Undignified efforts were made, in the meantime, to obtain peace from Scotland as well as from France.⁴

This mad and purely selfish scheme of John of Gaunt almost led to the ruin of England. Even when France had laid siege to Calais, and the French fleet had reassembled for the purpose of invasion, John's ships and men were exempted from arrest and impressment, although England obviously needed every vessel within her borders.⁵ Nor was the Government less blind in other matters. In June, Sir Philip D'Arcy, between Dover and Sandwich, took some large Genoese cogs and six carracks bound for Sluis, and known to be laden with stores for the benefit of the enemy; but the prizes were presently returned, and compensation was made to their owners.⁶

When John of Gaunt sailed in July, he carried with him two hundred vessels under Sir Thomas Percy, and twenty thousand picked troops,⁷ besides a Portuguese contingent of twenty-five sail under Admiral Don Alfonso Vretat. On his way south, the Duke attempted to reduce Brest. On the sea face of the town a line was formed of the ships, which were moored and securely fastened one to another, and furnished with platforms covered with earth, on which were erected wooden towers and other engines. On shore, two wooden castles were built of ships' spars, and on them were

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 212, 213.² Fr. Rolls, 151.³ *Ib.*, 10 Rich. II. m. 18.⁴ *Foedera*, vii. 492, 498.⁵ *Ib.*, vii. 506, 507.⁶ Knighton, 2678; Walsingham, 354; Evesham, 73.⁷ Knighton, 2676.

machines for hurling missiles; but after only three days, John of Gaunt wearied of the siege and withdrew, reaching Corunna on August 9th, and there landing all his troops and stores before the town, which was in possession of the French, and sending his ships back to their ports.¹ On its return to England, the fleet appears to have made a few small prizes, and to have retaken a vessel which had previously been lost to the Spaniards.²

The French preparations were on an unexampled scale. Froissart says that they had collected thirteen hundred and eighty-seven sail in and about Sluis; the writer of the 'Chronique de Saint Denis' puts the number at more than nine hundred, besides store-ships and horse transports; Walsingham speaks of twelve hundred ships and six hundred thousand troops; and Otterbourne declares that there were three thousand vessels; but Froissart, who was an eye-witness, may be believed on this point, in preference to all other historians. One of the main features of the preparations was the construction of a huge but portable wooden fortress,³ designed to shelter the knights after their landing; but the seventy-two transports conveying it, in sections, to Sluis from Brittany were dispersed by a gale, and some of them, driven into the Thames, were taken. The captured sections, set up for public show near London,⁴ seem to have excited much ridicule.

But while France was wasting time in what may be called needless elaboration of preparation, England was beginning to recover from panic, though the recovery was rather on the part of the people than on the part of the Government. Laughton⁵ attributes the improvement to the abolition of some of the offensive privileges formerly granted to foreigners, and to the edict of 1381, which forbade the import and export of merchandise by English subjects in foreign bottoms. As for the Government, it did little until the danger was nearly over, and until the projected invasion was on the point of being again postponed. Not until September 28th, or later, does any considerable force appear to have been ordered to sea. Not, perhaps, until the beginning of 1387 was

¹ Froissart, ii. 486-188; Chron. de St. Denis, i. 436, 437.

² Knighton, 2678.

³ Walsingham says that it was twenty feet high, and three thousand paces long, with towers at intervals.

⁴ Walsingham says, at Sandwich, for the defence of the town (p. 354); Knighton says, around Winchelsea (2679).

⁵ 'Studies in Nav. Hist.,' 26, 27.

a respectable fleet, under Arundel and Sir Hugh Spencer, in a position to essay the reconquest of the Channel.

In October, 1386, or very early in November, owing to various delays and to internal dissensions, the French put off the venture, and again proceeded to lay up their ships. As before, many of them were wrecked or taken as they dispersed.¹ Arundel, in the spring of 1387, captured nearly the whole of a Franco-Burgundian fleet, laden with wine and other valuable merchandise;² but on the way home part of the English squadron under Spencer fell in with a French flotilla off the Normandy coast, and was taken or destroyed. Froissart, who says that the enemy was under Jean de Bueq, Admiral of the Flamand Sea, gives a detailed account of the earlier action, which he declares was fought off Gadzand (beginning probably on March 24th and lasting three tides); but his story differs in most respects from the version generally adopted, and, in some particulars, is manifestly inaccurate. In any event, the success, although most welcome, can scarcely be regarded as a great naval victory.

Jean de Vienne and Olivier de Clisson, Constable of France, organised a more modest scheme of invasion for 1387. They assembled two fleets of moderate size, with the intention of simultaneously directing one upon Orwell and the other upon Dover.³ At the critical moment, however, Clisson was taken prisoner by the Duke of Bretagne. Jean de Vienne, who lay at Harfleur, ready to sail for Dover, was anxious to go on in spite of the misfortune to his colleague; but the nobles and knights refused to support him, and, although Clisson was soon liberated, the expedition had ere then finally collapsed.⁴

In the summer of 1387, all the men-at-arms and archers in the fleet were placed under the captaincy of Sir Henry Percy, better known in history as Hotspur.⁵ He probably exercised authority only when the men were landed. In the course of the year he contributed to the relief of the castle of Brest; but it does not appear that he was much afloat. In the autumn John Gedney, Constable of Bordeaux, convoyed to Gascony the fleet bound thither

¹ Walsingham, 354; Evesham, 76; Chron. de St. Denis, i. 459.

² Des Ursins, 58; Chron. de St. Denis, i. 460.

³ Froissart, ii. 578.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 581, 583, 588.

⁵ Fr. Rolls, 156; Knighton, 2696.

for wine.¹ In October, as well as in February following, there were arrests of shipping.

From the spring to the autumn of 1388 an English fleet was at sea under the Earl of Arundel, and was contributing, by the general character of its operations, to the restoration of public confidence in the navy. It captured and pillaged Marans, attacked La Rochelle, fought an insignificant running action at long gun shot with some French galleys, and plundered several places in Normandy, taking or sinking, while on the cruise, eight vessels.² No great amount of glory was won; but the English coasts were relieved for the first time for many years from the fear of the enemy. In the next spring a private merchant of Dartmouth hired some Portuguese vessels, which captured for him thirty-two craft laden with wine.³

The year 1389 saw the temporary termination of official hostilities with France, and the supersession of Arundel as sole Admiral. The changes in the command of the fleet were so numerous that the successive appointments may best be given together:—

May 18th: John, Earl of Huntingdon, Admiral of the Western fleet.⁴

May 20th: John, Lord Beaumont, Admiral of the Northern fleet.⁴

May 31st: Sir John Roche, sole Admiral.⁴

June 22nd: John, Lord Beaumont, Admiral of the Northern fleet.⁵

June 22nd: John, Earl of Huntingdon, Admiral of the Western fleet.⁵

No expectation was cherished of the permanence of the truce, and both countries remained in readiness to recommence hostilities at short notice; yet the state of tension did not prevent the formation in 1390 of a composite force of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Bretons and others to act against the pirates and infidels of Tunis. In the attack on that place the English archers are said to have fought boldly, and to have been first on shore.⁶

On March 22nd, 1391, Edward, Earl of Rutland, grandson of Edward III., was appointed Admiral of the Northern fleet,⁷ and on

¹ 'Fœdera,' vii. 563.

² Froissart, ii. 701-705, 745, 746, 754.

³ Walsingham, 366: Otterbourne, 175: Eye-ham, 163.

⁴ Fr. Rolls, 12 Rich. II. m. 4.

⁵ *Ib.*, 13 Rich. II. m. 26.

⁶ Froissart, iii. 57.

⁷ Fr. Rolls, 14 Rich. II. m. 3.

November 29th following he was made sole Admiral.¹ He held the office until 1398 when, on May 9th, John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, succeeded him as Admiral of both fleets "for life," being already Admiral of the Irish fleet "for life."² The change of dynasty materially curtailed his enjoyment of his offices, but he served as Admiral again before he died.

The close of the reign of Richard II. was, navally, uneventful. From time to time ships were fitted out for the conveyance of royal or noble personages to Ireland, to Guienne, to Calais, and to other places: but there were no occurrences deserving of special mention. And when, on July 4th, 1399 Richard being then employed in Ireland Henry, Duke of Lancaster, sailed from Boulogne³ with eight small ships and two "passengers" to take nominally his inheritance but really the Crown, there was no naval opposition whatsoever. He landed at Ravensrode, or, according to Walsingham and Otterbourne, between Hull and Bridlington, where few had ever landed before; and in less than three months he was the recognised King of England.

¹ Fr. Rolls, 15 Rich. II. m. 7.

² Pat. Rolls, 21 Rich. II. p. 3, m. 23.

³ Otterbourne, 201.



CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1154-1399.

H. W. WILSON.

Welsh claim to the discovery of America—The story of Madoc—Believers in the tale—Origin of the tradition—Its first appearance—Early authorities for Madoc—Philological conjectures—Llwyd—Powel—Herbert—Were the Mexicans Welsh?—Stories of Welsh Indians—Morgan Jones—The Doggs—Stedman's figments—Griffiths—Evans—No Welsh Indians discovered—Antiquarian evidence lacking—Mexican rites—Explanation of the Madoc story—Madoc went to Ireland—Early navigation of the Welsh—Advance of English shipping—Relations with Norway—Scotland—Marco Polo and Mandeville—Trade with Iceland—Continuous intercourse—Did the English get further?—Macham discovers Madeira—Calamities befall him—First appearance of the story—Improbabilities—Nicholas of Lynn—The 'Inventio Fortunata'—The Ruysch map—The Zeni—"Zichumi," an Orkney man—Source of the Zeni story—The story—"Frislanda"—Nicolo Zeno goes to "Engroneland"—Tale of the fisherman—"Estotiland"—"Drogio"—Voyage of "Zichumi"—Difficulties of the narrative—Who was "Zichumi"?—Identification of names—"Frislanda" the Faröe Islands—Or Iceland—Mistakes of the younger Zeno—The people of Drogio—Identification of "Engroneland" difficult—The Zeno map—Its accuracy—A plagiarism—Evidence against the narrative.



ENTHUSIASTIC Welshmen have claimed for one Madoc or Madog, the son of Owain Gwynedd, who, so far as can be ascertained, flourished about 1160, the discovery of America. The story runs that there were constant feuds and contentions between the sons of Owain, and that at this Madoc's heart was greatly troubled, as he foresaw that Wales would be ruined by family discord. Accordingly, to avoid disputes and to escape from the impending fate of his country, he made up his mind to voyage in search of some place where he might settle down in safety. The celebrated passage of Seneca, foretelling the discovery of a new world, is said by one of his biographers to have suggested this course to him. With ships, men, and provisions, he at length set out from Abergwille (Abergele?) in 1170. Favoured by wind and sea, after some weeks' sailing to the west, he descried land, which some have supposed to be Newfoundland.

With this country he was greatly pleased, and after carefully examining the coast, discovered a convenient spot on which to plant a settlement. Here he went ashore with all his men, fortified a post, and leaving one hundred and twenty of his company to protect it, once more put out to sea. He returned without further adventure to Wales, where he told his countrymen of his voyage, the richness of soil in the new discovered land, the amiability of the natives, the wealth to be found there; in short, everything which could attract settlers. He complained to them that they fought for barren lands when there was all this to be had without fighting. Finally he succeeded in inducing many to join him, and once more put to sea with ten ships loaded with provisions. The second voyage occupied eight months and ten days, but in the course of time Madoc regained his settlement. There he found but few of his garrison left, and the storytellers ascribe this to their incautious indulgence in the fruits of a strange country, or to the hostility of the natives.¹ Aided by his brothers Eineon and Idwal, Madoc restored order, and then awaited the arrival of more Welshmen. No one, however, had the grace to follow, whether because of wars with England or because courage was wanting. For one generation the colony kept together, with the Welsh law and language, and the Christian religion. Then, as time went on, they intermarried with the natives, and were by slow degrees absorbed.²

This is a very pretty story, and may be said to have been universally accepted and believed in Wales at the beginning of this century, whilst the poet Southey was for a time convinced of the discoveries of the Welsh prince, and Baron Humboldt considered that they deserved respectful investigation, adding, "I by no means share the contempt with which some writers treat the story."³ It

¹ The substance of this account is drawn from Sir Thomas Herbert's 'Travels into Africa and Asia,' quoted in Stephens' (T.) 'Madoc,' 30, 31.

² Evans' 'Drych y Prif Oesoedd,' quoted in 'Madoc,' 39.

³ 'Cosmos' (Bohn), ii. 610. R. H. Major—a good authority—shares his respect. Columbus, Letters, xx. Other authorities who appear to have accepted the story with some qualification are Torfæus, 'Historia Vinlandiæ'; Carte, 'History of England'; Campbell, 'Admirals'; Lyttleton, 'Henry the Second'; Pinkerton, 'Voyages' (xii. 157). Bowen (B. F.), 'America Discovered by the Welsh' (Phila. 1876), makes a very great deal out of a very little, and seems over-credulous. De Costa, 'Pre-Columbian Voyages of Welsh' (Albany, 1891), accepts Madoc's discovery. But all these writers appear to have been deceived by the garbled renderings and citations of Powel. T. Stephens' monograph on Madoc ('Madoc,' by Thos. Stephens, London, 1893) is at once exhaustive, distinguished by critical acumen, and, if sceptical, convincing. A full bibliography is

becomes, therefore, important to examine the sources from which the story has been derived and the story itself. It is perfectly obvious that even if it is substantially true, many of the details must have no surer foundation than the imagination of writers. How, for instance, was it possible to know the length of time occupied by the second voyage, if with it all intercourse between the new colony and Wales had ceased? But though one historian has gone so far as to give the exact strength, viz., eighteen vessels, and three thousand men, of the force which sailed on the second expedition,¹ and the exact date, 1164, with the further details that Madoc took possession of the Mexican throne, and that the family traditions of the Aztecs, when Cortes arrived, clearly showed their connection with Wales; and though another has recorded the discovery of Madoc's epitaph in the West Indies,² such things add discredit but do not wholly disprove. It is the nature of a tradition to acquire detail in transmission.

First, then, as to the sources of the tradition. There is no allusion to Madoc in the 'Brut y Tywysogion,' or 'The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales,' which appears to have been composed in the twelfth century, about Madoc's date, and which makes frequent mention of Owain Gwynedd, his father.³ Madoc is first mentioned by a twelfth-century poet⁴ as having been slain, apparently in battle. As the poem, in which this reference occurs, opens with an appeal to Owain, and laments the death of several of his children, it is only fair to conclude that here is the Madoc who was supposed to have sailed to America. Another poem, by its reference to "an assassin slaying Madoc,"⁵ strengthens this belief. It is not till the middle or close of the fifteenth century that there is any trace of the tradition as we now have it, when Meredydd ap Rhys sings,

given in R. B. Anderson's 'America not Discovered by Columbus' (Chicago, 1883), pp. 142-149. To this should be added the article "Madog" in the 'Dict. National Biography,' vol. 35, which is distinctly unfavourable. Other references are given in J. Winsor's 'History of America' (London, 1889), vol. i. 111, note 8.

¹ Morgan, 'British Kymry,' 166.

² Howell, quoted in Madoc, 37.

³ Mon. Brit., 94, 95. *Vide* also text in the same volume. The date of the MS. of the Brut is fourteenth century. It is ascribed to one Caradoc. The absence of all mention of Madoc is not absolutely conclusive, as the book may have been composed before he became prominent.

⁴ Cynddelw, Madoc, 8.

⁵ Llywarch, Madoc, 12. The oft-quoted passage from Llywarch, "Ker aber Congwy," etc., seems to have nothing whatever to do with Madoc. Madoc, 203, notes.

“Madoe, true whelp of Owain Gwynedd, would not have land or great wealth, but the broad sea,” and alludes to his passion for the sea.¹ But even here from the context it appears that the Madoe referred to was a fisherman rather than a navigator, and there is not the slightest indication that he ever made a great voyage.² These passages exhaust all that can be found in the Welsh bards, as they now survive, which has any relation to Madoe ap Owain.

The Welsh historians are not more satisfactory. A triad which has been often quoted speaks thus: “The three vanished losses of the Isle of Britain: First, Gavran, son of Aeddan, and his men, who went in search of the Green Isles of Floods and were never heard of more; second, Merlin . . . who went to sea in the House of Glass; third, Madoe, son of Owain Gwynedd, who went to sea with three hundred men in ten ships, and it is not known where they went.” It is to be noted that here Madoe is coupled with two wholly mythical persons, and that no knowledge is expressed of the place to which he went. The triad is by experts ascribed to the sixteenth century, and has no sort of historic value,³ even if its meaning were altogether clear, which it is not. The next writer cited is Ieuan Brechva, who is quoted as saying that “an illegitimate son of Owain Gwynedd accompanied Madoe across the broad sea to lands which they had found, and there dwelt.”⁴ But as yet the passage has not been discovered, and the word translated “broad sea” might perfectly well mean the Irish Sea. Guttyn Owain’s chronicle has been as recklessly adduced, as saying that Madoe sailed with ten ships, but here, too, the passage cited cannot be discovered. Some have surmised that the original manuscripts have perished, and that only mutilated copies have survived.⁵ This is doubtless possible, yet what is required is positive evidence, and the uncritical assumptions of perfervid patriots and annalists cannot be regarded with too great suspicion.

In its present form the story obtains currency late in the sixteenth century, and apparently originates with the discoveries of one David Ingram, who sailed with Hawkyns to the West Indies in 1568, and afterwards travelled on the American continent. Finding that the natives called a certain bird “penguin,” he jumped to the conclusion that this was the Welsh word “pengwyn” or “white

¹ Quoted Madoe, 18, 19.

² Madoe, 205, 206.

³ Madoe, 21, 209.

⁴ Ieuan Brechva flourished, 1480. Madoe, 22, 23.

⁵ As to the loss of the Welsh MSS. through decay, etc., see Madoe, 217, 218.

head," overlooking the important fact that the penguin has a black head.¹ Sir George Peckham, who published in 1583 a work on the discoveries of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, quotes the evidence of Ingram, and gives the Madoc legend in much its present form.² He was followed by Dr. Llwyd, who left manuscripts, which were used by Dr. Powel in his history of Wales.³ According to him, Madoc sought adventures by sea, sailing west, and leaving the coast of Ireland to the north. He saw many strange things in an unknown land, at which in the course of time he arrived.⁴ This land "must needs be some part of Nova Hispania or Florida. Whereupon it is manifest that that country was long before by Brytaines discovered, afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius led anie Spaniards thither." Though the common folks have added much that is fabulous, "sure it is that there he [Madoc] was." He cites Lopez de Gomara to prove that in Mexico at the coming of the Spaniards the cross was revered, and explains the almost entire disappearance of the Welsh settlers by the paucity of their numbers. The most interesting fact in this string of assertions, is that there was a general tradition extant of the sailing of Madoc. Powel considers that the Welsh must have landed in Mexico, and cites "Pengwin," "Corroeso,"⁵ "Bryton,"⁶ "Gwyndor,"⁷ as "Brytish or Welsh words, which doo manifestlie shew that it was that countrie which Madoc inhabited." Hakluyt simply adopted Powel's version.

Sir Thomas Herbert, a member of the Pembroke family, took Llwyd's story and added to it further embellishments,⁸ for which he fails to give us any authority. It is as usual supposed that he had access to manuscripts which have perished.⁹ He appeals to evident traces of the Welsh in America, to British words, amongst which he gives "craigwen," "nev," "llwynog," "wy," "calaf," "bara," "trwyn," "mam," "tad," and many more,¹⁰ apparently relying on

¹ Madoc, 158.

² "A true reporte of the late discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the New Found Landes by that valiaunt and worthy gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight," by G. P. 1583. 4to.

³ "Historie of Cambria," by Dr. David Powel. 1584.

⁴ Madoc, 27.

⁵ Curacoa, island in the West Indies.

⁶ Cape Breton, some hundreds of miles from Mexico.

⁷ It is uncertain to what place this refers.

⁸ "Travels into Africa and Asia the Great." 1634.

⁹ A supposed collection in Raglan Castle, which was burned in the Civil War, mentioned.

¹⁰ "White rock, heaven, fox, egg, quill, bread, nose, mother, father."

Ingram's information. Further inquiry has failed to discover a single one of these words in use in Mexico. The consonants, b, d, f, g, r, s, do not exist in the Mexican language, and even if there were a few chance resemblances, these prove nothing when philology is decisive against the Celtic origin of the Mexican tongue. The indiscreet zeal of Welsh enthusiasts must indeed cover their cause with ridicule, when we find them claiming Caucasus, Caspian, Crimea, Danube, Berlin, Alleghany, Potomac, America, as Welsh words!¹ Herbert was followed by Howell, who actually quoted the lines of Meredydd, which we have given above,² as the epitaph on Madoc, discovered in the West Indies. For this purpose he mis-translated them. He added that Madoc had embarked at Milford Haven, and emphasised the fact that his voyage gave England a claim to America. It thus leaks out there were political reasons for putting forward the story, as about the close of the sixteenth century Englishmen were anxious to find any pretext to excuse their trade with the new countries.

Other historians have told us the exact length of Madoc's voyage; that he was, before it, the commander of his father's fleet; that he defeated the English in 1142 off the Menai Straits, and that he left Wales because of disputes as to the succession to the throne.³ Not one of these statements rests upon any good foundation.

The stories of travellers did, it is true, give some countenance to the tradition—if indeed they did not lead to its origin—in the first instance. For if there were Welsh customs, Welsh language, or Welsh remains to be found on the American continent, the claim of Madoc would be substantiated triumphantly. And thus when one after another the testimonies of voyagers and settlers poured in, to the effect that amongst the Indians there were tribes speaking Welsh, the belief in the tradition grew stronger and stronger. After Ingram, who does not appear to have been a wilful liar, came others who cannot be acquitted of the wish to deceive. A clergyman, the Rev. Morgan Jones, professed to have actually been amongst the Welsh speakers. His story is to this effect. In 1669 he was sent with two ships by the Governor of Virginia to explore the country in the neighbourhood of what is now Port Royal.

¹ For the first of these words see that great magazine of assertions, 'America Discovered by the Welsh,' B. F. Bowen. Phila., 1876.

² Page 306.

³ Doctor Williams, 'Further Observations.' His references are given, but do not support his text. Madoc, 40.

Arriving there, and being joined by other vessels, he ascended the river to Oyster Point, where he and others settled. Some eight months afterwards food ran short, and the colonists were obliged to abandon their settlement. They retreated into the then unexplored territory fringing the sea-coast, and came into the country of the Tuscarora Indians, then at war with the English. They were seized and condemned to death, whereupon Mr. Jones exclaimed in Welsh, "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must now be knocked on the head like a dog?" On this an Indian came to him and told him in Welsh that he should not be put to death. The Indian, who was of the "Doeg" tribe, arranged for the ransom and release of all the prisoners. Afterwards, says Jones, he was taken about with the Indians, was well-treated, and in revenge regularly preached to them three times a week. They always consulted him about matters of importance: the locality given is near the Pantigo river.¹

There is no evidence for this statement except the writer's assertion. The Doegs, so far as is known, never dwelt where Mr. Jones pretends to have found them; on early maps they are placed much more to the north. The tribes near the Pamlico—which is probably the original of Pantigo—were, besides the Tuscaroras, the Algonquins and Iroquois, whose language is well known, and had nothing Welsh about it. The only spark of confirmation is when George Fox records in his journal that the relations between the English and the Tuscaroras were unfriendly in 1672.² An English colony in close proximity to the supposed Welsh Indians knew nothing of them.

About the same time or a little later, a Welshman called Stedman landed from a Dutch vessel on the coast of America, and found that he understood the Indians' language. They told him that they came from Gwynedd, or Wales, in Great Britain.³ For

¹ Morgan Jones was an Oxford graduate. He does not appear to have mentioned his adventures to anyone till 1686. The date of his journey is given differently, as 1660, in another version. No expedition, so far as can be discovered, was sent to Carolina in either 1660 or 1669, though there were expeditions in 1663, 1666, and 1670. It was at the latter date that Oyster Point, now Charleston, was settled. With this expedition Virginia had nothing whatever to do; moreover, there was no reason why the long journey of which Jones speaks should have been attempted, as there was a settlement close at hand, at Cape Fear. *Madoc*, 128, 129.

² *Journal*, i. 173, 174. Quoted in *Madoc*, 130.

³ 'Prydain Fawr.' Unfortunately the name "Great Britain" came into use long after the migration of Madoc. *Madoc*, 53.

some eighty years after this no one seems to have fallen in with the Welsh Indians. About 1750, however, a Welsh trader named Binon, having penetrated to the country west of the Mississippi, then remote and unknown, found Indians speaking Welsh of great purity. They received him kindly.¹ A man, Griffiths, in 1764 professes to have made his way with the Shawnees to Welsh-speaking Indians.² Beatty, in 1768, repeats a tale of Welsh Indians with a Welsh Bible in Pennsylvania;³ though this is perhaps only another reminiscence of Morgan Jones. "General Bowles," a Cherokee chief, who visited London in 1792, asserted that there were Welsh Indians, who were the same as the Paducahs. The name meant "white face," and was given them because of their light complexions.⁴ They had sandy, red, or black hair, and were very warlike.⁴ Finally, a Lieutenant Roberts tells us that whilst in a Washington hotel in 1801, he made some remarks in Welsh, when there were some Indian chiefs within hearing. One of these came up to him and continued the conversation. The chief had heard of Lloegr [England] but not of Wales; he talked much of the "Saxons." His Welsh was very free and fluent, and he explained that by a tribal law, no other dialect could be taught the children till they were twelve years old. This kept the language pure.

The existence of Welsh Indians north of Mexico was so strongly believed that several Welshmen went out to visit them or preach to them. A John Evans in 1792 started from Wales, and after five years of wandering and exploration, reported that there were no Welsh Indians in existence. The Welsh-speaking Paducahs had proved a fraud. It was, however, alleged now that these Welsh Indians were falling back steadily towards the west, and that this was the reason why they had not been discovered. Between 1803 and 1805 the Mississippi basin and Pacific slope were searched with unsuccess; another expedition in 1821 was not more profitable. With the advance of settlement and exploration it has become

¹ Madoc, 60.

² Winsor, 'History of America,' i, 110. Griffiths, as usual, was taken prisoner, and condemned to death.

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ Bowen, 88. The chief added that a Welshman who had been with him found that he could talk well with the Paducahs. Bowles is said to have been an Irishman. Paducahs, explains Mr. Bowen, would be very like Madoc if only the "P" were changed to "M." Others, bolder, have asserted that in Paducah, Madogwy, descendant of Madoc, can be traced. Others, again, found the required name in Doeg.

certain that Welsh Indians no longer exist in this part of the New World, though Catlin imagined that he detected traces of Welsh in the Mandan tongue, and found that this tribe was of lighter colour than the other Indians, and that it used skin coracles, similar to the old Celtic "currachs."¹ In certain of their customs he thought he could see traces of a Welsh influence. This, however, has not been confirmed by subsequent observation; and there is no one now who connects the Mandans with the descendants of Madoc.

The indirect evidence does not point decisively to the Welsh settlement. North of Mexico there are no remains which can be referred to them; the pottery found in the Ohio tombs indicates the presence of a civilised race, but the skulls found near them are Mongolian not Caucasian. There are earth mounds in the Ohio valley, which are like those of the Celts, but this resemblance gives no proof.² A silver crucifix, with the letters I.S., dug up in 1844 near the Ohio, was almost certainly lost by some Frenchman or trader from Canada.

In Mexico, we are told, the Spaniards, when they landed, found that the cross was revered, and that baptism was in use. This, however, only proves that certain religious rites are common to all civilised men; it affords no real grounds for the conclusion that the Mexicans were Welsh. Their language makes this in the last degree improbable, unless the Celtic immigrants were wholly absorbed. The Mexicans, indeed, held some talk with the Spaniards to the effect that white men had visited them before; and the same tradition has been observed elsewhere amongst the Indians.³ It may be only a tradition, and does not necessarily point to the reality of the Welsh voyages.

What evidence there is, is, then, by no means strong in favour of the story. If clear traces of the legend could be discovered in Welsh literature before the Columbian discovery of America, the case would be very different, especially if the evidence were of the trustworthy quality of the Icelandic Sagas. The vague, indefinite, and unprecise nature of what testimony we possess, is apparent on examination. The story does not appear in its present shape till

¹ Catlin, 'North American Indians,' i. 94, 207; ii. 262.

² It is well to remember that the Norsemen who indisputably reached America and settled there, have also left no trace.

³ Amongst the Shawnees of Florida. Major, 'Zeni,' xciii.

nearly a century after Columbus' voyage, and more than four centuries after Madoc's presumed disappearance. It obtained its great currency chiefly through fraud and misrepresentation. It was supported by what can only be characterised as impudent and manifest falsehoods; for the narratives of those who came upon Welsh-speaking Indians are, from internal evidence, nothing else.

How then did the story originate? There are traces of a Madoc tradition—though not such a tradition as we find in Powel—in Meredydd. Coupling these with the statement that Madoc went across the broad sea, or “Morwerydd,” it becomes highly probable that Madoc's voyage was only to Ireland. In early Welsh, “Morwerydd” regularly means the Irish Sea, and not the Atlantic. In the *Brut y Tywysogion*, we are told that Owain Gwynedd married an Irish lady. Another early Welsh writer couples Riryd, Madoc's brother, with Irish estates, and Riryd is found in the stories sailing with Madoc to America. The truth, perhaps, is then that Madoc retired from his native land and settled down for good in Ireland. If he made a journey back to Wales to persuade more Welshmen to follow him there is nothing very improbable; from his absence would easily arise the stories of his disappearance. The legend has borrowed many details from Columbus. Both Madoc and Columbus sail west, discover a new country, leave a small force, return home, go back to find the garrison mostly dead, and make speeches to persuade settlers to follow them. It is to be feared that Powel derived more from Columbian sources than from his hypothetical manuscripts.

Nor are the facts of the narrative in themselves probable. It is, to say the least, extremely unlikely that the Welsh should have succeeded in crossing the Atlantic in the twelfth century, before the invention of the compass,¹ and before the art of navigation had been

¹ The compass, according to Torfæus, was used by the Norsemen about the middle of the thirteenth century (*Hist. Rev. Norvegiarum* [Hafn, 1711], iv. 4, p. 315), in approximately the modern manner. Raymond Lully [1272] was well acquainted with it; Gauthier d'Espinois (middle thirteenth century) refers to its polarity; Brunetto Latini [1260] mentions it in his *Encyclopedia*. It appears to have been known in Scotland at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as Barbour, writing in 1375, says that King David, when crossing in 1306 from Arran to Carriek, “na nedil had na stane.” Chaucer, in 1391, alludes to the thirty-two points. Probably it was introduced by the Arabs and the Crusaders, as Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acon in Palestine [1218], speaks of the magnetic needle as “most necessary for seafarers,” and the Crusader De Beauvais also alludes to it. A still earlier allusion is found in Neckam, *De Utilitatibus* [twelfth century]. *Encyclopæd. Brit.*, ed. 9, “Compass.”

perfected. The Norsemen, it is true, made very long voyages at an early date, but they usually coasted as much as possible, and in sailing from Norway to Winland would go by Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland, when the tract of open sea to be crossed was comparatively small. The Welsh had no reputation as navigators; and their bards do not mention other voyages; indeed, they hardly allude to ships. Norse literature is full of ships and nothing else. The ships of the Welsh are perfectly unknown to us, and therefore it is useless to speculate upon them. There is no evidence to show that they had advanced much beyond the coracle at this date: we do not often meet their navy in English history; we do not read much of Welsh pirates at a time when every seafaring nation took to piracy; and Welshmen were not prominent amongst our early sailors. There is some ground for thinking that the early Britons were fair sailors; there is none for supposing that the Welsh had a navy or ventured upon long voyages in the twelfth century. The tale of Madoc's ship is almost the only naval incident in Welsh archaeology.² Of the great naval battle in the Menai Straits we can find no trace in contemporary authorities; it seems as much a figment as Madoc's voyages.³ It is, then, superfluous to discuss the question whether

¹ They occasionally voyaged to Ireland; *vide* Brut y Tywysogion: 'Chron. and Memorials of Great Britain,' p. 32, where the voyage of one Owain is noticed. It does not necessarily follow that he went in a Welsh ship, though this is probable. Stephens, Madoc, 209, is against any voyage. He thus sums up: 'There is no notice of any naval expedition of the kind in any contemporary historian, though it is incredible that, if the voyage had taken place, it should not have been recorded.' Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Wales in 1188, is silent, though a lover of marvels. The Bardic poems assert that Madoc was slain by an assassin; that Llywarch was suspected of the murder, and that he was put upon his trial for it. Assuming a mysterious death for Madoc, he explains the tradition from analogies in folklore. Pp. 218, 219.

² Madoc, 207. Madoc was a great sailor, fond of travel, and built a ship without iron, with stag-horn nails, to enter the vortex that the sea might not swallow her up. He called her the *Horn Lady*, and voyaged with her to foreign lands. Returning, she was wrecked off Bardsey. The story in its present form dates from the close of the sixteenth century, though we are told that it "had come down from hand to hand under creditable warranty to this day [1582]."

³ There was a battle, of course; but all that the scanty allusions to it would seem to imply is, that the Welsh stood on the shore and strove to resist the attempted landing of the English soldiers. Cf. Stephens, T., 'Literature of the Kynury,' 17, 18. In Matthew Paris' 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain,' vol. v, 633, under the year 1257, and consequently *after* the English conquest of Wales, there is notice of the Welsh troubling the English with "massacre, fire and rapine." On this Edward threatens them with the naval strength of the Irish; and the Welsh, to resist the Irish at sea, furnished themselves, we are told, with a fleet of galleys, "piraticis armis et victualibus communitas." From this it would appear that they had a fleet before the middle of the thirteenth century. There is in 1212 (Close Rolls,

Madoc landed in Newfoundland, in Virginia, in Florida, in Mexico, or in the Azores, all of which have at various times been suggested for his landfall. The Welsh-speaking Indians are as historical as the Hebrew, Scotch, and Gaelic-speaking tribes which have at various dates been discovered in America by various enthusiasts.¹

Between the close of the twelfth century and the middle of the fourteenth, English shipping made great advances, in spite of the pirates who haunted the Narrow Seas. Lundy, at the close of the twelfth century, was one of their strongholds, and more than one expedition was sent against them by the English kings.² Continual embargoes on shipping must, however, have interfered greatly with the development of trade. Vessels were wanted for the fleet, and as there was no great difference between a ship of war and a merchantman in these times, the vessels of traders were stopped and armed. The Crusades carried English seamen into the Mediterranean;³ the fisheries took them north to Scotland and the coast of Norway. The treaty of friendship and reciprocity⁴ between England and Norway in 1217 shows that there was intercourse between the two, in spite of the terrible pirates, amongst whom the men of the Cinque Ports were not the least formidable. The merchants and subjects of each power were to pass to and fro without let or hindrance. This treaty was renewed in 1269. Yarmouth at or about this time was a flourishing port with a large herring fishery, and Lynn was also a very prosperous place. Contemporary civic seals show the merchant vessel of that time to have been a ship of some size, carrying one mast and a square sail furled aloft, with a long boat on deck amidships. There are elevated stages at the bow and stern.

Scots voyages must have been stopped for a time by an absurd

Hardy, T. D., i. 121, 122) an order of John to De Lucy, directing him to send eighteen galleys for the purpose of destroying Llewellyn's ships, galleys, and boats (*cautes, galeas, batellos*). See p. 180, *infra*.

¹ Madoc, 141.

² Rot. de Præstit., 179.

³ The following "voyages" to the Holy Land—some on land—are recorded by Hakluyt in this period:—John Lacy, 1172; William Mandeville, 1177; Richard's Crusade (see p. 165, etc.), 1190; Baldwin Devonius, 1190; Richard Canonius, 1200; Robert Curson [went to Damietta], 1218; Ranulph of Chester and others, 1218; Peter, Bishop of Winchester, 1231; Richard of Cornwall and others, 1240; William Longespee, 1248; Edward, son of Edward III., 1276; Anthony Beck, 1305. In the early fourteenth century there were also expeditions to Tunis and Barbary.

⁴ *Fœdera*, ii. 219.

edict of Alexander III. in 1249, which forbade Scots merchants to export any goods in their vessels, because "some of them had been captured by pirates, and others lost by shipwreck and by seizure in foreign ports." Matthew, of Westminster, in his doleful laments on the decline of England in the fourteenth century, speaks of English ships as in the past, "carrying aromatics and all precious merchandize through the four climates of the world." This is probably a poetic exaggeration, as no record remains of such voyages.

Scotland, as far as can be judged from fragmentary allusions, had as much commerce as England in these times. Inverness ships were in high repute in France, and Matthew Paris notes a wonderful vessel which was built for the Earl of Blois in 1249.¹ In 1281 there was an active fishery on both sides of Scotland; in 1286 Berwick was so flourishing that it is compared with a "second Alexandria," and we are told "that the sea is its wealth, the water its walls." In 1271 an Englishman, Adam de Bedford, who had formed one of a Scots gang of pirates, was executed at Berwick. But during the fourteenth century Scots trade appears to have declined.

At the close of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo's travels attracted some attention, and stimulated the interest in geography. They were followed, late in the fourteenth century, by the pretended voyages and travels of Sir John Mandeville, who professed in the year 1322 to have gone oversea to Asia Minor, and thence to Armenia, Turkey, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Chaldea, and India. His "voyages," however, were almost entirely accomplished on land; though, as the critics have long since abandoned all belief in their credibility, there is no need to discuss them.

In 1304, there is a complaint made by Edward to Erik of Denmark about his treatment of an English ship loaded with wine, which had apparently been seized by the Danish king.² Erik replied that he would cause restitution to be made. Sanuto the Venetian, who, in 1321, published a work upon the trade of Europe, does not say anything about English commerce in the Mediterranean, though as he also omits to mention the Catalans, who were undoubtedly traders and travellers of great enterprise, this does not necessarily prove anything.³ He alludes to the Danish,

¹ Matt. Paris, 771.

² 'Fodera,' ii. 949-950.

³ Macpherson, 'Annals of Commerce,' i. 490-493.

Norwegian, and German sailors as good. In 1336, during the war with Scotland, we find the English ships, which were sailing for foreign countries, proceeded in strong companies, so as to be the better able to protect themselves against the Scots and pirates.¹

At some date early in the fourteenth century arose a flourishing trade between England and Iceland. There are small traces of this in English records, but fortunately the Icelandic chronicles leave no possible doubt. Thus the 'Íslenzkir Annálen,' under the year 1348, record the fact of the news of the black death in England reaching Iceland, adding that two hundred thousand people had died of the disease. In 1349, the death of English sailors at Bergen in Norway, is mentioned. Such items of news must have arrived by the boats which came to fish and the ships which came to barter cloth and other English manufactures for dried fish. It is possible that early intercourse with Iceland may be reflected in Giraldus Cambrensis' comparatively accurate knowledge of the position of that island. He adds that the people were few but truthful, and that the priests were their kings.²

Following out the history of this trade, we find in 1354 an admiral appointed for the English fleet in the "Boreal," or northern parts, which may possibly have been intended to protect our fisheries. In 1392 we hear that there was a bad year in shipwrecks for the Germans, English, and Norwegians, and that many cogs were wrecked on the Norwegian coast. In 1396, Thord Arnisson was killed by "outlander chapmen," who had come ashore, and who were probably English.³

It is somewhat remarkable that, after sailing so far as to Iceland, the English sailors and fishermen should not have pushed on across the comparatively narrow strait which separates Iceland from Greenland. The memory of Greenland and Winland cannot, at the date when the English appeared, have died out; and hence it is probable that English fishermen or adventurers followed the leading of the Icelanders, though record there is none of their doings. There are supposed to be traces of navigators—not more

¹ Nicolas, 'History of the Royal Navy,' ii. 24.

² 1187 A.D. Giraldus Cambrensis; 'Top. Hibernica,' Distinct. ii. xiii.; Rolls Series, v. 95.

³ Icelandic Sagas, Rolls Series, iv. 424 ff.; De Costa, 'Inventio Fortunata,' 11-13.

daring—the Basques,¹ on the banks of Newfoundland, in early pre-Columbian maps. If, however, legend and vague reports are to be credited, two very noteworthy voyages were performed by dwellers in the British Isles about this date.

The first was that of Robert Macham,² to Madeira, in 1344, or thereabouts. The story which has accumulated a suspicious amount of detail, goes as follows:—Macham was greatly in love with a young girl of rank and beauty, Anne Dorset. His love was returned, but the lady's family was against the marriage, and by its influence obtained the arrest of Macham, till Anne could be married to a husband of quality. When this, much against the lady's will, had been accomplished, Macham was set free. Furious at his wrongs, he determined to carry her off, and in his project obtained aid from several. Anne and her husband were tracked to Bristol, where one of Macham's friends, insinuating himself into the household of the newly married couple, found the bride inconsolable. Measures were concerted for her abduction. She was to ride out with the friend, as groom, to take the air; and by this pretext she escaped to the shore of the Bristol Channel, where a boat lay ready. This carried her on board a ship, and the re-united lovers forthwith put to sea, anxious to gain France, and fearful of vengeance or pursuit. They stood down the Cornish coast, when a violent wind set in, which swept them out to sea. Having no compass, and being unused to navigate the ocean, the mariners knew not whither they sailed. For thirteen days they drove before the tempest on a stormy sea, imagining that heaven was wroth with them for their misdeeds.

At last, on the fourteenth day, the sea fell, and an island stood up before them from the watery expanse. The sun shone upon primeval forests; the trees were strange and new to them; alien birds fluttered fearlessly about their rigging, yet there was no trace of man. They forthwith lowered a boat, and proceeded to land. The shore was high and craggy, but they found a convenient landing

¹ Winsor, 'Hist. of America,' i. 74, credits the early presence of the Basques upon the banks; though Prowse, 'History of Newfoundland,' 17, does not believe in their voyages to Newfoundland, whilst he appears to think that they sailed to Greenland.

² Macham, according to the Madeira tradition. Taylor, E., 'Madeira' (London, 1886), p. 141. The lady is also called Anna d'Arfet. Machim or Machin is a good West-country name, and a Macham has been Mayor of Gloucester. It would be worth while to examine genealogies to see whether Robert Macham can be traced. So far I have been unable to find him.

where a valley descended in rich verdure to the sea. Here there was a small stream of pure and delicious water, here, too, a soft glade, encompassed and sheltered by the interwoven branches of laurel-trees, in which they determined to abide. They built a hut and scoured the island for food, which they appear to have obtained in the forests; they explored its coasts, and meantime watered the ship.

But only a fortnight after their arrival, fresh calamities befell them. One night, when the greater number of the crew were on board the ship, a violent gale arose and carried her once more to sea. Macham and his bride were left on the island with but a handful of men; and the lady saw in this fresh evidence of heaven's anger. She abandoned her mind to despair, and in three days sickened and died. Macham shared her fate. One day only he survived her; on the second after her death he too died in the arms of his horror-stricken comrades, entreating them with his last breath to bury him beside his lady at the foot of a tall tree, which marked their bower. This they did, placing above the solitary grave a great cross, on which they carved the story of their wanderings and a prayer for Macham's sake, that whosoever might inhabit the place should build there a chapel and pray for the souls of him and his wife.

The handful of survivors took counsel what to do. The place seemed to them ill-omened, and food was very scarce. They found upon the shore the ship's boat, and in this determined to put to sea. Accordingly they loaded her with food and water and set out, ignorant as to what direction or course to steer. The winds and currents settled the question for them, and carried them to the Marocco coast, where they were seized and imprisoned by the Moors. Here they learnt that the same fate had befallen the ship. In prison they met a Spaniard, Juan de Morales of Seville, to whom they told their adventures. He presently was released by purchase, Don Sancho of Aragon having left a considerable sum of money with which to redeem Christians; was then captured by Don Gonsalvo Zarco, a gentleman of the court of Prince Henry of Portugal, and himself a voyager of no mean intrepidity and experience, and was brought by Gonsalvo before Prince Henry, who listened to his tale and resolved to send out an expedition of discovery.¹

¹ Washington Irving, 'Voyages of Columbus' (London, 1828), iv. 337.

The story comes to us first from the so-called Alcaforado's 'Relation of the first Discovery of the Isle of Madeira.' This work purports to have been translated with some abridgments from the original Portuguese of Alcaforado, the voyager of that nationality, who in June, 1420, discovered Madeira. So far as is known the Portuguese original does not exist, and the work cannot be distinctly traced in any form till 1671, when a French "translation" appeared. In 1675 this was done into English,¹ and has been frequently republished. A second source is Galvaõ's work² on the historical geography of the Portuguese Indies. This was published in 1563, and translated by Hakluyt. In this version the story, whilst agreeing to some extent with the Alcaforado version, is far less circumstantial, simpler and shorter. Macham does not die, but himself builds a chapel for his bride, and makes a canoe out of a tree trunk, in which he puts to sea and comes without sail or oar to Marocco. The Moors regard this as a miracle, and receive him with high honour.

Galvaõ fails to give us any authority for his statements, nor does he explain how the story reached him. Washington Irving has pointed out that the dates in the Alcaforado version are difficult to reconcile.³ The voyage is said to have occurred in the reign of Edward III., or between the dates 1327 and 1378. An interval of forty years separates this last date from 1418 or 1420, when the Portuguese discovered Madeira. Morales was not released till 1416, when he must have been, at the very least, nearly forty years in prison, and must also have been old and fit for little work at sea. Morales's expedition was delayed four years, till 1420,⁴ when he sailed under Gonsalvo Zarco and discovered the island. Here, landing in the same place as Macham, the footsteps of the English were discovered, trunks notched with hatchets, and, in the forest, a great tree beneath which was the cross. There are wild and obvious improbabilities in this narrative. It is absolutely impossible to suppose that the prints of the English feet would remain forty-two years in the sand or mud of the Madeira shore, especially as there are very heavy rains in the autumn.⁵ It is added that the

¹ 'Historical Relation of the Discovery of the Isle of Madeira. Written originally in Portuguese by Don Francisco Alcaforado.' London, 1675.

² 'Discoveries of the World.' A. Galvaõ. Hakluyt Society. London, 1862.

³ Irving, *op. cit.* iv. 315.

⁴ By court jealousies and intrigues, says the Alcaforado story.

⁵ Taylor, E. M., 'Madeira' (London, 1889), xv. There is also a very heavy surt.

Portuguese, respecting the last wishes of Macham, built a chapel above the grave. At Machico, if the story can be believed, the original wooden cross was still to be seen as late as 1820,¹ and even to-day the remnants of it are shown to credulous tourists.² Some accounts represent the Capella de N.S. da Visitaçãõ at Machico as occupying at least the site of the original chapel, but this again is disputed.³

Galvaõ omits Morales altogether from his tale, and mentions a Spanish expedition of discovery in 1393 or 1395 on the news of Macham's doings reaching Henry III. of Castille.⁴ This expedition, we are told, fell in with the Canaries. Barros, the early Portuguese historian, records the discovery of Madeira in 1420 by Zarco and Vaz Teixeira, and informs us that the explorers found on the island "the chapel, and the stone and tomb whereupon the foresaid Macham had graven his name."⁵ Here be it noticed the monument is of stone.

It is probable, on the whole, that the story had some basis in fact, but the romancers have clearly embellished it with details. There is no large demand upon our credulity in supposing voyagers driven by storm to Madeira. Unless the tradition had been widely prevalent at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries the national pride of the Portuguese historians would surely have prompted them to suppress it. We may take it that some trace of civilised inhabitants, who had come and gone, was found by the Portuguese, and that the rumour of English discovery was current.⁶ At the same time there is no first-hand or really authentic evidence, and it is practically certain that the name Machico has as little to do with Macham or Machin as the remnant of the cross now shown

¹ Taylor, 'Madeira,' 145.

² *Ib.* 51.

³ *Ib.* 145. I have not been able to find any close and detailed description of the Machico anchorage and harbour, so as to compare it with the Alcaforado account. He mentions a rock, steep-to, and not marked on the charts. This, if it ever really existed, is not shown on the Admiralty chart, nor is allusion made to it in what sailing directions I have been able to discover. At Funchal is, of course, the Loo Rock [Purdy, *Memoir . . . of the Atlantic Ocean* (London, 1825), pp. 204-208]; but then Funchal is not Machico.

⁴ Galvaõ, Hakl. Soc. Ed., p. 59. Admiral Bethoune, the editor, queries the date 1395.

⁵ Barros, 1496-1570, in his 'Asia' (Lisbaõ, 1552-53): "juge impartial et en même temps patriote enthousiaste" ('Grande Encyclopédie').

⁶ Was the island of O'Brazil, which appears first in the Medicæan portolano of 1351, Madeira? If so, it may have reflected Macham's discovery.

with the original of the fourteenth century—if the latter ever existed.

On the strength of a mention in Hakluyt and an allusion in Fuller, one Nicholas of Lynn has been credited with a voyage towards the Arctic regions about 1360. Nicholas of Lynn is known to have been a Carmelite and lecturer in theology at Oxford, where in 1386 he composed a calendar and elaborate astronomical tables.¹ He is supposed, on not very satisfactory evidence, to have been the author of a work known as ‘*Inventio Fortunata*,’ or ‘*Inventio Fortunæ*.’ No copy of the book exists, whether in manuscript or print, and it is indeed not altogether certain that it ever existed. The mention in Hakluyt resolves itself into a quotation from two other authorities, Gerardus Mercator, and John Dee.² Mercator refers to a description of the North Pole which he had taken out of a voyage by Cnoyen of s’ Hertogenbosch,³ who had met a priest at the King of Norway’s court in 1364, and from him derived much information. The priest, we are told, was descended from those whom Arthur, the mythical King of Britain, had sent to inhabit “these islands” (probably Iceland), and he, again, reported that “in 1360 a certain English friar, a Franciscan and a mathematician of Oxford, came into these islands; who, leaving them, and passing farther by his magical art, described all those places that he saw, and took the height of them with his astrolabe.”

This is very fourth or fifth-hand evidence. On what Cnoyen said the priest had said that the friar said to him, Mercator based the idea that there were “four indraughts into an inward gulf or whirlpool with so great force that the ships which once entered therein could by no means be driven back,” round about the North Pole. And John Dee,⁴ who is also quoted by Hakluyt, tells us that in 1360 “a friar of Oxford, being a good astronomer, went in company with others to the most northern islands of the world.” There he left his companions and proceeded yet farther to the north himself. He described the islands and “the indrawing seas” in a book which he called ‘*Inventio Fortunata*’ or ‘*Fortunæ*.’ Dee

¹ ‘*Diet. Nat. Biography*,’ Nicholas of Lynne.

² Hakluyt, B. L. i. 122.

³ Cnoyen’s book is lost, though extracts from it, sent by Mercator to John Dee, survive in Cotton MSS. Mercator adds that “it contained his voyage all through Asia, Africa, and the North; that it had been lent him by a friend in Antwerp, and restored by him: but that wanting it again, it could not be found.”

⁴ The mathematician and astrologer, 1527–1608.

goes on to ask whether this friar was not Hugo, the Irish Minorite, who is mentioned as a traveller, but of whom nothing definite is known. He states, however, that *from Lynn, whence the friar sailed*, was only a fortnight's voyage, with a fair wind, to Iceland.

Hakluyt, without any apparent authority, identifies the unknown friar with Nicholas of Lynn, though the latter was of a different religious order. Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' says of Norfolk in his own punning way, "No county doth carry a top and a gallant more high," and warns "none to be offended if a friar be put before the rest," but does not tell us to what friar he is referring. Supposing the identification to be accepted, Chaucer appears to allude to him and his navigations. The Nicholas of the "Miller's Tale" owns an astrolabe, and his navigations may be jestingly alluded to in the incident of the tub.¹ This is all the more probable as the Oxford Nicholas was a friend of John of Gaunt, a distinction which Chaucer also shared.

A priori there is nothing improbable in the voyage of Nicholas, especially since there was during the fourteenth century, as we have seen, a thoroughly established trade between England and Iceland. Ranulfus Higden, however, who wrote his 'Polychronicon' in 1363, does not allude to Nicholas's voyage. His book may, of course, have been composed before the return of the voyager. Nor is there any mention in the contemporary records of Lynn. Here again their silence is not absolutely decisive, as very scanty trace remains of the many voyages to Iceland which we know from excellent authorities did really take place. Lynn was a port with great trade throughout the middle ages, and the sailing of every ship could not be recorded.

The 'Inventio Fortunata' is mentioned on the margin of a map of the world by John Ruysch, and dated 1508. "It is written in the book of the 'Inventio Fortunata' that there is a very lofty rock of loadstone beneath the Arctic Pole, thirty-three German miles in circuit. Round this flows an indrawing sea, fluid like a vase, pouring water through openings below. About are islands, of which two are inhabited. Huge and broad mountain chains surround these islands, of which twenty-four will not allow of settlement by man."²

¹ As De Costa has suggested. 'Inventio Fortunata,' 17, 18.

² "Legere est ilibro de ivēitione fortvnati svb polo arctico rvpē esse excel-sā ex lapide magnete . 55 . miliarivm Germanorvm ambitv. Hinc cōplectitvr mare svgenvm flvidvm instar vasis aqvā deorsv per foramina emittētis . circv isule sūt . & . e qvibus incolvtor dve ambivnt avtem has insulas continvi montes vasti latiq; dietis . 24 . qbo negāt hominvn .



RUYSCHS CHART. 1508.

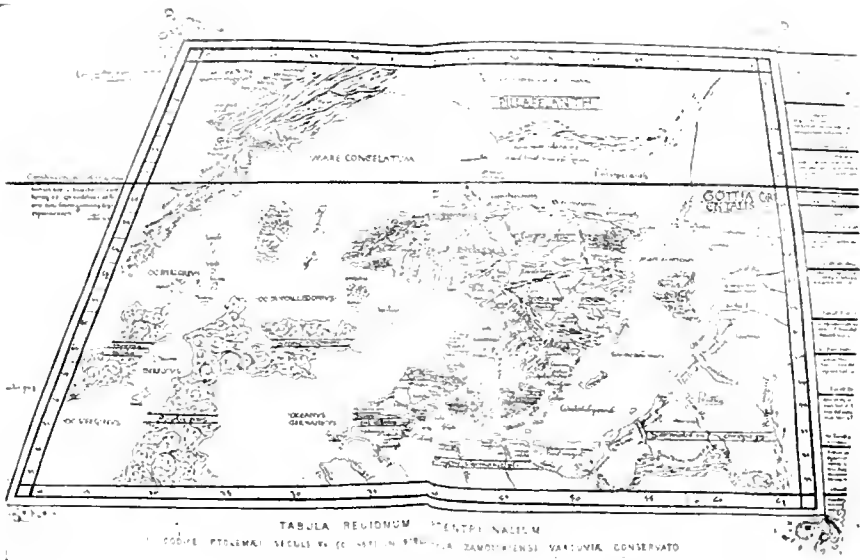


CHART FROM THE PTOLEMEAN CODEX OF CIRCA 1467.

(Preserved in the Zamiatki Library at Warsaw. From Nordenskiöld's 'Facsimile Atlas'.)

[To face page 322.]

The map of Ruysch, which is substantially the same as Mercator's, shows in a sector of about 240 degrees round the Pole four large islands, and then an outer fringe of nineteen islands or peninsulas, covered with mountains and parted by narrow channels. The "Mare Sugenum" lies north of a line from Norway to "Gruenlant." The map and the fantastical currents—which have, however, some small basis in nature—are evidently founded upon the topography of Giraldus Cambrensis. There is nothing in them either to prove or disprove the voyage of the supposed Nicholas, as the early voyagers were proverbially fond of drawing the long bow. The magnetic rock is a common feature in such stories, though it does not appear to warrant the conclusion, which has been drawn, that Nicholas had approached the magnetic pole.¹

Even this entry of Ruysch contains nothing to prove that he had seen the book; and if he had seen it there is nothing to show that he reproduced Nicholas's ideas correctly. It is improbable that Nicholas would have drawn Greenland as incorrectly as in this map,² that is, supposing him to have made his voyage to the North. At the middle of the fourteenth century there was still intercourse between Iceland and Greenland, and that intercourse must have been reflected in the charts of English traders to Iceland. The four islands reappear in Orontius Fine's map.³

Finally, Las Casas, the historian of America, mentions burning islands which are to be seen in the sea near the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores, adding that these are spoken of in the book of 'Inventio Fortunata'; and the author of Columbus's life tells us that "Javentius Fortunatus relates that there is an account of two islands to the west and a little to the south of the Cape Verde Isles which skim over the water."⁴ The book cannot, however, be

habitatio." This is obviously corrupt; probably "dictis" or "e dictis" should be read for "dictis," and "qvi" or "qvæ" for "qbo." "Sygenum" is apparently the Latinized Dutch word "zuigend," or "indrawing." The general meaning is fairly clear, and is made clearer by the map. See De Costa, 'Arct. Expl.,' 22, 23.

¹ The dipping of the needle excited great alarm amongst early navigators. *Vide* the inscription on the Cabot map: "Here the compass loses its power, and no ship with iron on board can get away."

² 1531 A.D. Reproduced in De Costa, 'Arct. Expl.,' 28., and in Nordenskjöld's 'Faesimile Atlas,' plate xxxii.

³ Nordenskjöld, 'Faesimile Atlas,' plate xli.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 33.

found in the Columbus library or catalogue. If it ever existed, it has perished, leaving only these traces.

If the narrative of Nicolo Zeno—which professes to relate the voyages and travels of two of his ancestors about the end of the fourteenth century—be true or substantially founded on fact, it becomes probable that the half-Norse, half-Scotch inhabitants of the Orkneys and Shetlands had rediscovered Greenland, and that they had some vague knowledge of the American mainland. It is usually assumed that the “Zichmni” of the Zeno narrative was the same as Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and the grounds for that identification will be discussed later on. The authorities who accept the substantial truth of the narrative are sufficiently numerous and impartial to compel a careful investigation of the facts.¹

The travels of the Zeni were first published in 1558 at Venice by Nicolo Zeno.² His story is that when a boy he tore up or mutilated some ancient documents in the Zeni Palace at Venice, ignorant of their value. Some, however, of the papers escaped; and in later years, on examination, he found they were an account, by an ancestor of his named Antonio Zeno, of certain voyages which had been made by this same Antonio and an older brother Nicolo, about the close of the fourteenth century. The account had been based by Antonio upon letters of his own to a third brother, Carlo, and letters of Nicolo to him. Nicolo the younger found this account damaged by the act of his childhood, and proceeded, as far as he could, to put it in order and copy it out. With it was an old chart in a dilapidated condition, which also he copied, and which is said to display a very accurate knowledge of Greenland and northern geography.

The story of the voyage is as follows: Nicolo Zeno was a

¹ The most eminent authorities favourable are: Torfæus, T., ‘*Historia Vinlandiæ*’ (1705), preface; Forster, J. R., ‘*History of Discovery and Voyages in the North*’ (1786), pp. 178-209; Zurla, Cardinal Placido, ‘*Dissertazione intorno ai Viaggi e Scoperte settentrionali di N. ed A. Zeni*,’ 1808; Malte-Brun, ‘*Annales des Voyages*’ (Paris, 1810), x. 72-87; Barrow, Sir J., ‘*Voyages into the Arctic Regions*’ (1818), pp. 13-26; Humboldt, A. von, ‘*Examen Critique de l’Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*’ (Paris, 1837), ii. 120-24; Major, R. H., ‘*Voyages of the Zeni*,’ with facsimile of the Zeno map, Hakluyt Society (1873), Introduction; Nordenskjöld, ‘*Studier och Forskningar*’ (Stockholm, 1883-4). Views are summed up, ‘*Compte Rendu, Congrès des Américanistes*’ (Copenhagen, 1884), pp. 120-23.

² Major, R. H., *op. cit.*, gives the Italian and a translation. From his text the narrative is abridged.

Venetian of great courage, and after the war between his country and Genoa, which terminated with the victory of Chioggia,¹ he determined to travel. He equipped a ship and sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar to the north.² A terrible storm, however, arose, and carried him for many days out of his course, at last wrecking him upon an island, which he calls "Frislanda." He was saved with his crew and the greater part of the merchandise which he was carrying with him. The date he gives as 1380.³ The inhabitants of the island proved unfriendly and came out in numbers to attack him, but fortunately a great chief named "Zichmni" appeared on the scene with an armed retinue, conversed with him in Latin, and hearing that he came from Italy and was a "fellow-countryman," at once gave him his protection. "Zichmni" was the ruler of certain islands known as "Porlanda," to the south, and he was also "Duke of Sorano, lying near Scotland."

The year before Nicolo's coming "Zichmni" had defeated the King of Norway, who was lord of the island, and who had made an expedition against "Frislanda." "Zichmni" took Zeno on board his fleet and made him his general. The fleet consisted, we are told, of thirteen vessels, two only of which were rowed. The naval forces captured "Ledovo" and "Hofe," which are small islands in the Gulf of "Sudero," and put into a harbour known as "Sanestol," after sailing through a reef-encompassed sea, where Nicolo's knowledge of navigation stood him in good stead. Meantime "Zichmni," with the army, had subdued the island, and rejoined the fleet at "Bondendon." Thence the combined forces proceeded to "Frislanda," the chief city of the island, where there was great plenty of fish, and whither ships resorted from Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark. From here Nicolo wrote to his brother Antonio, asking him to repair to "Frislanda," which Antonio forthwith did. They were soon sent by "Zichmni" to attack "Estlanda," which lies "between Frislanda and Norway"; but part of the fleet was wrecked by a storm, and the ships which were not injured were driven to "Grislanda," a large uninhabited island. In the storm the King of Norway's fleet, which was coming to

¹ A.D. 1377-1381.

² Italian voyages to the British seas were far from uncommon. Cf. Major, 'Letters of Columbus,' xxiv. Genoese ships we meet with often.

³ This must be a mistake for 1390. Major, 'Zeni,' xlvii. Ortelius gives the date as 1380; Hakluyt, copying from Ortelius, 1390, showing that the mistake is easily made.

attack "Zichmi," suffered very severely. After this "Zichmi" repaired his fleet and attacked "Islanda,"¹ which was subject to Norway, but failing in his attempt here, mastered "the other islands in those channels, which are called Islande, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Minant, Dambere and Bres," and built a fort on "Bres," where he left Nicolo. Next summer Nicolo set out from "Bres" on a voyage, and sailing north came to "Engroneland," where he found a monastery, a church dedicated to St. Thomas, a volcano, and a hot spring. The water of this spring was used to heat the church and monastery, and also to cook food. Moreover, the monks, watering their garden with it, in spite of the cold climate, grew the flowers and fruits of temperate countries. The monastery was built of lava from the volcano, and mortar made from pumice-stone was used. Close to the settlement was a harbour into which the hot spring flowed and raised the temperature of the water, with the result that fish and fowl resorted to it. The houses were hive-shaped with holes at the top, and there was much trade in the summer with Norway. Of the friars many came from Norway and Sweden, but most from "Islande."² The fishing-boats of the people were shaped like a weaver's shuttle made of fish-skins sewn together. The friars for the most part spoke Latin.³ Finally, in "Engroneland," Nicolo discovered a river. The cold, however, had affected him, and on his return to "Frislanda," he died.

Meantime "Zichmi" had decided to make discoveries. He had found a fisherman who had, twenty-six years before, been carried by a storm a thousand miles or more west of "Frislanda," to an island called "Estotiland."⁴ Of the four boats in company one was wrecked and six men from it were captured by the inhabitants and led to a large city, where they were brought before the king, who conversed with them by means of an interpreter in Latin. They remained five years in the island and learnt its language. The people were intelligent, had Latin books which they did not understand, possessed abundance of gold, and traded with Greenland. They sowed corn, drank beer, and built ships, but did not know of

¹ "Islanda," apparently the capital of "Island" or "Islande," which is seemingly the same as "Estland" and Shetland. *Vide* page 330.

² Here must stand for Iceland, not Shetland.

³ So at the present day Latin is spoken by the upper classes in Iceland.

⁴ Others read "Escociland." The map has "Estetiland." Possibly this is some tale brought by the Basques.

the compass, which the fishermen showed them.¹ Towards the south was a great country rich in gold. Presently the fishermen were sent to the south with twelve boats to a country called "Drogio";² and on the way they were wrecked and fell into the hands of cannibals. These devoured the "Estotilanders," sparing the "Frislanders," because of their skill in fishing with nets. For thirteen years the fisherman was a prisoner amongst tribes who went naked, suffered much from the cold, and fought savagely amongst themselves. They did not know the use of metals, having only wooden lances and bows and arrows. To the south-west dwelt a more civilised race with cities and temples. These people sacrificed human beings and afterwards ate them.

The fisherman was fortunate enough to make his escape, and after many wanderings reached "Drogio," where he remained three more years, until, finding a boat from "Estotiland," he returned in it to that island, and trading there grew very rich. Then at last he came home to "Frislanda," and told "Zichmni" all, who at once resolved to start with a large fleet. Three days, however, before sailing the fisherman fell ill and died, and his place had to be taken by sailors who had come with him from "Estotiland." Leaving "Frislanda," "Zichmni" and Antonio Zeno came first to "Ledovo," where they stayed seven days to obtain provisions for the fleet, and then to "Ilofe." Afterwards putting to sea, a great wind caught them and swept them eight days from their course, till they came to land on the west.³ Entering a harbour, a host of armed men rushed down to the shore and menaced them. "Zichmni," by means of a man amongst these savages who was from "Islanda," talked with them and discovered that the country was called "Icaria," and that they would allow no one to land. Upon this he departed and sailed along a mountainous coast, but the natives followed him, shouting and yelling on the hill-tops and attacking his men whenever they landed. "Zichmni" was compelled to abandon his attempt to land, and sailed first six days to the west and then four to the north-west, when land came into sight. Entering an excellent harbour, Zeno saw a volcano, and "Zichmni" dispatched a hundred of his men towards it; fish and fowl and birds' eggs were abundant, and there was firewood to be

¹ On the date of the discovery of the compass, see page 312, *note*.

² Others read "Drogeo."

³ *De potentia*, "on the westward side of it," or "on the westward side of them."

found. The climate was mild and pleasant, but there were no inhabitants to be seen near the harbour, which "Zichmni" named "Trin." After eight days the soldiers returned with news that they had visited the volcano and found wild men of small stature who dwelt in caves. There was a large river and a good harbour at this place, they reported. On this "Zichmni" conceived the idea of settling there, but his people were not willing, and wanted to go home; therefore he sent back Antonio Zeno with the ships, himself retaining the row-boats and a few of the people. On his homeward voyage Zeno sailed twenty days to the east, and then five days more to the south-east, when he came to the island of "Neome," which was beyond "Islanda," and subject to "Zichmni."² Hence in three days more he reached "Frislanda."

If the substantial truth of the narrative be accepted there are many difficulties to be explained away. What, for instance, was "Zichmni," an Italian, doing in these northern islands, and how had he obtained his sovereignty? How is it that the annals of Norway contain no reference to him? Such awkward questions are avoided by those who hold that Nicolo Zeno, the younger, misunderstood much and interpolated a little.³ This does not necessarily involve bad faith on his part. Moreover, granted the truth of the Zeni's account, the voyages of the fishermen to "Estotiland" and "Drogio"—by far the most marvellous part of the story—are not necessarily true. Their authenticity has little to do with the Zeni voyages and must be considered separately.

First, as to "Zichmni." Northern names would naturally be somewhat distorted in the Italian attempt at a phonetic equivalent, and "Zichmni" is something like "Sinclair." Still, as the Zeni professed to have resided some years in "Frislanda," we should certainly have expected greater accuracy from men of considerable knowledge, who were, as it appears, well acquainted with Latin. Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, is the only individual

¹ On the Zeno map "Trin" is marked as the extreme southerly point of Greenland, equivalent, in fact, with Cape Hyarf, or "turning point." Bredsdorff connects "Trin Prom" with Kuvingek (Proc. Geogr. Society, London, 1879, xlix, 410).

² "Neome" is by Forster identified with the island of Naalsøe, one of the smaller islands of the Farøe group. On the map it appears considerably to the west of "Frisland," midway between the latter and "Estland."

³ Major, "unquestionable blunder" [of Nicolo], 'Zeni,' xxii.; "misplacement of localities," *ib.* xxiii.; "misreading," *ib.*; Nicolo, junior, "cause of all perplexity," *ib.* xxv.; "hyperbole," *ib.* xxviii.; "deplorable confusion," xxxvii.; "this excrescence work of Nicolo, junior," *ib.* xcix., etc.

in Orcadian or Northern history who can possibly be connected with "Zichmni," and for this reason the two are usually identified as one and the same.¹ The ancient Earls of Orkney had become extinct in the middle of the fourteenth century. About 1357 one Malise Sperre had claimed the earldom, but though from his name he appears to have been of Norse descent, his title was not recognised by the Norwegian king Hakon. Instead the islands were granted to Henry Sinclair, whose mother was the daughter of Malise, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and grand-daughter of the last Scandinavian earl of Orkney, Magnus. In 1379 he made his declaration of loyalty to the King of Norway, promising amongst other things to build no forts upon the islands. The conditions of his tenure were indeed very exacting, but in exchange he required from the Norwegian king a guarantee against vexation by "our cousin Malise Sperre." As the sequel to this we learn that in 1391 "the Earl of Orkney killed Malise Sperre in Hialtland" (Shetland) "with seven others, but a certain youth with six others found a boat at Scalloway and escaped to Norway."² In this event has been discerned a historic corroboration of the attack which Zeno mentions as made by "Zichmni" upon "Estlanda" and "Islande." It is not in the least likely that Sinclair, after solemnly promising to support in every possible way the King of Norway, to furnish him with a hundred men when required, to defend the Orkneys and Shetlands, or to aid against foreign aggression, would turn round at once upon his liege lord. He did indeed break his oath by building a fort at Kirkwall,³ but this did not involve a war with his suzerain. The struggle between Sinclair and Sperre might possibly, to Zeno, wear the aspect of a struggle with Norway, as there is some slight ground for associating Sperre with the Norwegian party.⁴

Sinclair's lordship included the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Farøes. "Sorano" is identified by Mr. Major with the islet of Swona in the Pentland Firth, and "Podanda" or "Porlanda"—for both are read

¹ Zahrtmann (Major, 'Zeni,' xxvi., xxvii.) denies that Sinclair and "Zichmni" are the same, as Sinclair witnessed certain Norwegian acts in 1388 and 1389. As a matter of fact the travels could not have taken place before 1390, and this date removes the difficulty. *Vide* Skene, 'Celtic Scotland,' iii. 452, 453; Sir W. Douglas, Peerage of Scotland, ii. 388; 'Chronicles and Memorials of Scotland,' Exchequer Rolls, vol. viii. pp. xxxv.-xxxvii. Orkney (apparently with Shetlands and Farøes) was held by the Earl as a fief of Norway, whilst Caithness was a Scotch fief.

² Barry, 'History of the Orkneys,' 196. See also Torfeus, 'Orcades.'

³ Exchequer Rolls, Scotland, viii. p. xxxvii.

⁴ His name, and the fact that his adherents fled to Norway.

—with Pentland, a barren skerry. “Islande” he regards as a misreading for “Estlanda,” and identifies it with Shetland, which is probable and reasonable, as the names are very much alike and correspond geographically. “Islanda,” according to the old custom of naming capitals after the country, was the chief town of “Estland” or Shetland. “Grislanda” is the same as Gross Ey or Gross Island, as the mainland of the Orkneys was called in the past. So “Talas” is Yelli; “Broas,” Barras; “Iscont,” Unst; “Trans,” St. Ronans; “Mimant,” the mainland of the Shetlands; “Dambere,” Hamna; and “Bres,” Bressay. These identifications, too, seem not unlikely. Gross Ey has a very wild coast and would naturally appear to be uninhabited.

The main difficulty is, however, with “Frislanda.” Some have supposed that this island, or group of islands, has disappeared through some cataclysm of nature,¹ for which supposition geology and surveys give no ground whatever. Others, and Mr. Major amongst them, consider that “Frislanda” is the Farøe Islands. The old name in Danish was “Færøisland,”² which very easily becomes “Frislanda.” The expedition of “Zichni” against “Frislanda,” with which the story opens, would then be explained by Sinclair’s occupation of the islands, which, considering the turbulent character of their Norse inhabitants at that date, and the opposition of Sperre, might have been a matter of some little trouble. The identification of the names mentioned in and near “Frislanda” is not easy. “Monaco” may be Monk Isle, a skerry of most insignificant size to the extreme south; “Hofe” may be a misreading for “Slofe,” and this again the Italian for “Skuøe”; and “Bondendon” may be—though the resemblance is very faint—Norderdahl. But it is very difficult to see how “Ledovo” can be Little (or Lilla) Dimon; or “Sanestol,” Sandøe. For at “Ledovo” the fleet of “Zichni” lies to and refreshes. But Little Dimon is a small rocky island, steep-to, with no anchorage, no haven, but only breakers dashing against an iron coast, which rises precipitously 1300 feet.³ It is uninhabited and can only be approached with

¹ This was Forster’s first suggestion. So also Zurla.

² Zahrtmann; Major, ‘Zeni,’ ix.-xiii.; Steenstrup (‘Compte Rendu, Congrès des Americanistes’ (Copen., 1883), 150-180) holds that the “Frislanda” of the map is unquestionably Iceland, and not the Farøes; that the “Frislanda” of the text is North Friesland; in part Admiral Irmingier agrees with him (‘Proceed. Geog. Soc.,’ London, vol. xlix, pp. 398-412). Major, following (pp. 412-420), controverts his views.

³ “Like a haystack” (Adm. Irmingier). For a woodcut of the island, *vide op. cit.*, 402.

the utmost difficulty; on landing "almost perpendicular rocks" have to be scaled. Nor is it clear how "Zichmi," having been put ashore at "Sanestol" or Sandöe, managed to meet the fleet at "Bondendon" or Norderdahl, seeing that the latter place is situated on another island. Sandöe is described as a small, barren, and thinly populated island, and the Bay of Sand, where the fleet apparently landed him, is exposed to the south wind, and is therefore a dangerous anchorage for sailing ships. Nor is the navigation from "Sanestol to "Bondendon" perilous in actual fact, as Zeno describes it. There are only three rocky islands on the way, and these are steep-to, with deep water round.

For these and other reasons the Danish Admiral Iminger has argued that Iceland is the "Frislanda" of the Zeni. He considers that the progress of "Zichmi," as described in the story, must have taken place in an island greater and more populous than any of the Faröes. The English and the Scotch, as we have seen already, from quite an early date resorted to Iceland, whilst we hear nothing of their traffic with the Faröes.¹ In 1394, moreover, a fight between the Icelanders and the foreigners took place at Budarhófdi, in Iceland, which may be the war described by Nicolo Zeno. In that case "Zichmi" would be some unknown and obscure piratical chief. Of the names in the narrative and map many suit Iceland better than the Faröes. Thus "Sudero Gulf" is identified with Faxe Bught; "Sanestol" with Buden Stad or Hval Fiord; "Monaco" with Westmanö; "Porlanda" with Portland; "Bondendon" with Budardalr. "Frislanda" is also described in the narrative as larger than Ireland,² which Major supposes is a mistake of the younger Zeno for "Islande" or Shetland. Iceland, it need scarcely be said, is larger than Ireland, and the description fits it well. On the one hand, "Frislanda" is marked on the Zeno map quite separate from Iceland, and considerably to the south-west of that island;³ on the other, there is a somewhat close correspondence in size and outline with Iceland. This has been explained by the believers in the Zeni as due to the

¹ On the other hand the Faröes lie on the voyage from England to Iceland, and would naturally be visited.

² Ireland, Iceland, and "Islande" or "Estland," or Shetland, appear to be constantly confused.

³ Early maps often repeat a country, *e.g.*, Greenland appears twice on the Ortelius map of 1570 (*Nordlenskijöhl*, 'Facsimile Atlas,' Stockholm, pl. xlvii., Groeland and Groelant), so pl. xlviii., etc.

mistake of Nicolo Zeno, the younger, who found the original map much damaged, and perhaps ran together the outlines of the archipelago. This explanation, however, is not altogether satisfactory. It is also suggested that the size of "Frislanda" was exaggerated because it had to receive a great number of names, and because it was a comfortable habit of early cartographers to adjust areas on their maps to this requirement. The name of "Frislanda," in approximately the same position as it occupies on the Zeno chart, occurs as "Fixlanda" in a sea chart of the fifteenth century at Milan, and as "Frixlanda" in a Catalan chart of the same date. Columbus mentions an island south of Iceland known as "Frislanda." The Zeno chart affected the cartography of the northern seas till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when at last "Frislanda" began to vanish from the map.¹ It is to be noted that this chart does not mark the Faröes, which slightly confirms the identification of "Frislanda" with them.

Of the other names, "Icaria" is identified with Kerry in Ireland and not with any part of America. If the records of the voyage are true the distance sailed would have brought "Zichmni" with his fleet to the west coast of Ireland; and the "pursuit along the hill-tops, and the howling of the strangers off the coast, are Irish all over," says Mr. Major,² who falls back upon his usual explanation of the statement in the text, that "Icaria" derived its name from Icarus, son of Daedalus, King of Scotland, as being "an interpolation of Nicolo Zeno the younger." There was probably a certain amount of intercourse between the Norsemen of the Scotch Isles and Norway, and the Norsemen of Ireland; and that "Zichmni" should have sailed or been driven to Kerry is not unlikely, though there are difficulties. "Zichmni" is described as sailing in search of "Estotiland," which lies a thousand miles to the west of "Frisland." Kerry lies not to the west of the Faröes but almost due south,³ and six hundred miles distant. There is no notice in the narrative of so extraordinary a divergence from the course which would naturally be steered. "We were driven we knew not where for eight days," are the words, which suggest, indeed, a divergence, but hardly a voyage in a totally different direction. And the Zeno

¹ *Vide* maps collected in Nordenskjöld's 'Facsimile Atlas.'

² 'Zeni,' xcix.

³ The position of "Icaria" on the chart is also against Kerry, unless this is one of the younger Zeno's "interpolations."

knew of the compass, so that we should expect them to have at least recorded such a change of course.

The story of the fisherman hardly concerns us, as he was not an Orkneyman but a Farøe islander. His "Estotiland" has been identified with Newfoundland, his "Drogio" with Nova Scotia. The civilised people he found dwelling in the "fair and populous city" are assumed to have been the descendants of the Norse colony planted centuries before by Leif Eriksson and his followers. There are, however, no clear traces of a Norse settlement in Newfoundland or Nova Scotia; no ruins of a city and no indisputably Norse relics have been disinterred. The ocean of time has closed upon the Norseman and does not give up its dead. Yet the evidence of some settlement appears indisputable.¹ Others again have seen in this people the remnants of the Irish colonisation with even less probability. The fact that the people drank beer points to a Norse origin. Yet at no time before the coming of the Anglo-Saxon were the gold mines in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia worked; and we are expressly told that the strange people had "abundance of gold." It is far from improbable that some vague report of a strange new world had reached even the Farøes, from Iceland, at the close of the fourteenth century, when the traditions of Winland and Markland had not been forgotten.²

But it is more probable that Nicolo Zeno interpolated much of the fisherman's narrative, or at least wrote it up from the tales of Columbus and Cortes, than that the fisherman ever sailed where he says he did. Indeed, the interpolation of Nicolo the younger is a convenient *deus ex machinâ* to fall back upon in difficulty. Mr. Major holds that the "rich and populous city" is only a piece of bombast on a level with the mention of "the Duchy of Sorano," or Swona, and so also he explains the "king's library," where Latin manuscripts were seen by the fisherman, and the "temples." "Estotiland" some have supposed is Scotland, but the particulars do not fit. "Drogio" would appear to be some part of the American mainland: the wild tribes are in

¹ For the Norse settlements, *vide* Winsor, 'History of America,' i. 87-107, and the numerous authorities there quoted. Winsor is sceptical, but the evidence appears strong to the writer.

² According to the Sagas, Bishop Eric of Greenland went to Winland, 1121; Adalbrand and Helgason are said to have rediscovered Newfoundland, from Iceland, in 1285. The last recorded voyage to Winland was from Greenland in 1347. Major, 'Letters of Columbus,' xviii. 5.

that case Red Indians, and the civilised people to the south the Mexicans.

The voyage of "Zeno" from "Bres" to "Engroneland" has fewer traces of the fabulous, though here also there are many difficulties. The monastery of St. Thomas is supposed to be a mistake of one or other of the Zeni for St. Olaus,¹ which is mentioned by an early Norse geographer, Ivar Bardssen. That there were monasteries and Norse settlements on Greenland is a fact proved by numerous remains, ruins of churches and buildings, runes and traditions. The lonely church of Katortok bears silent testimony to a civilisation which has long since passed away. We should then expect, if the narrative is true, that the place described by Zeno could be identified. Mr. Major places the monastery at Tasermiutsiak on the Tessermit in southern Greenland,² and finds an extinct volcano in the remarkable mountain of Suikarssuak, which rises nearly four thousand feet above the fiord. Unfortunately subsequent exploration has made it certain that Suikarssuak is not an extinct volcano;³ it is a granite rock. Nor are there hot springs on the Tessermit fiord, though it is true that such springs now exist at no great distance, on the island of Ounartok, where are also very plain traces of a Norse settlement. Here, however, the volcano is wanting, and Admiral Irminger asserts that volcanoes have never existed in south Greenland.⁴ If this be so, and Zeno is in this passage romancing, what value can be attached to the rest of his story? Or is this another interpolation of Nicolo the younger? The use of hot water for the purposes which Zeno describes was possibly common in Iceland during his time: there are traces of it still. If he visited Iceland, which is highly probable, he may have heard stories of Greenland, and of the strange boats used by the Greenlanders, which agree so closely with the Eskimo boats of to-day that they can scarcely be the product of his unguided imagination.

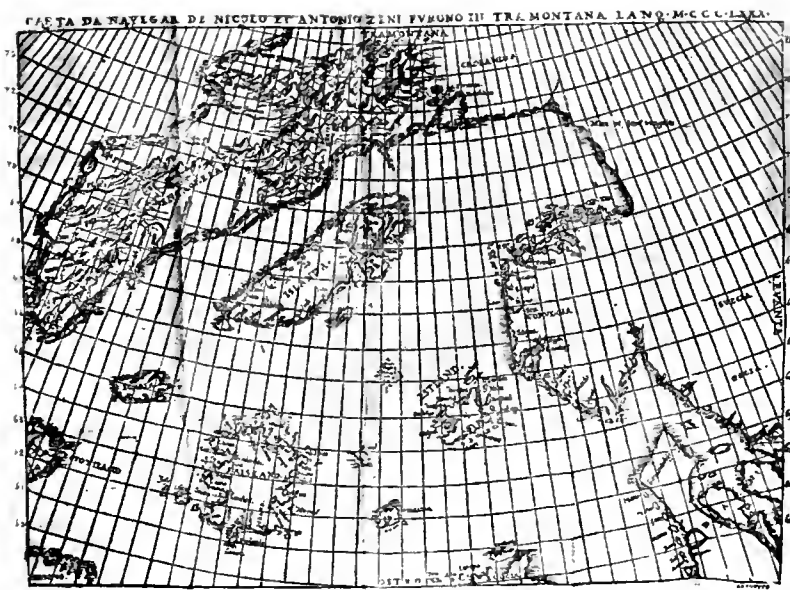
The voyage of "Zichmni" to Greenland—if "Trin" was in Greenland—presents the same difficulty of the volcano. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the voyage itself: to the daring

¹ St. Tommaso and St. Olaus have in the Italian and Norse respectively a very faint phonetic resemblance.

² *Vide* map of Greenland. 'Zeni,' lxxxii.

³ So Irminger.

⁴ Hot springs, however, as Major justly says, are clear indications of volcanic activity, and glacier action may have obscured the traces of volcanic action.



THE ZENO CHART
 (Published 1558.)

[To face page 331.]

Norseman it was a fairly common undertaking: and if ships sailed from England and Scotland to Iceland, there is no reason why they should not have pushed a little farther and made Greenland. Some of the details—which look as if they had come from hearsay—alone cause suspicion.¹ We should, too, have expected to meet with some mention of Sinclair's Greenland colony in either Scotch or Oreadian history. Some doubt apparently hangs over his death, as the writer has not been able to discover whether he died in any portion of his Scotch domains or where he is buried. All we are told of his end is that he "is supposed to have died about 1410." It is, then, just possible that he never returned from his Greenland expedition—presuming that he really made it.

The strongest evidence for the "foundation on fact" of the narrative was, till recently, the Zeno map, though here, as usual, it was necessary to suppose much carelessness and interpolation on the part of Zeno the younger. Nordenskjöld considered in 1883 that the topography of the chart was on the whole much in advance of the knowledge of the time when it appeared, and accepted the general truth of the narrative.² The mistakes ascribed to Zeno the younger are the misplacing of numerous islands which should be in the Shetlands, and which in the chart appear on the east coast of

¹ *E.g.*, the volcanic stories, which would come naturally enough from a romancing Iclander, or from a Venetian who had visited Iceland.

² Nordenskjöld, 'Congrès des Américanistes' (1883), p. 121 ff., is thus summarised: The map in the 1558 edition of the Zenu is based upon an old chart of northern origin, anterior in date to 1482, and probably brought back from his voyages by Antonio Zeno. Of this map no faithful copy is known, but there are two examples with more or less alteration—the map of Zeno the younger, printed 1558, and of Nicolas Donis, printed 1482 (in 'Facsimile Atlas,' text p. 61, a reduced representation), which has not many of the arbitrary modifications of the younger Nicolo, but, on the other hand, places Greenland far too much to the north. The common origin of the two maps is proved by the identity of a great number of names. Zeno's chart has, then, "an immense importance," equal almost to Andrea Bianco's map of the Mediterranean. It is evidently the fruit of many years of experience, which has been acquired by active navigation on the coasts delineated. It must have taken place anterior to the Columbian age, as then for a time knowledge of Greenland was lost. He concludes that there was then less ice to the west of Greenland; that voyages were often made to Greenland; and that those voyages occasionally extended southward to Canada, etc. Nordenskjöld's opinion must carry weight: but Winsor ('America,' i. 127) is unfavourable to the map, and Irmingier totally denies that Zeno had ever been in Greenland. The old Olaus Magnus map, which Zahrtmann conjectured to have existed, has, since Major's and Nordenskjöld's opinion was given, turned up. It is evident that Zeno the younger copied much from this map, and thus the only strong argument for his veracity has passed away. I have this fact from Mr. C. H. Coote, of the Map Department, British Museum, who disbelieves in the Zeno story: I must take this opportunity of thanking him for much kind assistance.

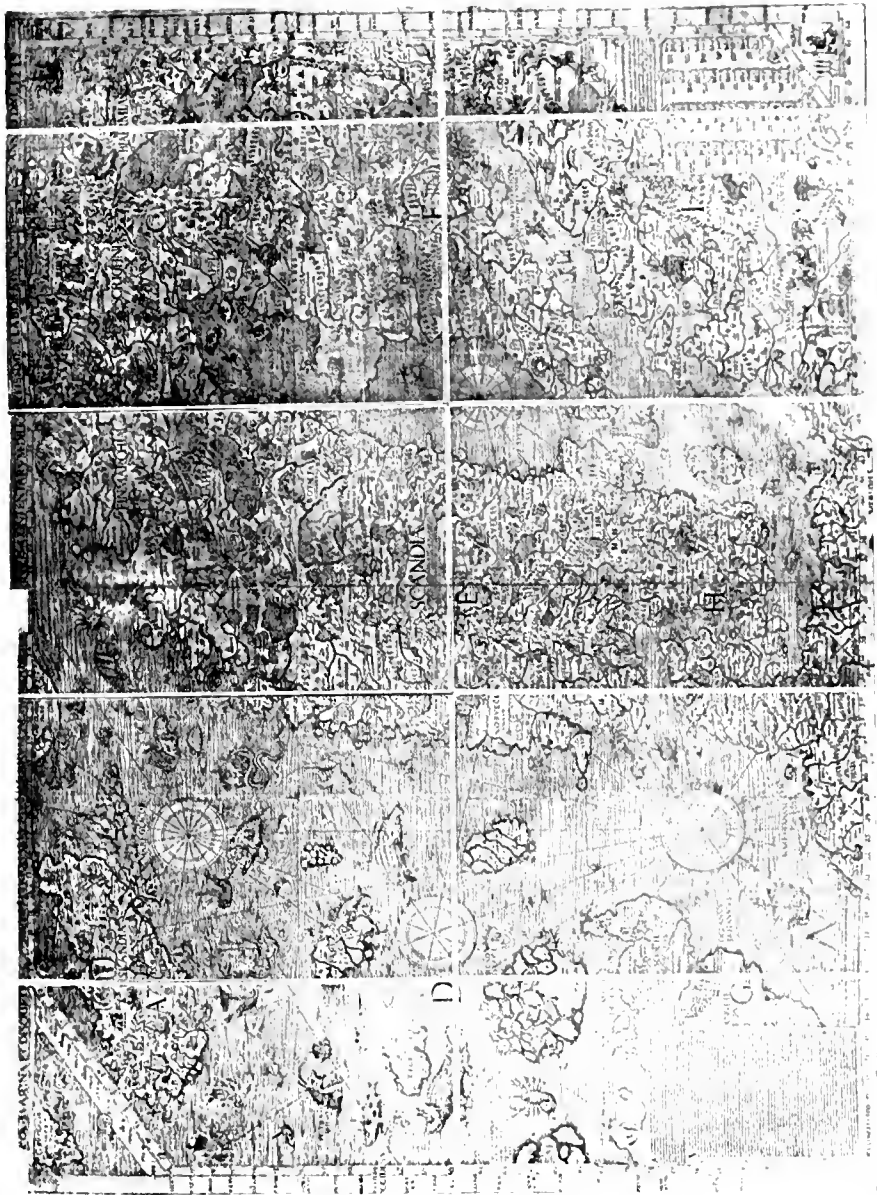
Iceland;¹ the dubious outline of "Frisland"; the removal of "Grislanda" from the Orkneys to the south of Iceland; the placing of St. Thomas's monastery in a situation to the extreme north-east of Greenland, a position which does not suit the narrative and which can certainly have never been reached by the ships of 1410; and some other inaccuracies. The date 1380 on the map, as in the text, is also supposed to have been a mistake of his or of some copyist for 1390, and such an error is quite possible. The best points about the map are its comparative accuracy in depicting the coast of Greenland, though if the Zeno outline be compared with a map of 1467² a certain resemblance will be detected. The outline of Iceland is moderately accurate to the west on the Zeno map, but here again a comparison with the Olaus "Magnus" map of 1539,³ which was prepared, though not printed, at least ten years before the Zeno map was known, will show a slight correspondence. Nicolo Zeno the younger may have seen copies of this map before it was printed. The names given in the Shetland archipelago—supposing Estland to be Shetland—are ahead of Italian knowledge in 1558, when Zeno's map was published. "Podalida" was perhaps a perversion of Pomona in the Orkneys.

Against the narrative, in its present form at any rate, much can be urged. At the very best we must suppose Nicolo Zeno the younger guilty of altering and interpolating. His story of the torn documents, musty with age, is a very common pretext of the fable-monger. The original documents, which would compel belief, have never been produced or discovered. His work was not published till 1558 by Francesco Marcolini, and this was more than a century and a half after the death of the voyagers. In a damp climate such as that of Venice, there would be no small probability of neglected and carelessly treated documents becoming quite illegible after such long neglect. It has been noted by every critic that the text and the map disagree almost hopelessly, which looks as though, in one or other, there had been much interference with the original. At the date when the work was published Venice was extremely eager to claim for herself some share in the credit of Columbus's discoveries as against her old rival Genoa, from whom Columbus had sprung.

¹ Owing to confusion between "Islande" (Shetland) and "Island" (Iceland).

² 'Facsimile Atlas,' pl. xxx. See also Winsor, 'America,' i. 121.

³ Winsor, 'America,' i. 123. The map is reproduced. See also 'Facsimile Atlas,' p. 59. The map dated 1572, Roma, is virtually the same as the old Olaus map of 1539, reproduced in Brenner, O., 'Karte des Olaus Magnus' (Christiania, 1886).



[The face page 336.

CHART FROM WHICH THE ZENO CHART MAY HAVE BEEN TO SOME EXTENT COPIED.

The Olavus Magnus Map of 1539.

It was a time when fraudulent tales were in the air, synchronising closely with the date of the origin of the Madoc myth in England. There was, then, every inducement to foist upon the world a tale which would win glory for Venice and in particular for the family of the Zeni, who were amongst Venice's greatest men. It is, however, true that Nicolo Zeno, the compiler, bore a high character in Venice.¹ There may have been a voyage to Iceland, and even to Greenland, but it will be well to suspend our judgment till some trace of the original documents is discovered. The "Drogio" and "Estotiland" of the map give no ground for concluding that in 1390 or 1410 the Zeni knew of America, as these names may easily have been interpolated from the discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots to suit the story of the fisherman, which only reaches us, it is to be remembered, at third hand.²

¹ Major, 'Letters of Columbus,' xxiv. quotes Patrizio. Nicolo Zeno the younger was born in 1515. There is a trace of the story in 1536, as Marco Barbaro says of Antonio Zeno: "He wrote with his brother Nicolo the voyages of the islands under the Arctic pole and of those discoveries of 1390," and "by order of Zeno, King of Frisland, he went to the continent of Estotiland in North America." *Vide* Major, 'Zeni,' xlv. Zahrtmann holds that Nicolo the younger might have interpolated this statement.

² The unfavourable authorities are, amongst others: De Laet, 'Notae ad dissertationem . . . de origine gentium Americanarum' (Paris, 1643), 20-22; Daru, 'Histoire de Venise' (Paris, 1821), vi. 295-98; Irving, Washington, 'Voyages of Columbus' (London, 1828), iv. 217-24; Biddle, R., 'Cabot' (London, 1831), 328-32; Zahrtmann, Proc. Roy. Geogr. Society, v. 102; Bryant and Gay, 'Popular History of United States' (New York, 1876), i. 76-85; Irmingier, Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. (London), xlix. 398, etc.; Steenstrup, 'Compte Rendu, Congrès des Américanistes' (1880), p. 180, etc.; Winsor, J., 'History of America,' i. 74 (somewhat doubtful). Many authorities accept a portion of the voyages as true. A fairly full bibliography will be found in Anderson, R. B., 'America not Discovered by Columbus' (Chicago, 1883).



CHAPTER X.

CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1399-1485.

Accession of the House of Lancaster—New types of vessels—Antiquity of English nautical terms—Cabins—Ornamentation of ships—Flags—Guns—Officers—An early passenger vessel—Cost of the Navy—Wages—Names of ships—The Navy List of Henry V.—Lancastrian neglect of the Navy—Sale of the fleet—Policing the seas by contract—The ‘Libel of English Policie’—The Hansa league—The value of the sea to England—The re-creation of a navy.



HENRY IV., of Bolingbroke, eldest son of John of Gaunt by Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, began his reign on September 29th, 1399. Under him and his two successors of the House of Lancaster, there seem to have been comparatively few

changes in the material of the navy, though ships grew steadily larger and though the new weapons, which had been introduced early in the fourteenth century, and which were the outcome of the application of gunpowder to the purposes of war, were gradually developed and improved, and yearly became more potent factors in the determination of actions by sea as well as by land. But the period was one of exceedingly slow progress. Engines of more ancient type continued to be employed side by side with cannon, and bows and cross-bows side by side with hand-guns. Indeed, such was the conservatism of the navy, that not until towards the close of the sixteenth century did artillery finally assume the position of dominant arm in the service, and musketry fire altogether displace the arrow and the bolt.

The opening of the fifteenth century introduces us to one or two types of vessels which may possibly have then been new; but more probably it was the names and not the types which were really novel. The “fare-coast,” for example, was, in all likelihood, the earlier “passager” or packet-boat; the “helibot” seems to have been the “hoc-boat”; and there is no evidence that the “collett”

possessed special qualities distinguishing it from some pre-existent small craft. As for the "skiff," it may have been a fresh type, but small, light, swift vessels were used by English seamen in all ages. Carracks and dromons figure as before in the chronicles of maritime occurrences; but these vessels were never characteristic English



SHIP, FIFTEEN CENTURY.

(From Harleian MSS., 4380, folio 149.)

types, and though they occasionally fought for England, they generally appeared either as mercenaries, or as prizes which had been won from a continental enemy.¹ Some of the carracks of the time were large. In the reign of Henry V. one, building at Barcelona, was of 1300 "botts" or tons, and another of 1000.

¹ Nicolas, ii. 441, 442.

These, however, were quite exceptional.¹ Vessels of more than 300 tons were still uncommon.

Nor was it usual for a ship to have more than one mast. In this respect, England was certainly behind many foreign countries. As in the previous period, a few vessels had two masts; but there is some ground for suspecting that most of these had been built abroad. Not until the first years of Henry VII. do three-masters seem to have been known. Many nautical terms that are now familiar were already in use. "Junk" had become a synonym for pieces of old cable; and "blocks" for pulleys; and the words "rigging," "capstanspokes," "tacks," and "fore-lock" are met with.² Cabins in big ships were the rule; and pantries, butteries, and other domestic offices were constructed "under the hatches."³ Vessels were caulked or "calfacted" with tallow and tow, and some had pumps and "poupes." Some also were very splendidly decorated. In the year 1400, one of the king's barges with her mast was painted red, and the ship was ornamented with collars and garters of gold, each collar containing a fleur-de-lys, and each garter a leopard, together with gold "lyames" or leashes, having within each of them a white greyhound and a gold collar. The ship *Good Pace of the Tower* was likewise painted red, but her bulwarks, cabin, and stern were of other colours. On the bowsprit was a large gold eagle with a crown in its mouth. The *Trinity of the Tower* was red, too; on her stern were effigies of St. George, St. Anthony, St. Katherine, and St. Margaret, with four shields of the king's arms within a collar of gold, and two of the arms of St. George within the garter. Two large eagles were painted in the cabin on a diapered ground. The king's barge, *Nicholas of the Tower*, was painted black, and covered or "powdered" with ostrich feathers, the scroll-work being gilt. In one part of her cabin were escutcheons bearing the king's arms and the arms of St. George, and in another part was an image of St. Christopher.⁴ The *Holy Ghost*, built at Southampton for Henry V., was adorned with figures of the supporters of his arms, a swan and an antelope.⁵ The same monarch's own ship, the cog *John*, was distinguished with a crown and sceptre, and his crest, the lion of England

¹ Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, i. 71.

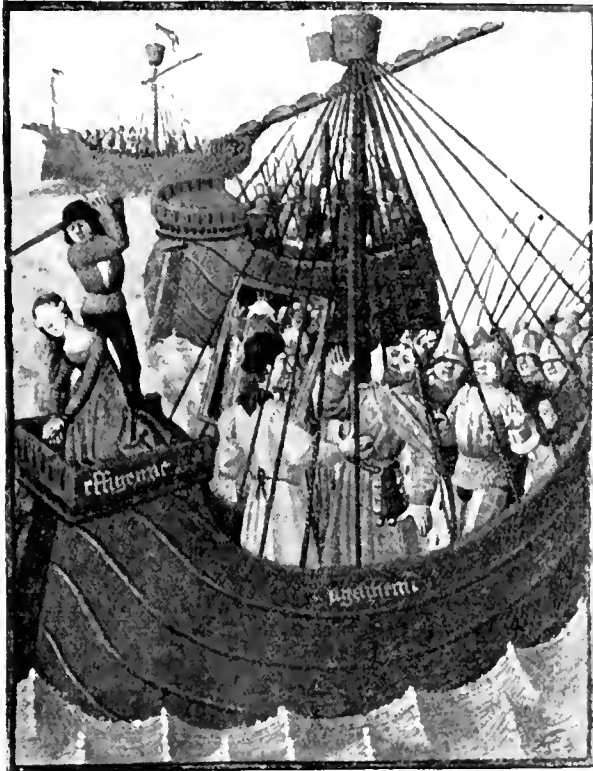
² Nicolas, citing various Carlton Ride papers, ii. 443.

³ Roll C.A. (Carlton Ride papers), 356.

⁴ Roll W.N. (Carlton Ride papers), 1441.

⁵ Issue Roll, 2 Hen. V. 338, 339 (Devon).

crowned, on the truck of the mast. Her capstan was “*ad modum trium florum deliciarum operatum*”—probably capped with a model of three fleurs-de-lys—and she had five smaller and one greater lanterns. The sails of ships were embroidered with badges or arms in colours.¹ The sail of the cog *John* had the king’s arms; that of the *Nicholas*, the royal badge of a swan; that of the



SHIPS, XIVTH CENTURY.

(From *Harleian MSS.*, 4395, folio 159.)

Katrine of the Tower, another royal badge of an antelope climbing up a beacon.²

The flags used were various. The cog *John*, of Henry V., flew, besides the royal banner, two streamers, one of the Trinity, and one of Our Lady, and eight guidons, one of the Trinity, one of Our Lady, one of St. Edward, one of St. George, two bearing the king’s arms, one with a swan, and one with ostrich feathers. She

¹ Her anchor was the gift of Sir John Blount.

² Roll of For. Accounts, temp. Hen. V.

also had eight standards or other flags similarly charged, and one "banner of council." The *Nicholas* flew one streamer of St. Nicholas, and four guidons, one of St. Edward, one of St. George, one of the king's arms, and one with the ostrich feathers. And the *Katrine* flew four guidons, four standards, and a streamer of St. Katherine.¹ It will have been noticed that the names of saints were very commonly given to ships. Then, as now, the naming of a king's vessel was accompanied by a religious ceremony or benediction, for, in July, 1418, the Bishop of Bangor blessed the *Grace à Dieu*, then lately built at Southampton; and received for his expenses £5.² But it is probable that the practice of permitting a layman or a lady to "christen" the ship is a much more modern one, and there is no trace, in the fifteenth century, of ship-baptism with wine.

References to artillery and artillery stores become more and more frequent in the accounts and other papers of the period. There were guns of brass and of iron, hand-guns, and guns with chambers; and stone as well as iron or leaden shot were employed.³ With the compass there seems to have been less progress. The accounts tend to indicate that not every ship carried anything of the sort; and it may be that only flagships or leading vessels were supplied with "dials" and "sailing-needles." The needle itself appears to have been sometimes called the compass; for the *Christopher* is said to have had "iij compass and j dyoll." Nicolas is of opinion that the ballinger *Gabriel of the Tower* may have carried an instrument closely resembling a compass in the modern acceptation of the word, seeing that among her stores were "j dioll, j compasse," and "j boxe."⁴

The officers and crews of ships remained as before. There were masters, constables, carpenters, sailors, and boys; and there was a "clerk" in the king's ships, corresponding with the purser and paymaster of later days. But there were changes in the system of appointment to the office of admiral. It has been already noted that under the Angevins it was usual to appoint an admiral of the north, and another of the west, and that only occasionally was there a commander-in-chief, or Admiral of England. From 1406,

¹ Roll of For. Accounts, temp. Hen. V.

² Issue Roll, 5 Hen. V. 356 (Devon).

³ Various Carlton Ride Rolls, cited by Nicolas, iii. 444.

⁴ Roll of For. Accounts, temp. Hen. V.

however, there was always an Admiral of England, who commanded in chief the fleets of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. As this exalted officer could not be in two places at once, subsidiary flag-officers or commanders of fleets or squadrons were from time to time appointed to serve under him, their commissions always providing that they should not be prejudicial to the rights of the Admiral of England. These subsidiary officers were not always styled admirals, even when they commanded ships and seamen as well as soldiers and men-at-arms afloat. Sometimes they were designated "captains and leaders of men-at-arms and archers on the sea," or "the king's lieutenants on the sea"; and occasionally an admiral commanded the fleet, while a king's lieutenant commanded the men-at-arms and archers in it; whereas on other occasions the captain and leader, or the king's lieutenant, acted with the powers of a modern admiral, commanding both the seamen and all soldiers serving in the ships.¹

In 1836, Mr. Thomas Wright copied from an ancient MS. (R. 3-19) in Trinity College, Cambridge, and sent to Monsieur A. Jal for use in his 'Archéologie Navale,' the following nautical song or ballad, which may be taken as referring to experiences on board an early passenger vessel, and which dates from the reign of Henry VI. It was afterwards printed in the first part of 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' edited by T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell:—

Men may leve all gamys
 That saylen to Seynt Jamys;
 For many a man hit gramys
 When they begyn to sayle.
 For when they have take the see
 At Sandwyche or at Wynchylsee,
 At Brystow, or where that hit be,
 Theyr herts begyn to fayle.

Anone the mastyr commandeth fast
 To his shyp-men, in all the hast,
 To dresse hem sone about the mast
 Theyr takeling to make.
 With "howe, lissa!" then they cry:
 "What howe, mate, thou stondyst to ny;
 Thy fellow may nat hale the by!"
 Thus they begyn to crake.

A boy or tweyn anone up styen,
 And overt-whart the sayle-yerde lyen:
 "Y how talya!" the remenaunt cryen,
 And pull with all theyr myght.
 "Bestowe the bote, bote-swayne, anon,
 That our pylgryms may pley thereon,
 For som ar lyke to cowgh and grone
 Or hit be ful mydnyght.

"Hale the bowelyne! Now, vere the shete!
 Coke, make redy anone our mete.
 Our pylgryms have no lust to ete:
 I pray God give hem rest.
 Go to the helu! What howe! No here?
 Steward, felow, a pot of bere!"
 "Ye shall have, ser, with good chere
 Anone, all of the best."

¹ 'Fœdera,' ix. 202.

"Y howe! Trussa! Hale in the brayles!
Thow hadyest nat! Be god! Thow fayles!
O! se howe well owre good shyp sayles!"

And thus they say among. [done!]
"Hale in the wartake!" "Hit shall be
"Steward, cover the boorde anone,
And set bred and salt thereone,
And tary nat to long."

Then cometh oone and seyth, "Be mery:
Ye shal have a storme or a pery."
"Holde thow thy pese! Thow canst no
whery;

Thow medlyst wondyr sore."
Thus mene colide the pylgryms ly,
And have theyr bowlys fast theym by,
And cry aftyr₂hote malvesy
Theyr help₂ for₂ to restore.

And som wold have a saltyd tost,
For they myght ete neyther sode ne rost.
A man myght some pay for theyr cost
As for oo day or twayne.

Som layde theyr bookys on theyr kne,
And rad so long they myght nat se.
"Alas! myne hede woll cleve on thre!"
Thus seyth another, "certayne!"

Then commeth owre owner lyke a londe,
And speketh many a royall worde,
And dresseth hym to the hygh borde
To see all thyngs be well.

Anone he calleth a carpentere,
And biddeth hym bring with hym hys
gere,
To make the cabans here and there
With many a febyll cell.

"A sak of strawe were there ryght good,"
For som must lyg theym ni theyr hood.
I had as lefe be in the wood
Without mete or drynk:
For when that we shall go to bed,
The pompe was nygh our bedde hedde:
A man were as good to be dede
As smell therof the styngk.

Freely translated.—They who sail to St. James may bid good-bye to all pleasures: for many a man suffers when he begins to sail; and when he has put to sea from Sandwich, from Winchelsea, or from Bristol, no matter whence it be, his heart begins to fail. Presently the master briefly orders his men to take up their positions in all haste about the mast in order to handle their tackle. With "Ho! Hoist!" then they cry, "What ho! mate; you stand too near: your comrade cannot haul when he is so close to you!" Thus they begin to crack on. Presently a boy or two goes aloft, and lies out on the yard. The others cry, "Y ho! talya!" and pull with all their might. "Now give us the boat, boatswain, that our passengers may ply therein; for some of them are like to cough and groan ere it be full midnight. Haul the bowline! Now, veer the sheet! Cook, make haste to make ready our meal. Our passengers have no desire to eat. I pray God to give them rest. Go to the helm! What ho! Do you not hear? Steward, fellow, a pot of beer!" "Sir, you shall have of all the best directly, with good cheer." "Oh, ho! Trussa! Haul on the brails! You are not hauling! By God! You are a weakling! Oh, see how well our good ship sails!" And thus they talk among themselves. "Haul in the warp tackle!" "It shall be done!" "Steward, lay the table at once, and set bread and salt on it, and do not be too long about it." Then one comes and says, "Be merry; you will have a storm or other peril!" "Hold your tongue! You can know nothing about it! You are a sorry meddler!" In the meanwhile the passengers lie about, and have their basins close by them, and cry out for hot malvoisie to put them right. And some, who could eat neither boiled nor roast, called for a salted toast. It would not cost more to keep them for two days than for one. Some laid their books on their knees, and read until they could see no longer. "Alas! my head will split in three beyond all doubt!" So says another. Then our owner comes up like a lord, and says many a patronising word, and takes the head of the table, to see that all things go well. Presently he summons a carpenter, and bids him bring his tools with him, to make cabins here and there, with a number of small bunks. "A sack of straw," says the master, "would be well there;" for some have to lie down in their cloaks. I would as soon be in a wood without meat or drink: for when we turn in, the pumps will be close to our bed head, and a man who breathes the stench of it were as good as dead.

The approximate cost of such navy as was maintained by the Lancastrian kings may be estimated from the fact that during one quarter of the year 1410, the tonnage allowance paid to shipowners, together with the wages and rewards of the men-at-arms, masters, constables, and mariners amounted to £8240 17s. 6d. This would



FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, BY JOHN ROUS, WHO DIED 1491.

(*Cotton MSS., Julius E. iv. 6.*)

be equivalent to about £33,000 a year, assuming fleets to be kept in commission for so long a period. In the same year, the safe guarding of the sea—which may have been expenditure under a different heading—cost £6241 17s. 6d. for one quarter and half a quarter. This was at the rate of about £16,700 a year. The total expenditure may possibly therefore have been as much as £50,000 or thereabouts

in years when the unofficial wars with France and Spain were at their height.

Wages in the navy remained throughout the Lancastrian period as they had been under Edward III.; but, in addition to their wages, most persons employed by the Crown received a sum called a "reward," which, in the case of a seaman, was sixpence a week. Exactly what "reward" then signified is unknown, nor is it known under what rules and regulations the gratuity was granted. But it was probably derived from the wages of fictitious men, not actually borne.

On August 12th, 1417, being then at Touques, near Honfleur, Henry V. granted an annuity to the master of each of his ships, carracks, barges, and ballingers. The enclosure with the letters missive addressed upon the occasion to the chancellor, the Bishop of Durham, seems to show that the king's ships at that time, and the names of their commanders or masters were as follows:—

DESCRIPTION.	NAME.	MASTER.
Great ship . . .	<i>Jesu</i> . . .	John William
" . . .	<i>Trinity Royal</i> . . .	Stephen Thomas
" . . .	<i>Holy Ghost</i> . . .	Jordan Brownyng
Carrack . . .	<i>Peter</i> . . .	John Gerard
" . . .	<i>Paul</i> . . .	William Payne
" . . .	<i>Andrew</i> . . .	John Thornyng
" . . .	<i>Christopher</i> . . .	— Tendrell
" . . .	<i>Marie</i> . . .	William Hethe
" . . .	<i>Marie</i> . . .	William Richeman
" . . .	<i>George</i> . . .	John Mersh
" . . .	<i>Agnes or Agase (?)</i> . . .	—
Ship . . .	<i>Nicholas</i> . . .	William Robynson
" . . .	<i>Katherine</i> . . .	John Kyngeston
" . . .	<i>Marie</i> . . .	Richard Walsh
" . . .	<i>Flaward (?)</i> . . .	Thomas Martyn
" . . .	<i>Marie</i> . . .	William Cheke
" . . .	<i>Christopher</i> . . .	William Yalton
Barge . . .	<i>Petite Trinité</i> . . .	John Piers
Ballinger . . .	<i>Ann</i> . . .	Ralph Hoskard
" . . .	<i>Nicholas</i> . . .	Robert Shad
" . . .	<i>George</i> . . .	Edward Hoper
" . . .	<i>Cracchere</i> . . .	Stephen Welles
" . . .	<i>Gabriel</i> . . .	Andrew Godefrey
" . . .	<i>Little John</i> . . .	John Bull
" . . .	<i>Janus</i> . . .	Janyn Cossard
" . . .	<i>Sivan</i> . . .	— Rowe
" . . .	<i>Katherine</i> . . .	Janyn Dene

The annuity for each master of a great ship or carrack was £6 13s. 4d.; that for each master of a ship, £5; and that for each

master of a barge or ballinger, £3 6s. 8d. The *James* and *Swan* were attached, probably as tenders, to the *Holy Ghost* and the *Trinity* respectively.¹

It is noteworthy that the revolution which, in 1460, deposed the House of Lancaster, and set up the House of York, was, to a large extent, a naval one. The attitude of the navy was the almost inevitable result of the commercial policy which had been pursued by the Lancastrian kings, and especially by the last two of them. With the exception of a decreasing number of king's ships, all

¹ Mr. M. Oppenheim ('History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,' vol. i. p. 12) has compiled from the accounts of William Catton and William Soper, successive keepers of the ships, a list, which he believes to be the fullest so far printed, of the navy of Henry V. This list is given below, but, for the sake of brevity, the affix "of the Tower," which is therein applied to each of the vessels, except the *Marie Hampton* and *Marie Sandwich*, and which is simply equivalent to the modern prefix "H.M.S.," is omitted. The list is, of course, of a date a few years later than the one given in the text:—

	Built.	Taken.	Tons.		Built.	Taken.	Tons.
Ships:—				Carracks (cont.):—			
<i>Jesus</i> . . . . .	..	..	1000	<i>Agass</i> . . . . .	..	³ 1416	..
<i>Holigost</i>	1414	..	760	<i>Peter</i> . . . . .	..	³ 1117	..
<i>Trinity Royal</i>	1416	..	540	<i>Paul</i> . . . . .	..	⁴ 1417	..
<i>Grace Dieu</i>	1418	..	400	<i>Andrew</i> . . . . .	..	⁴ 1417	..
<i>Thomas</i> ¹	1420	..	180	Barges:—			
<i>Grande Marie</i> . . . . .	..	² 1416	420	<i>Valentine</i>	1418	..	100
<i>Little Marie</i> . . . . .	..	..	140	<i>Marie Bretton</i> . . . . .	..	..	..
<i>Katrine</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	Ballingers:—			
<i>Christopher Spayne</i> . . . . .	..	⁴ 1417	600	<i>Katrine Bretton</i> . . . . .	..	² 1416	..
<i>Marie Spayne</i> . . . . .	..	⁴ 1417	..	<i>James</i>	1417	..	..
<i>Holigost Spayne</i> . . . . .	..	⁴ 1417	290	<i>Ann</i>	1417	..	120
<i>Philip</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	<i>Swan</i>	1417	..	120
<i>Little Trinity</i> . . . . .	..	..	120	<i>Nicholas</i>	1418	..	120
<i>Great Gabriel</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	<i>George</i> . . . . .	..	..	120
<i>Coy John</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	<i>Gabriel</i> . . . . .	..	..	..
<i>Red Coy</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	<i>Gabriel de Harfleur</i> . . . . .	..	..	..
<i>Margaret</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	<i>Little John</i> . . . . .	..	..	..
Carracks:—				<i>Falcon</i> . . . . .	..	..	80
<i>Marie Hampton</i> . . . . .	..	² 1416	500	<i>Roos</i> . . . . .	..	..	30
<i>Marie Sandwich</i> . . . . .	..	² 1416	550	<i>Crachere</i> . . . . .	..	..	56
<i>George</i> . . . . .	..	² 1416	600				

¹ Rebuilt.² Captured by the Duke of Bedford.³ Taken in Southampton Water or at Dartmouth.⁴ Captured by the Earl of Huntingdon.

The *Holigost* seems to have carried six, the *Thomas* four, the *George* and *Grace Dieu* each three, and the *Katrine* and *Andrew* each two guns. The *Grace Dieu* was accidentally burnt at Bursledon in 1439. The *Georges*, both carrack and ballinger, *Christopher*, *Katrine Bretton*, *Thomas*, *Grande Marie*, *Holigost Spayne*, *Nicholas*, *Swan*, and *Crachere*, were all sold in 1423. Only two of the vessels, the *Trinity* and *Holigost*, seem to have remained in 1452; when they, rotten and useless, practically constituted the entire Royal Navy of England.

vessels used for war in those days had been built for merchantmen, served as merchantmen in peace-time, belonged to merchants, and were manned by persons nominally in the pay of merchants. The connection between the navy and the general mercantile prosperity of the country was consequently very intimate. If the merchants were discontented, the navy was apt to be inclined to disaffection: and, under Henry V. and Henry VI., the merchants of England were nearly ruined. Indeed, it was said that the frequent and often unreasonably protracted arrests of shipping, the undue favour accorded to foreigners, and the heavy exactions of various kinds, brought about such a decline of commerce that the people became poorer than they had ever been within the memory of persons then living. The natural course of trade was interfered with; as, for example, by Henry VI., who, not satisfied with mortgaging the customs of London and Southampton to the Cardinal of Winchester, engaged by indenture to turn sea-borne commerce chiefly to those ports. And the security of personal property was outraged by the same king, when, in his thirty-first year, he seized all the tin at Southampton, and sold it for his own purposes. The business that drifted away from the merchants of England fell into the hands first of those of the Hanse Towns,¹ and then of those of Italy;² and as the commercial classes, probably with good reason, imagined that the transfer was aided by the corrupt intrigues of the Court and particularly by those of Queen Margaret of Anjou, they were not slow to welcome the Yorkists, among whose professed principles were the encouragement of trade, the revival of the navy, and distrust of foreigners.

And, indeed, the navy sadly needed revival, for the fleet had practically ceased to exist. Under Henry VI., one of the first orders of the Council³ had directed the sale of most of it, apparently to pay the late king's debts. How little of national feeling there was in the land, and how entirely the navy was regarded as the personal possession of the sovereign, will appear from the fact that the Council parted from the fleet without a quahn, and that the people quietly suffered the iniquity. For the two years ending August 31st, 1439, the whole outlay on the Royal Navy was only £8 9s. 7d.

After the sale of the navy, the police of the Narrow Seas, so far

¹ Molloy: 'De Jure Maritimo,' 341. ² Fabian, 459. See also Grafton and Hall.

³ Acts of the P.C., Mar. 3rd, 1423.

as it was carried out at all, was carried out by contractors. In 1440, the seamen employed by one of these, Sir John Speke, received 1s. 6*d.* a week as pay, and a similar amount for victuals.¹ A few years later, and until 1450 or afterwards, the *Nicholas*, which up to 1423 had belonged to the Royal Navy, was doing duty on behalf of the contractors. In 1445 the contractors' seamen received 1s. 9*d.* a week, and a weekly reward of 6*d.*; boys were paid 1s. 1½*d.*; and masters obtained 6*d.* a day. At times, the contractors seem to have done their work fairly well; though one has no means of saying how far they were assisted, seeing that, for example, in 1444–45, a Cinque Ports fleet of twenty-six vessels was in commission. But the contract system was identified with the Lancastrian dynasty; and as soon as the Yorkists gained sufficient power, they vigorously set about ending it. As early as 1454, measures with this object were adopted.

It may be said that, upon the whole, the promises foreshadowed by the advent of the Yorkists were fairly performed. Edward IV. did much to encourage trade, and under him it grew greatly; he devoted steady attention to the recovery and maintenance of the dominion of the sea; and he was essentially an English king, though a profligate, and sometimes a cruel one. Nor did he greatly oppress his subjects. He drew from them, it is true, benevolences to meet his most pressing needs, and so raised money without the assistance of Parliament; but these aids came chiefly from the rich, and they were, at least nominally, of a voluntary nature. The poor were not taxed beyond the bounds of reason, and it is not recorded that the rich were ruined. Edward V. reigned only for a few months. Richard III. called but one parliament, and levied but one regular tax—a tenth upon the clergy; and, no matter what may have been his private character and motives, he was neither incapable nor unpatriotic as a king. In 1484 he formally abolished benevolences as “new and unlawful inventions,” though it is more than suspected that he continued to raise them until the close of his short reign. On the other hand, he was not particularly extortionate, and he was an undoubted friend to commercial development.

Under the Yorkists there were even fewer changes in the material and management of the navy than under the Lancastrians. But the period is remarkable as having witnessed the first publication, apparently in manuscript, of a little anonymous verse treatise, the

¹ Roll of For. Accts. xi.

spirit breathed by which has ever since, and with ever-increasing power, influenced the English race.

Entitled 'De Politia Conservativa Maris,' and as such printed in Hakluyt,¹ it is more generally known as 'The Libel of English Policie.' It is in English ten-syllabled rhymed couplets. Although



FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, BY JOHN ROUS, WHO DIED 1491.

(Cotton MSS., Julius, E. iv. 6.)

its authorship is a matter of doubt,² it is known, from statements in the work itself, that it was revised and approved of by Walter, first Baron Hungerford, during the lifetime of the Emperor Sigismund; and, as Hungerford, who had served as admiral of a squadron in 1416, was not summoned as a baron until 1426, and

¹ Voyages, i. 187.

² It has been attributed, with some show of reason, to Bishop Adam de Moleyns, who was murdered at Portsmouth in 1450.

Sigismund died in 1437, the date of the 'Libel' must lie between those years. It is divided into an introduction and twelve chapters, and is of sufficient importance to merit some analysis here, seeing that the writer was perhaps the first to fully grasp the importance to England of commerce and sea-power.

The general introduction runs:—"Here beginneth the prologue of the processe of the Libel of English Policie, exhorting all England to keep the Sea, and namely the Narrow Sea; shewing what profite cometh thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all Englishmen."

After demonstrating both the usefulness and the necessity of England's preserving the dominion of the sea, and stating that the Emperor Sigismund, who had been in England in 1416, and who had gone to France with Henry V., had advised that king to keep the two towns Dover and Calais as carefully as he would keep his two eyes, the author explains the device on the gold noble¹ struck by Edward III., after Sluis, his text being:—

"Four things our noble sheweth unto me,
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea."

The first chapter contains an account of the commodities of Spain and Flanders, and insists that neither country could live without the other, while Spanish wool could not, without an admixture of English, be worked by the Flamands. Trade between Spain and Flanders must be precarious unless both countries were at peace with England; so that, with Calais and Dover in English hands, and the sea under English dominion, Spain and Flanders flourished only by the permission of England.

The second chapter deals with the commodities of Portugal, and points out that Portugal had always been friendly to England, and that a valuable trade had always subsisted between the two countries, although the current of the commerce had begun to turn so as to benefit Flanders. Another chapter treats of the commerce of Brittany, and of the general interruption occasioned to trade by the piracies of the Bretons, whenever England failed to assert her dominion of the Narrow Seas. In the fourth chapter, the commerce of Scotland is reviewed, the conclusion being that Scotland might be ruined, should England, strong at sea, see fit to prevent her from drawing her household stuffs, her haberdashery,

¹ Illustrated, *ante*, p. 145.

her agricultural tools, and even her wheel-barrows and cart-wheels from abroad.

The fifth chapter relates to Germany and the Hanse Towns; the sixth to Genoa; the seventh to Venice and Florence; and the eighth to the non-German Hanse Towns, especially those of the Low Countries. These chapters mainly insist upon the evils resulting from English encouragement of foreigners, and upon the advantage to England, should she secure the trade carried on by others, as she might do, were she strong at sea.¹

The ninth chapter contains a survey of the commerce of Ireland, with a suggestion that English trade would be more benefited by a thorough reduction of that island than by all the efforts to conquer France by military methods. The tenth chapter speaks of the trade from Scarborough and Bristol to Iceland, and includes an excursus on the importance of Calais. The eleventh chapter is devoted to recalling the naval power of Edgar and of Edward III., and to setting forth the progress made under Henry V. in the construction of larger ships than had been previously built in England.

The twelfth and final chapter is recapitulatory, and it closes with a strong exhortation to the people of England to consider the importance of the author's pleas, and in particular to bear in mind the necessity of maintaining the sovereignty of the seas, whereon the peace, plenty, and prosperity of the island chiefly depend. The spirit of the conclusion strangely recalls the wording of the preamble

¹ The evils complained of were already in process of correction. Mr. Oppenheim says: "If the Norman conquest gave the first great impulse to English over-sea trade, the events of the close of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries may be held to mark the second important era in the development of merchant shipping by the opening up of fresh markets. Hitherto, the products of the countries of the Baltic had been mainly obtained through the agency of the merchants of the Hansa, who had their chief factory in London, with branches at York, Lynn, and Boston. In the same way, English exports found their way to the north only through Hansa merchants and in Hansa ships. For two centuries they had held a monopoly of the purchase and export of the products of the north, by virtue of treaties with, and payments made to, the northern powers, and an unlicensed, but very effective, warfare waged on all ships which ventured to trade through the Sound. But the war against Waddemar III. of Denmark, the depredations of the organised pirate republic known as the Victual Brothers, followed by the struggle with Eric XIII. of Sweden, were times of disorder lasting through more than half a century, from which the Hansa emerged nominally victorious, but with the loss of the prestige and vigour that had made its monopoly possible. While it was fighting to uphold its pretensions, the Dutch and English had both seized the opportunity of forcing their way into the Baltic, and when, in 1435, the Hansa extorted from its antagonists a triumphant peace, the real utility of the privileges thus obtained had passed away for ever."—*Admin. of Roy. Navy*, 10, 11.

to the modern Naval Discipline Act, and may have originally suggested it, though a very similar expression occurs in a complaint of the Commons in 1416.¹

The doctrine of the influence of sea-power is, therefore, no new one. It has been analysed, and, so to speak, codified by nineteenth-century writers, such as Mahan and Colomb; but in all its most essential bearings it was fully grasped by this anonymous fifteenth-century rhymester. In the following century it was familiar to Bacon,² who, in his essay, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates,' wrote: "To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy... He that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely at this day, with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea, which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain, is great, both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas." And, in the seventeenth century, Raleigh understood the doctrine, when, in his 'Discourse of the First Invention of Ships,' he declared: "Whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

Yet even the unknown author of the 'Libel' preached an ancient and, in theory, a long-accepted gospel. Cicero wrote to Atticus: "Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri."

The reconstitution of the Royal Navy was a slow process. At first it seems to have been attempted by the process of buying and adapting merchantmen. As early as July, 1461, a ship, the *Margaret*, of Ipswich, which carried cannon, was spoken of as "our great ship."³ In 1463 a caravel was bought for £80, and a partial or entire share in the *John Evangelist* was similarly secured.⁴ In 1468, the *Mary of Grace* was purchased; and in 1470 a ship called the *Martin Garcia* was acquired from Portugal.⁵ A *St. Peter* was

¹ Parl. Rolls, iv. 79.

² Although this essay was not actually published until 1612.

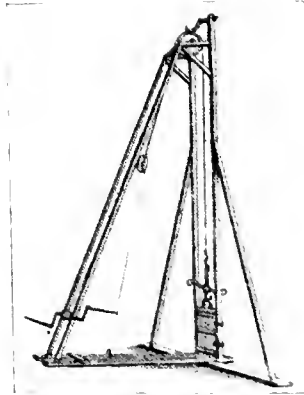
³ Excheq. Warr. for Issues, July 20th.

⁴ *Ib.*, July 5th, 1463.

⁵ *Ib.*, Dec. 14th, 1468; July 18th, 1470.

bought from Spain at about the same time. The first ship to be built for the new navy seems to have been another *Grace Dieu*¹ in 1473; though it is not quite certain that one of the vessels previously purchased had not been so re-named. Other king's ships mentioned prior to the fall of Richard III. are the *Trinity*, *Falcon*, *Mary of the Tower* (a carrack acquired from France), *Mary Ashe* (which may, however, be another form of *Mary of Grace*), *Governor*, and *Nicholas*, the last two being bought at the beginning of 1485.

¹ Called also *Grace à Dieu*, *Grace de Dieu*.



CHAPTER XI.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1399-1485.

Unofficial war with France—Fears of invasion—The Scots in the Narrow Seas—Henry IV. illegally attempts to raise shipping—Operations against the Welsh—Piracy in the Channel—Naval discontent—English pirates defeated—French descents upon the coast—The English retaliate—The French in the Isle of Wight—The English in Brittany and Picardy—The French at Portland—And at Dartmouth—Attack on Falmouth—Prince James of Scots captured by Prendergast—Difficulties of a royal admiral-in-chief—Attempt upon Sluis—The English on the Norman Coast—French invasion of Wales—Exploits of Harry Pay—Spain assists France—Exploits of Don Pedro Niño—The merchants undertake the guard of the sea—Jersey attacked—Sea fight with the French—Death of the Earl of Kent—Truce with Burgundy—Truce with Spain—Successes of Umfravill—Excesses of Prendergast and Long—Henry V. and the Navy—Costliness of Henry's naval glory—A question of international law—Insecurity of the Channel—Attempts to put down piracy—Henry asserts his claim to France—Naval preparations—Alarm of France—Capture of Harfleur—Wrongful prizes—Merchantmen in consort—The Emperor Sigismund in England—Harfleur invested—Renewed attempts on the English coast—British victory off Harfleur—Death of Lord West—Temporary truce with France—Preparations for a renewal of war—The Earl of Huntingdon's victory—Henry invades France—The treaty of Troyes—Henry enters Paris—Provisioning the army in France—Relief of Calais—Collapse of the English power there—Reduction of Harfleur—Truce with France—A disastrous French alliance—Protectorate of the Duke of York—Treason of Queen Margaret—Sandwich pillaged—Warwick the king-maker—His naval prowess and popularity—Cleverness of Sir John Dinham—Warwick invades England and surprises Sir Simon Montfort—Victory of the Yorkist cause—Successes of the Earl of Kent—Warwick's intrigues—Prompt action of the king—Death of Warwick—Piracies of the Bastard of Fauconberg—War with France—The peace of Amiens in 1475—The fleet employed against Scotland—Accession of Richard III.—Richmond intrigues in Brittany—England invaded—Death of Richard.



HENRY IV., at his accession, found England officially at peace with France; and at peace she officially remained until the day of his death. The long truce continued, and, in theory at least, it stood unbroken during the whole thirteen years of the reign. Yet most of the period was characterised by great naval activity. In the first place, war with France was yearly, and often daily, expected; in the second place, unofficial hostilities, sometimes on a large and serious scale, were of very

frequent occurrence. Charles of France never ceased to resent the fate of his son-in-law, Richard of England; Henry of England never shut his eyes to the fact that Charles of France steadily encouraged domestic attempts to dethrone him. An atmosphere thus overcharged could not fail to produce sparks and even lurid flashes, truce or no truce.

On November 15th, 1399, Thomas, Earl of Worcester,¹ was appointed sole admiral, with jurisdiction over the Irish as well as over the northern and western fleets; and early in the following year measures were debated for the defence of the kingdom, of Calais, and of the sea. As taxation was unpopular, and Henry's position was not very secure, the spiritual lords agreed to submit to the levy of a tenth upon their property, and numerous temporal peers undertook to raise and support soldiers and seamen. Lords Lovell, Berkeley, Camoys, Powys, St. John, Burnell, Willoughby, and Roos further consented each to find a ship with twenty men-at-arms and forty archers, besides a crew, and Lords Fitzwalter, St. Maur, and D'Arcy each to defray the expense of half a ship, and of ten men-at-arms and twenty archers.² Such navy as there was was ordered to assemble at Sandwich, and a small craft, the *Katherine*, of Guernsey, was sent to bring in the king's ships and the other vessels.³

The activity of the French gave rise to alarms of invasion, and in consequence soldiers were collected at various points;⁴ but Henry, anxious not to provoke any breach of the truce, directed his vessels to commit no acts of war against any people save the Scots, who had begun to make aggressions,⁵ and who were rendering the Narrow Seas so unsafe that a Venetian galley, which had been detained at Plymouth pending the settlement of a commercial dispute, dared not come on to London until ships were dispatched thence for her convoy.⁶ In the meantime, Henry proceeded against the Scots, and charged Richard Clyderow⁷ with the organisation and conduct of a squadron of armed storeships destined to co-operate with him.⁸

¹ Previously Sir Thomas Percy. See note, *ante*, p. 291.

² Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 103, 104.

³ Her master was paid 60s. for the service. Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Hen. IV.

⁴ *Fodera*, viii. 123, 138.

⁵ *Ib.*, viii. 142, 147.

⁶ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 120.

⁷ Clyderow was made Admiral of the Western fleet in 1406, when the merchants undertook the defence of the Narrow Seas.

⁸ Scots Rolls, ii. 153.

In 1401, to counteract the fear of invasion, Henry ordered certain ports and towns each to build him a barge or ballinger.¹ Parliament, which had not been consulted, demanded the cancelling of the order, and the king was obliged to submit.² In April, Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, was made Admiral of the Northern, and Sir Thomas Rempston, Admiral of the Western fleet, and they appear to have gone to sea in June ;³ but naval forces other than theirs were simultaneously employed in the Bristol Channel against the Welsh, who were led by Owen Glendower. Hotspur was in command against him. At Bardsey Island Hotspur took a Scots ship which had probably been sent with supplies to the Welsh, and near Milford he captured another Scots vessel full of men.⁴ Few details, however, of the naval campaign in that quarter have been preserved. In the same year a remission of service, to the extent of five ships, one hundred men, and five boys, for the five next occasions of the calling out of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, was granted to the town of Hythe, in consideration of damage caused there by a fire and a pestilence, and of five Hythe ships and a hundred men having been lost at sea.⁵

The year 1402 witnessed several acts of piracy by both English and French. According to the chronicler of St. Denis,⁶ the initial fault lay with the English. Three thousand of the most skilful sailors of England and Bayonne, it was supposed with the approbation of Henry, were banded together for piratical ends, and they incessantly harassed the French coasts. Among other acts of theirs, if the chronicler may be trusted, were the ravaging of the Isle of Rhé, and the kidnapping of a hundred poor fishermen of Picardy. Obtaining permission to make reprisals, the French made incursions on the coasts of England, and fought two or three small actions at sea, sometimes being successful, and sometimes being beaten.

The disorganisation of the navy at the time is well shown by the complaints of some peers and others who were sent, at the end of 1402, to bring to England Joan of Navarre, the affianced wife of King Henry. After saying that they had been eleven days at sea, and were in sight of Brittany, when contrary winds obliged them either to enter the Spanish Sea (the Bay of Biscay) or to return to

¹ 'Fœdera,' viii. 172.

² Parl. Rolls, iii. 458.

³ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 56.

⁴ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 153.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 2 Hen. IV.

⁶ Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 52.

England, they declared that no arrangements had been made for paying the wages of the crews of their ships, and that, had not most of the lords paid, or undertaken to pay, the men for fifteen days, the vessels could not have quitted port. They were then at Plymouth, and would sail again as soon as the wind permitted; but if the queen should not be ready to embark upon their arrival, or if bad weather should protract the voyage, the lack of money might imperil the issue of the expedition. Joan embarked at Camaret on January 13th, 1403, intending to make Southampton, but after a rough passage of five days, she was glad to land at Falmouth.¹

In the interval the piratical warfare went on. In the course of the winter, several persons of Plymouth or Cornwall, including the celebrated freebooter Harry Pay,² were summoned before the Council for having captured a ship of Castille, and a few weeks later some men of Dover, Portsmouth, Fowey, Hull, and Rye had to explain their conduct to certain aggrieved Flamands.³

In July, 1403, similar proceedings brought about a regular sea fight, ending in an English defeat. An English force was cruising off the coast of Brittany, and committing various enormities, when, by the advice of Olivier de Clisson, the Bretons determined to intercept the passage home of the marauders. With the Sire de Penbert, Admiral of Brittany,⁴ and Guillaume du Châtel as their commanders, they embarked twelve hundred men-at-arms and a large body of light troops in thirty vessels at St. Pol de Léon, near Morlaix, and put to sea, having previously sent scouts ahead of them. Next day the scouts returned and reported the English off St. Mathieu, on the coast near Finistère, and the Bretons, proceeding, sighted their enemy at about sunset. In the night, the English got under way, as if steering for home, and at dawn each fleet was formed into two divisions, and the Bretons attacked. After six hours of hot fighting, the English, finding their formation dis-

¹ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 190.

² Or Henry Pay: the same who assisted in the taking of twenty-nine French vessels in 1405. He is said to have lived at Poole, but is believed to have been a Sussex man. He is sometimes called a knight. In 1414 he was paid £5 6s. 8d. for going to Calais to ascertain the position of affairs there. Beyond the account given here and elsewhere in the text, little is known of him.

³ Close Rolls, 4 Hen. IV.

⁴ There was then an admiral of each maritime duchy in France. In 1625 the Duke de Guise called himself Admiral of Provence, and only in 1695 was the office of Admiral of Brittany abolished.

advantageous, re-formed their fleet into one body. The Bretons did the same, and the action was renewed until the English had exhausted all their missiles, and had five hundred men killed or drowned. Then forty of their ships and one carrack surrendered. Those Englishmen who had flung their weapons overboard were thrown after them by the Breton commanders. The rest, a thousand in number, were carried into Breton ports.¹

Another notable French exploit of the year was a descent upon Haverfordwest by a hundred and twenty ships, with twelve hundred soldiers, under De Tries,² Admiral of France, who subsequently joined the Welsh under Owen Glendower; but after the Battle of Shrewsbury, the contingent went back to St. Pol de Léon.³ In August a force under Du Châtel—perhaps the same squadron which had defeated the English at sea—threw a body of men ashore near Plymouth and pillaged and burnt the town, subsequently departing unhindered.⁴

In retaliation for the affair at Plymouth, a squadron, with six thousand men on board, sailed across to Brittany in November, burnt St. Mathieu, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants. A French force which assembled by the following day was defeated in a bloody battle, and most of the Breton vessels on the coast were taken, and their crews murdered. From St. Mathieu the English went to Guienne, and captured in the Gironde a number of French vessels laden with wine.⁵ This English squadron seems to have been commanded by a gentleman named William Wilford; but its success did not free the coasts of England from the attacks of French pirates, and in September, when Winchester appeared to be threatened, special means were adopted to provide for its defence.⁶ On November 5th, Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley,⁷ was appointed

¹ Monstrelet; Chron. of St. Denis; Des Ursins; Guérin, *Hist. Marit. de France*,⁷ i. 315.

² Some authorities say, under Châteaubriand and De la Jaille.

³ Monstrelet, xv.

⁴ Walsingham, 412; Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 113; Fabian (Ellis), 571; Otterbourne, 245. Many French historians appear to confuse the various attempts made at about this time.

⁵ Des Ursins, 157; Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 112, 113.

⁶ Close Rolls, 4 Hen. IV.

⁷ His ancestors had been barons by tenure since the Conquest. He succeeded his father Maurice in 1368, being then fifteen. He subsequently served ashore in France and Wales. This seems to have been his only naval command. He died in 1415. His daughter Elizabeth married Richard, Earl of Warwick.

Admiral of the Western, and Sir Thomas Beaufort,¹ Admiral of the Northern fleet, and at about the same time, an embargo was laid upon shipping in all the ports,² and troops were levied to resist an apprehended attack by the Count de la Marche upon Southampton.³ That winter, when the usual convoy went to Bordeaux for wine, it was directed to return to England at the earliest possible moment, and the best ships and barges were not permitted to form part of it.⁴

Soon after Christmas, the French landed in the Isle of Wight; but while carrying off booty, they were attacked by a superior force, and driven back, with the loss of some of their spoil.⁵

In view of all this, it is astonishing that Parliament, in 1404, instead of taking notice of the illegalities of the French, turned its attention rather to English breaches of the law, and complained of unjust prosecutions in the Admiralty and other courts.⁶

The French renewed their attempt upon the Isle of Wight in February, and lying off with a large fleet, sent ashore to demand tribute in the names of King Richard and Queen Isabella. The inhabitants replied that Richard was dead, that Isabella had been sent home in peace without stipulations for the payment of any tribute, and that they would pay nothing, but that if the French cared to fight the matter out, they might land and first refresh themselves for six hours without molestation. This curious offer, similar to one which, it may be remembered, had been made on a previous occasion, was not accepted; and the enemy, probably because he had news of an English fleet in his neighbourhood, departed without doing anything further.⁷

In the spring, the English again laid waste part of the coasts of Brittany and Picardy, behaving, according to the French account, with detestable cruelty. As a counterstroke, the French resolved upon a regular siege of Calais, by sea as well as by land; and not having sufficient ships for that purpose and for other necessary objects, they obtained a promise of a contingent of vessels and crossbow-men from Spain.⁸

¹ A natural son of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swinford, and so half-brother to the king. He was Admiral of England from 1408 until his death in 1426. In 1410-1412 he was also Chancellor. Created Earl of Dorset, 1411, and Duke of Exeter, 1416. He died in 1426.

² Patent Rolls, 5 Hen. IV.

³ *Fœdera*, viii. 342, 343.

⁴ Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 81.

⁵ Walsingham, 412.

⁶ Parl. Rolls, iii. 539.

⁷ Otterbourne, 247; Walsingham, 412.

⁸ Des Ursins, 161; Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 160.

Yet although the French did not consider themselves to be strong enough, unaided, to make the attempt on Calais, their activity elsewhere did not cease. In April, 1404, a French knight, with a small squadron, was reported to be besieging Caernarvon and Harlech, and five ships were ordered from Bristol to endeavour to raise the siege;¹ and a little later a party of young Norman nobles, who were weary of peace, and among whom were representatives of the families of De la Roche-Guyon, De Bacqueville and Martel, made a descent upon the Isle of Portland, which they ravaged. They were, however, encountered by a thousand hastily armed peasants, forced to surrender, and all thrown into prison.²

A further expedition of Bretons, in three hundred vessels under the Sires De Châteaubriand, De la Jaille, and Du Châtel, set out with the intention of landing at Dartmouth; but the force was ill-disciplined and ill-organised, and on its way across the Channel, it could not resist the temptation of plundering some Spanish vessels laden with wine, in spite of the fact that France and Spain were at the time in close alliance. The resultant drunkenness and quarrels caused the ships to separate, instead of proceeding together. In the meanwhile, six thousand men assembled to prevent the Bretons from disembarking, and a ditch was constructed along the seashore. When part of the Breton force under Du Châtel and De la Jaille arrived off the coast, a premature landing was effected, and after a sharp fight, all the invaders were either killed or taken, Du Châtel himself being mortally wounded.³

The expedition returned, but Tannegui, a brother of Guillaume du Châtel, at once collected another force, and surprising Dartmouth, took and pillaged it, subsequently ravaging the neighbouring coast for eight weeks.⁴

In August, a descent upon Wales was threatened by the Count de la Marche, who had collected sixty ships at Harfleur, and measures were adopted to oppose this expedition.⁵ But great difficulties appear to have stood in the way of any effective defence, for the wages of the seamen were in arrears, and the shipowners

¹ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 220.

² Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 168, 169.

³ *Ib.*, iii. 172.

⁴ Walsingham, 412; Otterbourne, 247; Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 179. Fabian, 571, varies the story, and makes Tannegui to have been mortally wounded. He lived, however, till 1449. He was a great leader of the Armagnac party.

⁵ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 234.

who had temporarily transferred vessels for service with the admirals seem to have been unable to obtain their tonnage dues.¹ The count, however, did not proceed to Wales. He contented himself with an attempt upon Falmouth in November, but though he burnt the town, he was ultimately repulsed by the country people.² Other events which probably belong to the same year were the capture by Bretons and Flamands of numerous English merchantmen,³ an abortive English attempt upon La Rochelle,⁴ and the taking by the Captain of Calais of seventeen ships laden with wine;⁵ but all of them are involved in much obscurity.

On February 20th, 1405, Prince Thomas of Lancaster, second son of the king, though less than eighteen years of age, was appointed sole Admiral of England, and sent to cruise against the French. This prince was afterwards created Duke of Clarence. At about the same time, Henry granted licences to two privateers of Bristol, the *Trinity* and the *James*, to cruise against the enemy at their own expense, and to keep as their own whatsoever they might take.⁶

The year was remarkable for the capture of Prince James, the heir to the throne of Scotland, then only fourteen years old. He was on his way from Leith, attended by the Earl of Orkney and a bishop, to be educated in France, when, on March 30th, he was taken off Flamborough Head by an "outlaw" named Prendergast, in a ship fitted out at Cley, in Norfolk. Prendergast, possibly in order to secure his own pardon, handed over his distinguished prisoner to Henry, and the prince was detained, and liberally educated, in England for about eighteen years, although he succeeded to the Scots throne as early as April 4th, 1406.⁷ He has himself, in his poems,⁸ made allusion to his capture:—

"Upon the wavis weltering to and fro,
So infortunate was we that frenyt day,
That, maugre plainly quether we wold or no,
With strong hand by force, schortly to say,
Of inymyes taken and led away
We weren all, and brought in thair countrie."

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 554.

² Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 197.

³ Walsingham, 413.

⁴ Chron. of St. Denis, iii. 181.

⁵ Otterbourne, 248.

⁶ Patent Rolls, 6 Hen. IV.

⁷ Otterbourne, 259, and Walsingham, 419, place the capture in 1406. The Scotch-chronicon ascribes it to March 30th, 1404. Wyntown, ii. 415, gives the date as Palm Sunday, 1405. The best Scots historians adopt the year, 1405.

⁸ He wrote 'The King's Quhair,' and is supposed to have written 'Christis Kirk of the Grene' and 'Peebles to the Play.'

Under Prince Thomas, the fleet experienced as many difficulties as under less exalted admirals. A squadron under the Marshal de Rieux, Renaud de Hangest, and others, was reported to be meditating an invasion; but the prince, who seems to have been anxious to proceed against it, had to write from Sandwich to the Council, on May 6th, that from the day of his appointment until then he had been at great and unbearable costs and expenses; that he had personally paid nearly the whole wages of his people; that he had himself received neither wages nor reward, and that he could not believe that the king, his father, intended that he should be thus inconvenienced. Nor could he sail, he added, unless suitable sums were assigned to him.¹ Money must have been sent to him, for he sailed in June, and proceeding to Sluis, burnt four large ships there and landed some troops; ² but his attack upon the castle was repulsed, and he re-embarked upon learning of the approach of a relieving force under the Duke of Burgundy.³

Cruising southward, the fleet fell in with three carracks, one of which endeavoured with much gallantry to run down Prince Thomas's flagship. But the English pilot or master averted the shock, receiving only slight damage. A smart action followed, the carrack was overmatched, and when the Earl of Kent's ship came up she surrendered. Her two consorts were also taken. The vessels seem to have been Genoese. One of them was afterwards burnt by accident off Camber Castle. The fleet subsequently burnt La Hogue, Harfleur, and thirty-eight other towns, and pillaged the coast of Normandy inland for thirty miles.⁴

De Rieux and De Hangest, however, were not intercepted, and they arrived at Milford at the beginning of August with a hundred and forty ships and a large army. This was an invasion which could scarcely have been more serious had a formal state of war prevailed; and it excited great alarm, and led to the levy of troops throughout England.⁵ But the voyage of so considerable a fleet was not unattended with disaster. Fifteen of the French ships were cut off and burnt by a division under Lord Berkeley and the renowned Harry Pay; and fourteen more were taken by Lord Berkeley, Sir Thomas Swinburne, and Pay.⁶ The situation

¹ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 263.

³ Monstrelet, xxiv. 36 (Buchon).

⁵ 'Fœdera,' viii. 403, 407.

⁶ Walsingham, 418; 'Ypodigma Neustriæ,' 169.

² Otterbourne, 253.

⁴ Otterbourne, 253.

demanded, however, the presence of the king on the scene of action, and Henry went to Wales with an army.

The Spanish contingent, which had been demanded in 1404 for the siege of Calais does not seem to have been employed on that service. The ships, nevertheless, were supplied, and otherwise utilised. They assembled at Santander, and consisted of forty ships under Don Martin Ruiz de Abendaño, and three galleys under Don Pedro Niño, later Conde de Buelna. The two divisions were directed to act in conjunction; but they separated. The proceedings of the division of Niño have been chronicled by that officer's standard-bearer, Gutierre Diez de Gamez.¹

Niño went to La Rochelle, where it was determined that, with the co-operation of two French vessels, he should harass the English in the Gironde. Proceeding thither, he burnt a hundred and fifty houses within sight of Bordeaux, and then returned to La Rochelle, where he was joined by Charles de Savoisi,² with two galleys of his own. The pair of adventurers then agreed to try their fortunes on the coast of England.

Upon their first attempt at crossing the Channel, they were driven back by bad weather; but, upon their second trial, they made the Cornish coast, captured some fishing boats, and so obtained information, and then attacked an open town called "Chita" by the chronicler. For Chita, we may perhaps read Looe, since there was anciently a small place called Shuta, on the river very close to Looe; or the town may have been Ceton, a few miles farther to the eastward. The enemy landed, slew or captured many of the inhabitants in spite of their gallant resistance, plundered and burnt the place, and sent two prizes which were taken to Harfleur. Thence they went to Falmouth, but, finding the people ready for them, did not go ashore, and returned eastward to Plymouth, where, we are incidentally informed, there was then a bridge of boats across the river. The vessels lying off the town retired as far as this bridge, when they sighted the Spaniards and French, who followed them, but were driven back by a heavy fire from the fortifications. The next attempt was upon Portland, where a landing was effected, and a few houses were burnt. Presently

¹ 'Cronica de Don Pedro Niño,' printed in Madrid, 1782. Few of De Gamez's statements are fully corroborated by contemporary writers.

² He was then under condemnation to exile, and was anxious, by distinguishing himself, to obtain pardon.

succour arrived from the mainland, and, after a skirmish, the invaders withdrew. Continuing eastward, and occasionally ravaging the country, they reached Poole, which, so Niño had been informed, belonged to Harry Pay, or "Arripay," as the Spaniards called him.

Pay, in the course of his numerous cruises, had done much to earn the special enmity of both French and Spaniards, and Niño determined to pay a return visit to the celebrated privateer. Savoisi¹ deemed a landing unsafe, and refused the co-operation of his people; but Niño sent his kinsman Fernando Niño and a party to the shore, and so gained partial possession of the town. When reinforcements came in from the country, the English occupied the remaining houses, turning each into a fortress, and pressing the foe so severely that, had not Niño himself landed with the rest of his force, there would have been no retreat. With difficulty the English were repulsed, and the Spaniards re-embarked, leaving among the dead one of Harry Pay's brothers. The further record of the expedition is obscure, owing to the chronicler's confusion of the Solent with the Thames, and of London with Southampton. The Spaniards seem, however, to have landed in the Isle of Wight ere they returned to France, and laid up their ships at Rouen for the winter.

Towards the end of the year, the king's intended departure for Guienne having been long postponed, to the great inconvenience of the shipowners whose vessels had been arrested for the voyage, Henry desired his Council to cause the masters and mariners to be "refreshed," or paid money on account. He also wrote to the King of Portugal, begging for a reinforcement of galleys to assist him in Guienne.² And at about the same time the Council took measures to send a squadron against the Earl of Mar, who had been committing much damage in the North Sea, and threatening Berwick.³

In the year 1405 the naval power of the country had fallen so low, and the royal authority had become so torpid, that the merchants, in self-defence, undertook the guard of the sea, upon certain conditions. They did not purpose to withstand regular fleets of foreign powers, but only the privateers and corsairs, from whose operations the country had so severely suffered; and they

¹ Guérin, i. 321, without any justification, gives all the glory of this cruise to his compatriot, Savoisi, and does not even mention the Spaniards.

² Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 280.

³ *Ib.* ii. 94.

stipulated for a considerable share in all prizes, without regard to any privilege or prerogative of the king, his admirals, or others; for a quarter's payment of the usual tonnage allowance after the cessation of hostilities; and for commissions under the great seal empowering them to nominate their admirals, and to exercise admiralty jurisdiction.¹ These and other conditions being assented to, the merchants nominated Richard Clyderow, then a member for Kent, as their admiral in the south and west, and Nicholas Blackburne as their admiral in the north; and commissions were duly issued to these officers on April 28th, 1406.²

One of Admiral Blackburne's first duties was to convoy to Denmark the Princess Philippa, who had been contracted to Eric, king of that country. The ship which conveyed her carried two guns, with forty pounds of powder, forty stone shot, forty tampons or wads, twenty-four bows, forty sheaves of arrows, forty pavises, four touches (perhaps firing-irons), and two fire-pans.³ Later, Blackburne was paid a sum of £166 13s. 4*d.*, most of which appears to have been due to him for this service.⁴

After having wintered at Rouen, the galleys of Niño went to Harfleur, where they were joined by the galleys of Savoisi, and whence they sailed with the intention of surprising some place on the Orwell; but they were driven to sea by a gale, and obliged to take shelter off Sluis. The French would have seized four Portuguese ships which arrived there, on the plea that Portugal was assisting England; but the Portuguese appealed to Niño on the strength of a truce which subsisted between Portugal and Castille, and the Spanish commander intervened for their protection. When the squadron sailed again, it proceeded off Calais. Niño desired to cut out some vessels there, but was deterred by the guns of the garrison. While he was still in the neighbourhood, an English fleet of superior force appeared in the offing. After a desultory action, the allies took refuge in Gravelines, and, when the English had gone elsewhere, obtained Breton assistance, attacked Jersey, and exacted 10,000 crowns from the islanders. This was the last exploit of the combined expedition, for immediately afterwards the Spaniards were ordered home.⁵

¹ Parl. Rolls, iii. 569-571.

² *Ib.* iii. 602; 'Fodera,' viii. 439.

³ 'Fodera,' viii. 447.

⁴ Issue Rolls, 9 Hen. IV. 309 (Devon).

⁵ 'Cronica de Don Pedro Niño.' The Chron. of St. Denis gives a different version of these events.

In the autumn, some efforts were made to arrange a definite peace with France, and a marriage between the Prince of Wales and a French princess was thought of;¹ yet, at the same time, troops were being levied in all the counties of England to accompany Henry to Calais,² the siege of which was threatened by the French; and thirty-eight French ships, eight of which fell into the hands of English cruisers, were actively assisting Owen Glendower in Wales. Fifteen other French vessels, laden with wine and wax, were taken by the ships of the merchants.³

The experiment of leaving the guard of the sea to the merchants did not give satisfaction, and in October or November their commissions were withdrawn. On December 23rd, the appointment of Admiral of England was revived and conferred upon John, Earl of Somerset.⁴ He may be considered as the first of the Lord High Admirals, seeing that, since his time, save when the office has been in commission, there has always been a single administrative head of the navy, and there have never again been separate admiralties of the north and west. As has been seen, there were sole admirals of England before him; but with him began the regular succession. The title is, however, less ancient than the position. The Earl of Somerset's style was Admiral of the Northern and Western Fleets. He was succeeded on May 8th, 1407, by Edmund, Earl of Kent,⁵ whose style was Admiral of England.

The Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were harrying Guienne, and the latter was besieging Bourg-en-Blaye. Henry, therefore, signified his intention, early in 1407, to proceed in person to oppose his enemies.⁶ It was probably with a view to secure him an uninterrupted passage that a large English fleet cruised in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay, and it was no doubt in order to prevent him from crossing that Clugnet de Brabant, Admiral of France, put to sea with twenty-two ships full of men-at-arms. The two fleets met, and a partial action ensued, the French losing

¹ *Fodera*, viii. 453.

² *Ib.*, viii. 456.

³ Walsingham, 419.

⁴ John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset and Marquis of Dorset, K.G., was a natural son of John of Gamt. From him was descended Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and the Tudor dynasty. He died in 1410.

⁵ Brother and heir of Thomas Holland, third Earl of Kent and Duke of Somerset. He was born about 1383. As has been seen, he distinguished himself in Prince Thomas's action in 1405. He was then made a K.G. At his death, from an arrow wound received in Brittany, in September, 1408, his honours became extinct.

⁶ *Fodera*, viii. 466.

one ship.¹ Another success was, according to Walsingham, won the same year by Harry Pay, who, with some vessels of the Cinque Ports, took a hundred and twenty craft laden with salt, iron, and wine, as they lay at anchor "in mari Britannico."² But details of both events are lacking.³

In March, 1408, the merchants represented to the Council that the sea was very inefficiently guarded, and were informed that the admiral was about to put to sea to protect the trade.⁴ Whether he made any cruise before September does not appear; but in that month the Earl of Kent proceeded to the coast of Brittany, and attacked the Castle of Bréhat, before which place he fell mortally wounded by an arrow in the head on the 15th.⁵ He was thus the first, but not the last, of the lord high admirals to die for his country. His successor, appointed on September 21st, was Sir Thomas Beaufort,⁶ who, later, during his tenure of the office, was also Lord Chancellor—surely a strange collocation of functions—and who subsequently became Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter, and, reappointed in 1413, remained high admiral until his death in 1426.

In October, 1408, it was agreed with the Duke of Burgundy that there should be a three years' truce on the sea between St. Valery and Winchelsea.⁷ This was chiefly for the benefit of the fishing populations on both sides of the Channel, and of pilgrims and ecclesiastics travelling between England and Rome; but it also improved the position of the merchants. Another truce, to last until May 1st, 1410, was arranged with France, to apply to the sea generally, the French coast from the Somme to Gravelines, West Flanders, Aquitaine, and the county of Toulouse.⁸ The two truces were eventually prolonged. Although they did not put a complete stop to informal hostilities, they materially lessened the number of conflicts between English and French subjects. A truce with Spain was also concluded.⁹ In the framing of these truces, provision was made for international action against pirates.

¹ Monstrelet, xxviii. 45.

² Probably off Brittany, but the British seas may be meant.

³ Walsingham, 418.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, iii. 609.

⁵ Walsingham, 420; Chron. of Lond. 91; Otterbourne, 264.

⁶ See note, *ante*, p. 360. This appointment was as admiral for life of the North Fleet. A new patent as sole admiral was issued to him on July 27th, 1409.

⁷ Federa, iii. 537-550.

⁸ *Ib.*, iii. 552.

⁹ *Ib.*, viii. 625.

In 1409 or 1410, Sir Robert Umfravill, who had been made Vice-Admiral of England, with ten ships of war, harassed the Scots coasts, burnt a Scots galliot and other craft off Blackness, and took fourteen vessels laden with cloth, pitch, tar, meal, and other merchandise, which, being brought to England at a time of great need, earned for the captor the nickname of Robert Mendmarket.¹

In 1411, when Henry sent an envoy to Castille to settle certain disputes, he desired him to endeavour to purchase a Castillian ship, the *St. Mary*, which was then at St. Sebastian.² In the same year,³ and again in 1412,⁴ ships and seamen were impressed for the king's service to Guienne; and in the autumn of the latter year, Prince Thomas, Duke of Clarence, went to Guienne with a large army to the assistance of the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, who had agreed to deliver Guienne to England.⁵

The capture of James of Scotland by an "outlaw" named Prendergast in 1405 has been noted in its place. Prendergast seems to have subsequently entered the king's service and to have been knighted; for, in 1412, Sir John Prendergast and William Long, who had been employed in keeping the seas free from pirates, were accused of robbery and other illegalities. They were fifteenth-century prototypes of the notorious Captain Kidd. Prendergast took asylum under a tent near the vestibule of Westminster Abbey. Later he again served at sea. Long was found at sea by the admiral, who, by a promise that no harm should be done to him, induced him to surrender; but the prisoner was, nevertheless, committed to the Tower.⁶ What afterwards happened to this rover does not appear. It is certain, however, that, whether owing to these men's negligence or to their feebleness, the Narrow Seas were inefficiently policed in the last days of Henry IV. In 1412, some vessels and goods belonging to Brittany, improperly captured by seamen of Devonshire and Cornwall, had to be restored,⁷ and letters of marque and reprisals were issued to persons who had suffered by the depredations of the Baron de Pons. And in 1413 other letters were granted against citizens of Genoa, and against the inhabitants of Santander.⁸ The king died on March 20th, 1413, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry V., of Monmouth.

¹ Hardyng, 365, 366 (Ellis).

² Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 25, 118, 119.

³ 'Fœdera,' viii. 700. ⁴ *Ib.*, viii. 730, 733. ⁵ *Ib.*, viii. 746, 747, 774.

⁶ Walsingham, 423; Otterbourne, 271; 'Ypodigma Neustrie,' 571.

⁷ 'Fœdera,' viii. 764.

⁸ *Ib.*, viii. 755, 772, 773.

Nicolas says: "No monarch of England ever took greater interest in her navy than Henry the Fifth. He not only commanded large ships to be built, but personally inspected their progress; and though he was not, as has been said, its founder, he gave more powerful vessels to the Royal Navy than it ever before possessed, with the determination to acquire the dominion of the sea. His efforts to restore and improve the English navy were amply rewarded; for while the most celebrated event of his reign rivalled Poitiers and Crécy, the battle of Agincourt was, like those other glorious victories, followed by encounters on the ocean in which British valour was displayed in the usual manner, and was attended by the usual success."¹

Much of this is true; but it should be recollected that although Henry V. undoubtedly improved the navy, he made few improvements in the manner in which the navy was managed, and that the weapon, which, in his hands produced such brilliant results, was fashioned and wielded at terrible expense to the commerce of the country. The Navy Royal was still small. The bulk of the fighting fleet was composed, as in previous ages, of vessels taken, almost by actual force, from the merchants, and frequently collected long before they could be employed, and retained long after they were needed. In later days, when the Navy Royal had become large enough for the duties of national defence at sea, trade was able to flourish, even at the height of a sanguinary war; but, under the Lancastrians, war and trade could not be adequately carried on together, seeing that the material required for the latter was also required for the former. Henry's naval glories, therefore, were frightfully costly ones.

At about the time of Henry's accession, an interesting international dispute arose. Certain merchants of Dartmouth and other ports, owners of eight ships, represented to Parliament that their vessels had been impressed at Bordeaux by the Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Guienne, to bring troops to England, under the command of Sir John Colville, who was "governor and captain" of the squadron. Off Belle Isle, they fell in with two Prussian hulks, laden with wine from La Rochelle. Anxious to discover whether the hulks and their cargoes belonged to the enemy, Colville sent a boat to examine their bills of lading, and to inform the masters that if they had enemy's property on board, they must

¹ Nicolas, ii. 402.

deliver it to him, and he would pay them for the freight of it. The Prussians refused an answer, and next day attacked the English who were still on board the hulks and killed many of them. Colville thereupon captured the hulks, and carried them into Southampton and Poole; and the merchants prayed that the prizes might not be restored until the case had been adjudicated upon by the Admiralty Court.¹ An inquiry was ordered, but unhappily the result of it is not recorded. Under international law as now accepted, the Prussian ships would be forfeited in a like case in war time, for they violently repelled the searchers, who were acting under a duly commissioned authority; but nominally a truce prevailed with France, to which country the cargo was suspected to belong, so that it is doubly regrettable that the decision has not been preserved.

The truce was re-ratified in May, 1413;² yet so perilous were the Channel and the Bay of Biscay, owing to the depredations of French and other corsairs, that in August it was ordered that no vessels should proceed for wine to Guienne, unless in numbers sufficient to defend themselves.³ By the terms of a new truce with Spain, it was stipulated that no armed ship of either nation should leave port without first giving security not to molest subjects and property of the other.⁴

But Henry, to his honour, did much more than he could have effected by mere international agreement to put down piracy and the infraction of truces. It was enacted in 1414 that all such proceedings should be accounted high treason.⁵

In July of the same year the king formally asserted his right to the crown of France, and, although hostilities did not at once follow, orders were issued in September to the king's master-gunner and engineer to impress workmen; and the export of gunpowder was prohibited.⁶ New ships, including the *Holy Ghost*, the *Grace à Dieu*, and perhaps the *Trinity*, were laid down,⁷ and the chancellor's speech at the opening of Parliament foreshadowed war. In the autumn, Patrick Cotereil and James Cornewalshe were appointed Admirals of Ireland for life.⁸

¹ Parl. Rolls, iv. 12, 13.

² 'Fœdera,' ix. 36, 39.

³ *Ib.*, ix. 47.

⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 115.

⁵ 2 Hen. V. c. 6.

⁶ 'Fœdera,' ix. 159, 160.

⁷ In July, 1414, £496 was paid on account of the *Holy Ghost*, and in March, 1417, £500 on account of the *Grace à Dieu*, both building at Southampton. The latter had been begun at the end of 1416, and was constructed by Robert Berd, in the Hamble.

⁸ Pat. Rolls, 2 Hen. V. m. 22.

Early in 1415, when it was known that Henry was about to go abroad, the Council made provision for the custody of the sea during the king's absence, and ordered two ships of 120 tons, two barges of 100 tons, and one ballinger to be stationed between Plymouth and the Isle of Wight; two barges of 100 tons and two ballingers to be stationed between the Isle of Wight and Orfordness, and one barge and two ballingers to be stationed between Orfordness and Berwick, each ship and barge to have forty-eight mariners, twenty-six men-at-arms, and twenty-six archers, and each ballinger, forty mariners, ten men-at-arms, and ten archers.¹

The imminence of active war, the fact that the enemy had a large fleet at sea, and the absence of the Admiral of England on the king's service abroad, necessitated the appointment of additional flag-officers; and on February 18th, Sir Thomas Carew and Sir Gilbert Talbot of Ircheneld were made captains and leaders of the men-at-arms destined for sea, and were given the usual powers of admirals.² A little later, Richard Clyderow, who had been the merchant's admiral in 1406, was sent to Holland to treat for ships for the king's service,³ and all vessels of twenty tons or more, foreign as well as English, in English ports were ordered to be arrested and collected at Southampton, London, or Winchelsea, by May 8th.⁴ The masters of the royal vessels were empowered to impress men; an army was raised, and every other preparation for an expedition on a grand scale was made.

The French became alarmed, and dispatched ambassadors, who met Henry at Winchester in June, and offered large concessions of territory and the hand of the Princess Katherine, with an immense marriage portion; but the overtures were rejected, and the king proceeded to Titchfield Abbey, near Southampton, where the fleet was assembled. He embarked on Saturday, August 10th, in the *Trinity Royal*,⁵ and at once ordered her yard to be hoisted to the middle of her mast as a signal that he was ready for sea, and that all the vessels in the neighbouring ports were to join the fleet.⁶ Saint Remy says that during this period a large ship took fire, and that the flames extended to two others, all being consumed;⁷ but the circumstance is not mentioned by English writers of the time.

¹ Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 145, 146.

² 'Federa,' ix. 202.

³ *Ib.*, ix. 160.

⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 216, 218.

⁵ 'Hist. of the Battle of Agincourt,' 25-45. Much of what follows is from this source.

⁶ Cott. MS. Julius E. iv. f. 115*b*.

⁷ St. Remy, 82.

The fleet of fourteen hundred vessels,¹ with six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, sailed on Sunday, August 11th, and entered the Seine on the following Tuesday afternoon. It met with no resistance on the passage. Indeed, it does not appear that any considerable French force was then at sea.

Henry anchored about three miles above Harfleur, and signalled² to his captains to attend him at a council of war. At daybreak on Wednesday, the 14th, the landing began, most of the army reaching the shore between six and seven. Still there was no opposition. By Saturday, the 17th, siege was laid to Harfleur. The mouth of the harbour was closed by a chain drawn between two fortified towers that flanked the entrance, and by a boom of stakes and trunks of trees; and behind the obstacles lay a small French squadron, upon which many vain attempts were made by the English fleet. The navy, however, co-operated mainly by enforcing a strict blockade, and by keeping up communications across the waterways. When the town had fallen, on September 22nd, some of the prisoners, with the sick, were sent to England with the fleet, sailing on October 8th; and the army marched inland on its way to Calais. The victory of Agincourt was won on October 25th, and on Saturday, November 16th, Henry embarked at Calais, and reached Dover late on the same day.

The passage was very boisterous, and though the king did not suffer in the least, most of the French noblemen who were his prisoners were so sea-sick that they would have preferred to face again the dangers of the battle. The fleet was in part dispersed, several ships being driven into Zierikzee at the mouth of the Ooster Schelde. Two, according to one writer, went down with all hands.

While these great events were passing in France, Scots vessels were harassing the northern coasts, and two citizens of Newcastle, named Hornsey and Strother, fitted out two ballingers to cope with the foe. What success the ballingers had against the Scots we know not, but they took two Flaman vessels, laden, as was alleged, with the enemy's property, and carried them into Shields, whence a king's officer removed them to Newcastle. The captors complained of this, and obtained an order to the officer to deliver to them the cargoes, or to state to the Council his reasons for not doing so. The

¹ A hundred others which had been collected could not be utilised.

² By hoisting "a banner of council" in the middle of the mast. 'Black Book of the Admiralty.'

officer chose the latter course, and so completely justified himself that the vessels were returned to their Flamand owners in January, 1416.¹

The Parliament which met on March 16th of that year complained of the seizure of private craft by king's officers, who paid nothing for their use; of the discontinuance of the payment of tonnage allowance for ships regularly taken up by the government, and of the consequent ruin of shipowners; and it made use of the remarkable expression to which attention has been called in the previous chapter: "par taunt qe la dit navye est la greinde substance du bien, profit, et prosperitée du vostre dit roiaume." The king promised to do what justice seemed to require.²

It is clear, from a petition presented during the same session, that it was customary in the fifteenth century for merchantmen sailing in consort to elect the master of one of their number as their "admiral" for the voyage, and for the other masters to swear obedience and loyalty to him. This had been done in the case of a home-coming flotilla of wine ships from Bordeaux, the master of a ship called the *Christopher*, of Hull, being the "admiral" for the occasion. On the voyage, the *Christopher* had been attacked by some carracks, and taken in consequence of the cowardly desertion of her by all her friends. The owners prayed that, in view of what had occurred, the owners of all the other ships should be made responsible for the value of the lost vessel. The matter was referred to the chancellor, and it would seem not only that the owners were held liable for the value of the *Christopher*, but also that the cowardly masters were imprisoned.³

The Emperor Sigismund came to England in May, chiefly to endeavour to arrange peace between England and France. Vessels were impressed to convey him from Calais, and he spent some months in England; but the action of the French prevented any thought of peace. Their army, under the Count d'Armagnac, invested Harfleur on the land side, and their fleet,⁴ reinforced by eight carracks hired from the Genoese, and commanded by the Bastard of Bourbon and Robinet de Braquemont, Admiral of France, blockaded the port, while another French squadron ranged the Channel, did much injury to shipping, endeavoured to destroy the English vessels at Southampton, and ravaged Portland and other

¹ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 187, 188.

³ Parl. Rolls, iv. 86.

² Parl. Rolls, iv. 79.

⁴ St. Remy, 103.

points on the coast, being, however, resisted everywhere, and receiving as much harm as it occasioned.¹

Men were raised, and ships were ordered to assemble at Orwell.² The Admiral of England was engaged at Harfleur, and to take his place at sea, John, Earl of Huntingdon, John, Lord Clifford, and Sir Edward Courtenay were appointed,³ though without the nominal rank of admiral. The general rendezvous, previous to the departure of the expedition, was Southampton,⁴ and King Henry went thither with the intention of leading the fleet in person, though at the request of the Council and on the advice of his guest, the emperor, he finally abandoned the idea of doing so.⁵ Thomas, Lord Morley, a grandson of the hero of Sluis and L'Espagnols sur Mer, was given command, with admiral's rank, of the contingent of ships sent to Southampton from London; Sir Walter Hungerford⁶ was made admiral of the entire fleet destined for the relief of Harfleur, and Prince John, Duke of Bedford, received the general military command of the expeditionary forces.

The fleet is said by Monstrelet to have consisted of three hundred,⁷ and by Hardyng, of four hundred vessels, with twenty thousand men on board.⁸ Nicolas⁹ considers that both these estimates were exaggerated. It sailed at the beginning of August, but was dispersed by a storm, and part of it driven into Camber. It re-assembled off Beachy Head,¹⁰ and, the wind becoming favourable, weighed and crossed the Channel, entering the mouth of the Seine on the evening of August 14th.¹¹ The prince anchored for the night, and hoisted lights to indicate his position to the fleet, while he sent out pulling boats to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, with a view to making an attack on the following morning. All the captains were ordered to make sail simultaneously with the prince's ship, and to go down with her towards the foe.

At dawn, on Saturday, the 15th, the French were in sight. The English crews went to prayers, prepared for action, and then

¹ Anon. Chron. Add. MSS. 1776, f. 66b.

² Parl. Rolls, 4 Hen. V. m. 24 d.

³ 'Fœdera,' ix. 344, 345.

⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 364.

⁵ Elmham, 78.

⁶ Sir Walter Hungerford, son of Sir Thomas Hungerford, of Farley and Heytesbury, had been attached to the suite of the Emperor Sigismund during that monarch's visit to England, and had served at Agincourt. In 1418 he was made a K.G., and in 1426, Treasurer of England, and a baron. As is noted elsewhere, he revised 'The Libel of English Policie.' He died in 1449.

⁷ Monstrelet, xxiii.

⁸ Hardyng, 377.

⁹ Nicolas, ii. 420.

¹⁰ "Bayanehiefe" is conjectured to mean Beachy Head.

¹¹ Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 67b.

weighed. Both sides were equally eager to get to close quarters, and the French advanced handsomely; but very little wind was stirring, and it was nine o'clock¹ ere the battle opened. The ships grappled one another as they came violently into collision, and, as usual, the people in the lofty Genoese carracks enjoyed great



FROM THE MS. LIFE OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, BY JOHN ROUS, WHO DIED 1491.

(*Cotton MSS., Julius E. iv. 6.*)

advantage over those in the comparatively low-built English ships, the latter being hardly able with their pikes to reach the soldiers on the decks of the larger vessels; but the English were not to be denied, and after between five and six hours of hot conflict,² victory began to declare itself. Several French ships were carried, where-

¹ Elmham, 80.

² Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 67b.

upon many other vessels endeavoured to disengage themselves and to make sail.¹ Some took refuge in Honfleur, but at least two of the carracks ran ashore and foundered in their efforts to escape. Three carracks,² with one hulk and four ballingers,³ seem to have been taken; fifteen hundred Frenchmen were killed,⁴ and about four hundred were made prisoners. The total loss of the victors did not exceed one hundred men,⁵ and among them there was apparently no person of note; but of the French, Jean de Braquemont, son of the Admiral of France, was killed, and the Bastard of Bourbon was taken.⁶

This battle of Harfleur seems to have been fought in the narrow channel immediately opposite the town and north of the Amfar bank. Such wind as there was probably blew from the north, thus enabling both fleets to manœuvre, and favouring the escape of the remnant of the enemy into Honfleur. The employment of lances, arrows, darts, stones, and masses of iron and lead is mentioned; but there is no allusion to the use of guns, which were nevertheless then quite common. There is little doubt that the French were outnumbered, and that the English were, as Des Ursins says, in fine order and condition.⁷

After the action it fell calm, and the galleys which had escaped ventured out of port, and harassed the fleet as it was in the act of landing provisions and stores; but the English manned their boats and drove the enemy back to Honfleur. Attacks of this sort were made on several days, the French employing "wildfire" (Greek fire) in their efforts to burn the English ships, but no harm was done. After relieving the town, the Duke of Bedford re-embarked, and returned to England with his prizes.⁸

King Henry received the news of the victory as he was returning from a visit to some ships that were building, probably at Rye; and he conveyed it to his guest, the emperor, at Canterbury, where a *Te Deum* was consequently sung. The emperor then crossed from

¹ Elmham, 80, 81. The battle is described in 'The Libel of English Policie.'

² These were re-named *Marie of Haupton*, *Marie of Sandwich*, and *George*, and were added to the navy.

³ Of these vessels, taken and added to the navy, were those subsequently called the *Katrine Breton*, and the *Grande Marie*.

⁴ Otterbourne, by pretty obvious error, says 15,000.

⁵ Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 67b.

⁶ St. Remy, 103.

⁷ Des Ursins, 334.

⁸ Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 68; Elmham, 83.

Dover to Calais,¹ and Henry prepared to follow him thither. A squadron for the purpose was quickly collected at Sandwich, apparently from the Cinque Ports, and on September 4th, the King sailed thence with forty ships, and landed at Calais on the same day, being received by the Emperor.²

In the interim, a large carrack belonging to the enemy seems to have foundered off Southampton, with eight hundred troops on board,³ and another carrack, a Genoese, laden with merchandise, had been taken by the merchants of Dartmouth, having been driven into that port by a gale of wind.

Lord Morley, after having survived the battle of Hartleur, where he had greatly distinguished himself, died of dysentery at Calais. His funeral mass, he having been a K.G., was attended by the king and the emperor, with their suites.

Soon after mid-day on September 24th, a large carrack of the enemy was sighted from Calais, running before the wind, with all sail set, between that place and Dover, and evidently bound for Sluis. Six ballingers were hastily armed by the Earl of Warwick, Captain of Calais, Lord Talbot, Thomas, Lord West,⁴ Sir Gilborn Umfravill, and some soldiers, and although the foe was out of sight ere they could put to sea, they started in chase.⁵ One returned on the 26th, reporting that she had been separated from her consorts. Another returned on Sunday, the 27th, and reported that at dawn on the 25th, Warwick, with five of the ballingers, had come up with the carrack, which was loftier by the length of a lance than any of them, and had grappled her and fought her until both parties were at a standstill. Both had, as by common consent, rested, and then renewed the combat until night, when the people of the carrack seemed to be nearly exhausted. But the English missiles were by that time all expended, and there were no scaling ladders in the ballingers, so that the carrack eventually got away. A storm obliged the English to make for Orwell, where one of them grounded, but was re-floated and later proceeded to Calais. Another ballinger reached the town on the 29th, after her crew had nearly perished for lack of food; and on the same day Warwick himself returned, with the news of the death of young Lord West, who, while putting on his armour for the attack, had been crushed by

¹ Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 69.

² 'Fodera,' ix. 385.

⁴ He had served at Agincourt.

³ Walsingham, 411.

⁵ Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 69.

a stone accidentally dropped as it was being hauled up into the top of his own vessel. In the action Sir Baldwin le Strange also fell.¹

The account of this little affair is of interest as affording an early illustration of the superiority of one large vessel over a number of smaller ones of, probably, greater aggregate force.

A four months' truce having been concluded with France in October, 1416,² Henry returned with a small squadron to Dover. Early in 1417, preparations were made for an expedition to Normandy; ships were arrested; and fifteen hundred vessels, sixteen thousand four hundred soldiers, and one thousand workmen were assembled at Southampton for the king's passage.³ The vessels of the western ports were directed to proceed to sea under Sir Thomas Carew, the Sire de Chastillon, and Sir John Mortimer, and to cruise from March 1st to November 1st, against French, Bretons, Castillians, Genoese, and Scots, unless orders were given to the contrary.⁴ Carew's squadron consisted of an unnamed ship carrying seventy-five men-at-arms and one hundred and forty-eight archers, the king's great carrack, called the *Mary of the Tower*, of 500 tons, the "other carrack of Venice," the barge *Katherine of Salisbury*, the "Bukky's barge," the *Ellen of Greenwich*, of 180 tons, the *Anthony*, Captain Robert Carew, the *Trinity of the Tower*, of 102 tons, two ballingers of Trebost and Plymouth respectively, and Sir Thomas Carew's own barge, the *Trinity*.⁵ The fleet of the Cinque Ports was called out in March;⁶ and in April the assemblage of ships at Southampton was hastened, the passage thither being apparently deemed somewhat perilous by the shipmasters owing to the large force of the enemy that was at sea.⁷

Up to the last moment, Henry, as in the previous year, intended to lead the fleet in person; but he suffered himself to be dissuaded;⁸ and in July, he appointed Edmund, Earl of March, to be his lieutenant on the sea, to bring back the fleet from Normandy, and to return thither with reinforcements, and John, Earl of Huntingdon, to cruise with all the usual powers of an admiral.⁹

¹ Elmham, 88, 89; Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 70b.

² 'Fœdera,' ix. 399, 400.

³ Elmham, 92; Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 72.

⁴ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 209.

⁵ Muster Roll 'E. B. 1626' at Carlton Ride, cited by Nicolas; Issue Rolls, Easter Term, 4 Hen. V.

⁶ Close Rolls, 5 Hen. V. m. 17.

⁷ Issue Rolls, 4 Hen. V. 351 (Devon).

⁸ Elmham, 92.

⁹ Patent Rolls, 5 Hen. V. m. 22.

Huntingdon must have sailed very quickly, for, on St. James's Day, July 25th, 1417,¹ he fell in with the French, and engaged them with great gallantry, and with so much impetuosity that, in the shock of collision, several vessels had their foreparts carried away, and the people on them hurled overboard. The forces engaged, and the scene of the action are alike unknown. All that is certain is that, after grappling and fighting at close quarters for nearly the whole day, the French and Genoese were completely defeated. Four carracks, besides other vessels, seem to have been taken, and carried into Southampton on or about July 29th.² The king, who awaited the earl's return, and the assurance that the seas were clear, must have sailed very soon afterwards; for on August 8th,³ he wrote to the Council from France, and made mention of the victory.⁴

Henry seems, in fact, to have departed on July 29th or 30th, and to have arrived at Touques, a few miles from Harfleur, on August 1st. He had with him two hundred and thirty vessels of various kinds, including one hundred and seventeen which had been obtained from Holland, and a considerable army.⁵ Having landed his troops, he sent his transports home, retaining only those vessels on board of which were stores and artillery too heavy for land carriage.⁶

This invasion of France was perhaps the first one that was attempted on scientific principles. The manner in which it was prepared indicates that Henry had a full understanding of the importance of sea power, and of the danger of making any effort of the kind in face of a "potent" fleet. Instead of crossing at once, while the enemy was still undefeated, and so running the risk of having to fight an action with his huge convoy of transports in company, he first sent out a squadron to clear the way, and then, as soon as he had learnt of the success of the preliminary step, passed unmolested over the path freed for him.

While Henry was absent, measures were taken to render Portsmouth a securer haven than it had previously been for the

¹ Otterbourne, 278.

² Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 72; Otterbourne, 278; Elmham, 92. Among the prizes were the vessels which were added to the navy, as the *Christopher Spayne*, *Marie Spayne*, *Holligust Spayne*, *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Andrew*.

³ Or August 11th.

⁴ Add. MS. 4601, f. 95.

⁵ Norman Rolls, 5 Hen. V. 320-329 (Hardy). The list gives names of ships, names of masters, etc.

⁶ Elmham, 96.

king's ships in war time. A tower was built at the entrance of the harbour, and an office for the Clerk of the King's Ships was erected.¹

The naval events of 1418 were of no importance. In 1419, to meet an apprehended design of the Spaniards upon Portsmouth and Southampton, troops were repeatedly arrayed for the defence of the coast.² In May, the Earl of Suffolk was appointed Admiral of Normandy;³ and in August a large arrest of shipping was ordered in the western counties, in order to furnish a force to oppose a French squadron which, it was reported, was about to proceed to the assistance of the Scots by way of the Irish Sea. This force appears to have been entrusted to the command of William, Lord Botreaux.⁴ A few weeks previously, two merchants of Bristol, and one William Camoys, of Bayonne, had captured some carraeks and other vessels belonging to the enemy, laden with merchandise, and had received the thanks of the king.⁵

In February, 1420, shipping was arrested for the passage of the Duke of Bedford to Normandy, and of the Earl of Ormond to Ireland;⁶ there was a fresh alarm of a projected Spanish invasion;⁷ and the Scots committed some depredations by sea; but, as before, the naval events were not important.

On May 21st, the conclusion of the Treaty of Troyes put an end to the hostilities between England and great part of France; for although the Dauphin⁸ and the party of the Armagnacs declined to recognise the arrangement, Henry, Philip of Burgundy, and Katherine, Queen Regent of France, were parties to it, and one of its conditions was the marriage of the Princess Katherine, daughter of the imbecile Charles VI., to the King of England. The king and his new queen landed at Dover on February 1st, 1421, amid great rejoicings.⁹

When, in March, 1421, Sir William Bardolf¹⁰ was appointed admiral and given command of a cruising squadron, it was stipulated in his commission that none of the rights of the Duke of Exeter, as Admiral of England, should be prejudiced. The squadron assembled

¹ Issue Rolls, 5 Hen. V. 354 (Devon); Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 345.

² 'Federa,' ix. 702, 703, 793. ³ *Ib.*, ix. 753. ⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 791, 792.

⁵ Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, ii. 267.

⁶ Patent Rolls, 7 Hen. V. m. 4 d. m. 6 d. ⁷ *Ib.*, 8 Hen. V. m. 17 d.

⁸ Later, Charles VII.

⁹ Elmham, 296; Walsingham, 453; Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 79.

¹⁰ 'Federa,' x. 68.

at Dover,¹ and it seems to have been fitted out with special reference to the continued menaces of the Spaniards against the coast in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight,² but there is no record that it came into conflict with the enemy.

A little later in the year, the Dauphin and his party having defeated and killed the Duke of Clarence at Beaugé, Henry felt it necessary to go again to France to re-establish his prestige. Ships for the voyage were furnished by the Cinque Ports; and the king embarked at Dover at dawn on June 10th; reached Calais by two in the afternoon;³ and, after driving back his enemies, entered Paris in triumph.

Just before his departure from England, hostilities with Genoa had been terminated by a treaty which provided that the Genoese were not to furnish any enemies of England with ships or cross-bow-men, but that if vessels of Genoa or England were forcibly compelled to serve against the other party, such compulsory service should not be held to constitute a breach of the engagement.⁴

In the spring of 1422, Queen Katherine went to France to join her husband, landing at Harfleur on May 21st.⁵ Three months later, while he was following up his successes over the Dauphin and the Scots who were co-operating with him, the king was attacked by fever, which terminated fatally at Vincennes on August 31st.

Henry V. was succeeded by his only son, Henry VI., of Windsor, who was then less than nine months old. Not long afterwards, the imbecile Charles VI. also died; and, under the Treaty of Troyes, the infant English prince became sovereign of both kingdoms. John, Duke of Bedford, in accordance with the late king's will, took the regency of France, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, that of England, with the title of Lord Protector. To Thomas, Duke of Exeter and Admiral of England, was confided the custody of the king's person.⁶

In the earlier part of the reign, France, rather than the sea, was the chief scene of the military activity of England, and no naval events of any importance took place. Indeed, the *rôle* of the navy was mainly restricted to the transport of reinforcements to the English armies abroad. Ten thousand men were thus sent to the

¹ 'Fodera,' x. 68, 69.

² Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, i. 362.

³ Monstrelet, cexlii.; Walsingham, 454; Anon. Chron. in Add. MSS. 1776, f. 80.

⁴ Goodwin: 'Life of Henry V.,' 305, 306.

⁵ 'Fodera,' x. 175; Walsingham, 456.

⁶ Walsingham, 407.

Duke of Bedford in 1423; in the following year five thousand men accompanied the Duke of Gloucester to Calais and the Netherlands, to assist him in prosecuting the claims of his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, to territory in Brabant; and early in 1427, Bedford, who had come to England late in the previous year, took back with him to France a considerable army. The duke had, in 1426, been appointed Admiral of England in succession to Thomas, Duke of Exeter; and he held the office until his death in 1435. Further troops went to France in 1428, when Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, by agreement with the Council, raised five or six thousand men at his own charge for service there. The journey of the young king to be crowned in France in 1430 also necessitated an arrest of shipping, for he went attended by a great number of nobles and a large body of servants, although he was still less than nine years old.

In these and the immediately succeeding years, the position of the English in France went steadily from bad to worse,¹ in spite of the heroic efforts and great ability of Bedford; and in 1436, the Duke of Burgundy, who had by that time embraced the French cause, and who was exceedingly exasperated by the forays which had been made by the garrison of Calais into the territories of his cousin of Brabant, laid siege with a large force of Flamands and others to almost the last great stronghold that remained to the English on the continent.



SEAL OF JOHN HOLLAND, FIRST EARL OF EXETER, LATER DUKE OF EXETER, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

On the death of Bedford, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter,² with succession to his son Henry,³ had been appointed Admiral of England; but the Duke of Gloucester led the expedition for the relief of Calais. A large army, and a fleet of about five hundred vessels, large and small, were collected, and the expeditionary force was landed on the French coast on July 27th,

¹ William of Worcester, 455, 457. For this period see 'Wars of the English in France,' in Rolls Series, and Brougham's 'England under the House of Lancaster.'

² Son of the degraded first duke.

³ Attainted in 1461.

1436, and advanced at once towards the beleaguered town, which had then been invested for about six weeks. The approach of relief encouraged the garrison to make a responsive effort. The Duke of Burgundy had prepared a number of hulks laden with stones, with which it was his intention to block the mouth of the harbour, and so prevent approach to it from seaward; but before the vessels could be placed in position for scuttling they were attacked and burnt by seamen from the town. This disaster, and the rapid approach of Gloucester, obliged the enemy to abandon the investment and to retire.¹

Yet, in spite of this local success, the English in France rather lost than gained ground during the next two or three years. John Talbot, who, in 1442, was created Earl of Shrewsbury,² was the last remaining effective champion of the English cause on the continent; and in 1439, with the co-operation of a fleet under the Duke of Somerset,³ he reduced Harfleur after a four months' blockade. In 1442, again he landed with a small expeditionary force in Normandy, and gained some advantages. But his ability and bravery were almost neutralised by the incapacity, or worse, of the Duke of Somerset, who, sent in 1443, with about five thousand men, to assist in the blockade of Dieppe, which appeared to be near the point of surrender, if vigorously invested, postponed his arrival until the English had been obliged to raise the siege.

The weakness of England led, in 1444, to the conclusion of a disadvantageous truce; and in the following year Henry VI. married a French princess, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, Count of Guise, and niece of the King of France. The alliance was a very injurious one to England, the queen becoming a violent political partisan, and identifying herself with the cause of the unpopular and corrupt Dukes of Somerset and Suffolk, to the prejudice of the Yorkists. Her intrigues seem to have encouraged an Irish rising, which the Duke of York, with a small force, suppressed in 1449. They also necessitated the dispatch to Normandy in 1450 of reinforcements under Sir Thomas Kyriel. And they brought about the far more serious domestic troubles known as the Wars of the Roses, during which the power of England was almost paralysed. Indeed, even before these wars formally broke out, the jealousy of

¹ *Polyd. Vergil*, xxiii. 619, 620.

² Killed at Castillon in 1453; "the English Achilles."

³ Edmund Beaufort, a grandson of John of Gaunt; killed at St. Albans in 1455.

rival parties had reduced England to comparative impotence. Her successive losses in France were due as much to her neglect of her subjects there as to any desire on their part to become French, or as to the ability of France to compel them against their will to range themselves on her side. This was shown in 1452, when the Gascons betrayed a decided desire to resume their old allegiance, and when, had they been properly supported, they would probably have returned to it. The Earl of Shrewsbury, who was sent thither, took Bordeaux by surprise, and gained some other successes; but the advantage was not followed up, and the Gascons, disgusted, easily resigned themselves a few months later to final severance from England, after three hundred years of union with it.

The misfortunes of England were precipitated by the insanity from which the king began to suffer in 1453. The queen's party could not prevent the appointment of the Duke of York as Protector; but when Henry temporarily recovered his faculties in 1455, the duke found it expedient to retire to the north, and to take up arms. The first battle of St. Albans and the death of Somerset in May, 1455, combined with the renewed insanity of the king, restored York to the Protectorship, and, for a brief space, some sort of quiet to the country; but the intrigues of the queen did not cease; and, Henry once more recovering in February, 1456, the duke was again displaced, and Margaret found better opportunity than ever for the prosecution of her treasonable designs.

One of the results of her machinations was a descent by France upon the coast of Kent. In August, 1457, Pierre de Brézé, Seneschal of Normandy, with a fleet and four thousand soldiers, threw eighteen hundred men ashore near Sandwich, surprised the place, taking some vessels which were there, pillaged and burnt the town, and then retired, though not until the inhabitants had caused them considerable loss. In the fight, three hundred English are said to have fallen.¹ The moral effect of the raid was not great, for the French remained at Sandwich only for one tide;² and, on the other hand, the more than suspected complicity of the queen increased the distrust with which she was regarded, and improved the position of the Yorkists in the estimation of the more patriotic of the people. Nevertheless, in March, 1458, a solemn pacification was agreed to in St. Paul's between the rival parties; and, for the

¹ Fabian, 462; Grafton, 630; Hall, f. 88a.

² Guérin, i. 268; Daniel, vi. 292.

moment, the struggles between York and Lancaster seemed to have ended.

There is a strange, though by no means perfect, similarity between the parts played in England by Godwin and his sons in the eleventh century, and by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in the fifteenth. Both Godwin and Warwick were naval heroes; both were able and unscrupulous and yet patriotic; and both succeeded in using the fleet, and the sentiments of the maritime population, as weapons for effecting a revolution.

Warwick had fought on the side of the Duke of York at the first battle of St. Albans, and had been afterwards appointed to the important post of Captain of Calais, with powers as an admiral. In the latter capacity he appears to have sent to sea several squadrons, one of which, on Trinity Sunday,¹ 1458, fell in with a convoy of ships of Genoa and Lübeck. There are no means of knowing why these vessels were treated as enemies; but it seems that five of them, with cargoes worth £10,000, were taken, and twenty-six sunk or driven ashore,² and that Warwick was summoned to London to explain his action. While there, some kind of insult was offered to him—it is even said that his life was attempted—and he angrily returned to Calais. Somerset was appointed to supersede him in his captaincy, but such was the popularity of the earl, that the people refused to admit the duke, who, in consequence, had to retire.

The action of Warwick encouraged the Duke of York to renew the war; but, after having gained a success at Blore Heath, the defection near Ludlow of some of his supporters alarmed him, and he went to Ireland.

In the meantime, Henry was feebly taking measures to oust Warwick from Calais. The earl, when he had last quitted England, had left behind him some ships which were not ready to sail. These and others were collected at Sandwich, and placed under the command of Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, who was instructed to carry over succours to the Duke of Somerset, who lay at Guines, and to assist him in obtaining possession of his captaincy. Warwick, however, informed of what was in preparation, sent over Sir John Dinham, who, with a small squadron, reached Sandwich

¹ May 29th.

² Speed, 668; Fabian, 464. "And, as men sayne, ther was not so gret a batayle upon the sea this XL. wyntyre." 'Paston Letters,' (Gairdner), i. 429.

at break of day, seized Lord Rivers and his son, Anthony Woodville, in their beds, made himself master of the fleet, and carried both ships and officers into Calais.¹ At about the same time, the vessels which had carried Somerset across the Channel and which were still with him, revolted and joined Warwick, who thus had a very large force at his disposal. One Sir Baldwin Fulford offered to burn the earl's fleet, but proved incapable of effecting the enterprise; and Warwick, having left Calais in good hands, sailed for Ireland to consult with the Duke of York as to future proceedings.

Such fleet as remained faithful to Henry put to sea under the Duke of Exeter, Admiral of England, to intercept the earl; but when the two forces sighted one another in the Channel, the loyalty of the royalists seemed so doubtful, and Warwick was so strong, that the duke shrank from provoking an action; while, on the other hand, Warwick was unwilling to unnecessarily destroy any English ships; so that no collision took place.

When the earl was once more at Calais, a petition reached him from the inhabitants of Kent, who begged him to land on their coasts, and assured him of their support. Warwick, always cautious, dispatched William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, to examine into the disposition of the people and the nature of the opposition likely to be offered. Upon Fauconberg returning with an encouraging report, Warwick sent word of his intention to the Duke of York, and presently sailed with his whole force.

But in the interval, Sir Simon Montfort, Warden of the Cinque Ports, had been entrusted by the king with a squadron, with which he was ordered to prevent a landing. Like Rivers, Montfort was not sufficiently on his guard. Warwick surprised him off Sandwich, took him, captured or destroyed all his squadron, and, being opposed on his landing, sacked the town. According to some accounts, Montfort fell in the action; according to others, he and twelve of his captains were sent to Calais and there executed.²

Warwick was joined by Lord Cobham and other Yorkists; the Duke of York himself also invaded the country; the battles of Northampton, Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross, and St. Albans followed; and in spite of the fact that at Wakefield the Duke of York was killed, the crowning battle of Towton, on March 29th, 1461, established the duke's son on the throne as Edward IV.,³ although

¹ Grafton, 635; Fabian, 465-467.

² Holingshed, ii. 652; Speed, 669.

³ Polyd. Vergil, xxiii.; Hall, f. 101b; Grafton, 656, 657.

it did not end the struggle. Warwick's reward was the Captaincy of Dover, with the Wardenship of the Scots Marches, the offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Steward, and large grants of land ; but Edward's marriage, in 1464, with Elizabeth Woodville, displeased the king-maker, who for the sake of peace would have preferred an alliance with France, and who presently, as will be seen, opposed both king and queen.

At his accession, Edward IV. was in his nineteenth year, of handsome appearance, and of equal geniality and vigour ; and he at once became popular. The sea had made him king, and he appears to have determined from the first never to neglect his fleet. Nor could he well afford to do so ; for scarcely had he assumed the crown when the ex-Queen Margaret went to France with the object of raising a naval armament there, and of so attempting to recover England for her husband, who had taken refuge in Scotland.

For a short time after the triumph of the House of York, Warwick himself was Admiral of England.¹ Later, in 1462, he was superseded by William Neville, Lord Fauconberg,² who, in 1461, had been created Earl of Kent. Kent, whose tenure of office was terminated by his death within three months, at once put to sea with a powerful fleet, carrying ten thousand soldiers, and commanded, under him, by Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, and Admirals Audley and Clinton ; and, after scouring the Channel, attacked and burnt the town of Le Conquêt in Brittany, ravaged the Isle of Rhé, and took many prizes and much booty.³ The death of Kent⁴ may have put an end to the cruise, which does not seem to have been immediately re-commenced after the appointment, on October 12th, of Richard, Duke of Gloucester and brother of the king, to the office of Lord High Admiral.

The temporary withdrawal of the fleet to port seems to have been seized upon by Margaret as a good opportunity for making her contemplated descent. She sailed in 1463 with a squadron, under the command of Pierre de Brézé, with the intention of landing at Tynemouth, but, although she entered the bay, she was driven out

¹ He was so appointed for three years by an agreement of February 1st, 1462. Excheq. Warr. for Issues ; but was succeeded by Kent on July 30th following.

² Son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, and brother of the Earl of Salisbury.

³ Grafton, 659 ; Stowe, 416.

⁴ There are some grounds for supposing that both Kent, and John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who, in the summer of 1463, was "captain and keeper of the sea," acted as Warwick's deputies.

again by a gale of wind before she could disembark, and was obliged to proceed to Berwick.¹ With Scots and French help, she maintained for a year a desultory war on the border; but after the battle of Hexham, in May, 1464, she found it expedient to flee to Flanders. In the following year the ex-king, Henry VI., fell into Edward's hands; and from that moment all might have gone well with the new House but for the king's ill-considered marriage with Elizabeth Woodville. Perhaps even the marriage would not have alienated Warwick, had not Edward shown signs of an intention to exalt his wife's relatives at the expense of the Nevilles. A rupture resulted in 1467, Warwick being joined by the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence. Yet, though Edward was for a time a prisoner in the hands of the king-maker, that astute statesman foresaw that the downfall of York would probably lead to the restoration of Lancaster; and, as he was not then prepared to face such a consequence, he released his captive, and a pacification was made. But in 1470, Edward discovered that his brother Clarence, who had married Isabel, Warwick's eldest daughter, was once more plotting with his father-in-law. The two conspirators fled to Calais, the navy for the most part adhering to them; and they opened negotiations with Queen Margaret. It was, no doubt, the temporary loss of so much of his fleet that prevented Edward from opposing their passage across the Channel. They landed in September, 1470; and the king, not without difficulty, fled by way of Lynn to Flanders.² For a few months Henry VI. was restored; but the fact did not apparently please the Duke of Clarence,³ who may have anticipated that the king-maker would offer him the crown instead of only a contingent interest in it; and within a very short time Clarence was in treacherous correspondence with Edward.

Edward, for his part, did not sit still amid his misfortunes. Obtaining help from the Duke of Burgundy, he sailed from Flushing with four ships of war, fourteen transports, and about two thousand men;⁴ and on March 12th, 1471, was off Cromer. He would have landed there had the weather been favourable; but on the 14th he was able to put into Ravensrode. Clarence, after betraying his father-in-law, joined Edward; and in the result Warwick was

¹ Fabian, 473, 493; Speed, 670; Holingshed, ii. 666.

² Landing near Alkmaar. Fabian, 500; Hall, f. 17-19; Speed, 681.

³ Although the crown was entailed upon him, in case of failure of the male line of Henry VI. Fabian, 501; Speed, 681.

⁴ Hall, f. 24b; Stowe, 412.

defeated and killed at Barnet on April 14th. The ex-king was imprisoned in the Tower; and Margaret, who, almost at the very hour when the battle of Barnet was being fought, had landed at Weymouth, was on May 4th defeated and taken at Tewkesbury, her son, Prince Edward, being afterwards disgracefully murdered in cold blood.¹ Margaret was ransomed by the King of France, but was not suffered to depart until she had formally renounced all her claims to the English throne.

Edward had regained his crown but not his navy, the greater part of which, upon the death of Warwick, had fallen into the hands of the king-maker's lieutenant, Thomas, an illegitimate son of William Neville, Earl of Kent. This adventurer, known as the Bastard of Fauconberg, went to Calais, embarked part of the garrison, and, anticipating that the capital would espouse the cause of Henry VI., who was still in the Tower, sailed to the mouth of the Thames, after having touched at Dover and reinforced himself there, and landed with seventeen thousand men. He was deceived. Far from joining him, the citizens opposed him, in spite of the large body of troops at his disposal, and, closely pursued, he retired to Sandwich, where, upon a promise of pardon, he surrendered himself and his ships. He was spared, and even employed, until, being detected in fresh intrigues, he was beheaded.² At about the time of the Bastard's descent, in May, 1471, the ex-king, Henry VI., died in the Tower. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Edward realised that so long as Henry lived, civil strife was almost inevitable; and that, directly or indirectly, he was responsible for his rival's death, although the circumstances of the tragedy have never been explained.

Freed at length from domestic troubles, and master of his kingdom, Edward determined on a war with France, which had so often assisted his enemies, and against which he had many old grounds of quarrel. His preparations occupied him for some time, and not until about June, 1475, were they completed. By that time he had collected five hundred craft of various descriptions at Sandwich; and at the end of the month, or the beginning of July, he crossed to Calais with a large army.³ Louis XI. and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, were at war, and Edward, in pursuance of his

¹ Holingshed, ii. 688; Habington, 453; Speed, 684.

² Hall, f. 33; Speed, 685; Stowe, 424.

³ Polyd. Vergil, xxiv.; Fabian, 508; Grafton, 719; Cooper's Chron. 267*b*.

old continental policy, allied himself with the latter; and, upon landing, sent a herald to Louis to formally demand the whole of the kingdom. Unfortunately, Charles was an untrustworthy ally. He desired Edward to march to St. Quentin; but, on arriving before that town, the English king was fired at from the walls. Having thus good cause to distrust his professed friend, and learning of the great anxiety of France for peace, he listened to Louis's overtures, and agreed to a truce for seven years. The conditions included the payment by Louis of seventy-five thousand crowns down, and a pension of fifty thousand crowns; and the betrothal of the Dauphin to Edward's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth. This arrangement, known as the Peace of Amiens, was signed on the bridge of Picquigny on August 29th, 1475.¹ The result was not dishonourable, and certainly not disadvantageous, to England. Louis became in some sense the tributary of Edward, and, it is said, paid annually large sums to Englishmen of high position, as well as the pension to the king, as inducements to them to assist in the preservation of peace. But more important was the effect upon trade, which soon began to flourish as it had never flourished before.

The peace, however, did not seem destined to last long; for France played a double game. Louis omitted to carry out the stipulation for the betrothal of the Dauphin; and, in 1480, by the employment of subtle diplomacy, won over to his side the Emperor Maximilian, who had, but a short time previously, promised his son Philip in marriage to Edward's daughter, the Princess Anne, and who, upon the strength of that contract, had obtained from Edward the assistance of a squadron under Sir John Middleton.² War with France would perhaps have ensued then, had not Edward's attention been distracted by war with Scotland. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the Lord High Admiral, was employed there with a large army as well as a powerful fleet; and James III. was soon obliged to concede most of Edward's demands, although no permanent advantages were gained.³

As soon, nevertheless, as the Scots war ceased, and when Louis, in defiance of the undertaking arrived at at Picquigny, gave his son, not to Elizabeth of England, but to Margaret of Austria, Edward

¹ 'Fœdera,' xii. 17; Daniel, vi. 461-463; Phil. de Comines, iv.: Fabian, 509; Hall, f. 46, 47.

² Speed, 689; Grafton, 473.

³ Buchanan, xii. 399, 400; Speed, 689; Leslie, 'De Reb. Gest. Scot.' viii. 321, 322; Stowe, 432.

decided to stay his hand no longer, and, with the general approbation of his subjects, prepared to settle his account, once and for all, with Louis. He was in the midst of his preparations when he died on April 9th, 1483.

The reign of Edward's young son, Edward V., lasted for less than three months, and was, not unnaturally, barren of naval incident. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, formally accepted the crown on June 26, 1483, and was crowned on July 6th, following,¹ the late king, and his younger brother, the Duke of York, disappearing soon afterwards, having been, as is generally believed, murdered in their prison in the Tower by Richard's orders.

Richard III., who had been Lord High Admiral for many years, surrendered the office immediately after his accession to John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk, the "Jockey of Norfolk" of the ancient couplet.

The naval events of the reign are almost entirely connected with the efforts of Henry, Earl of Richmond, to secure the crown. These may be briefly narrated.

Henry was, at the time of Richard's accession, in Brittany, as guest of the Duke Francis, a weak potentate with a strong minister in the person of Pierre Landais, who, being of low origin, was very unpopular with the Breton nobility. Landais knew of Henry's aspirations, and of the project for marrying him to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and for thus uniting the Houses of Lancaster and York; and he seems to have believed that if he aided Henry to win a throne, Henry would help him to crush the nobles who troubled him. He therefore enabled Henry to procure a squadron of forty ships and about five thousand men, with which an abortive attempt at invasion was made in 1483. Sir Thomas Wentworth was at that time in command of a strong force of English ships in the Channel, and vessels from the Cinque Ports were cruising to observe the movements of the Bretons. Moreover, craft to assist in the defence of the country had been specially procured by Richard from Spain; so that the invader had everything against him. To make things worse, his squadron was dispersed by a gale, and as the coast was found to be carefully guarded, Henry was obliged to return.² In the meantime, Richard had

¹ Fabian, 516.

² Hall, f. 16b; Grafton, 824-826; Stowe, 465; Polyd. Vergil, xxv.; Holingshed, ii. 745; Argentré's 'Hist. de Bretagne,' xii.; Daniel, vi. 601.

taken and executed Buckingham, one of Henry's most powerful supporters in England, and had made such good use of his resources as to impress Landais with the conviction that he would not be easily ejected from his position. This caused the Breton minister to change his attitude, and to negotiate with Richard,¹ the result being that Henry narrowly escaped being handed over to his enemy. He fled to France.

It is difficult to understand why Richard, who must have learnt from time to time of Henry's pertinacious efforts to obtain money, ships, and troops, did not keep his fleet at sea until a final settlement had been reached; but he appears to have laid it up in the spring of 1485. This encouraged Henry and his party to renewed exertions. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford,² who, after the battle of Barnet, had led a life very similar to that led for a time by Prince Rupert after the fall of Charles I., and who had later surrendered to the Captain of Calais, was able to give valuable advice, and to lend still more valuable help. At length a very inefficient squadron was collected, and two or three thousand indifferent troops were embarked in it;³ and on August 1st, 1485, Henry and his friends sailed from Harfleur. The Earl of Richmond was, on his father's side, a Welshman, and, confident of a good reception in Wales, he made for Milford Haven, landing there on August 6th. As he marched eastward, he was joined by numerous supporters; and on August 22nd, 1485, at Whitemoors, near Market Bosworth, he decisively defeated Richard, who fell in the action. The Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Admiral, also perished.

¹ Hall, f. 21, 22; Grafton, 832.

² The second earl. After maintaining himself by piracy, he had held St. Michael's Mount for several months. On the accession of Henry VIII. he was made High Steward and Lord High Admiral. He died in 1513.

³ Stowe, 467; Speed, 721; Daniel, vi. 602; Hall, f. 27.



CHAPTER XII.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1399-1485.

H. W. WILSON.

Trade with Spain—Pirates—Voyages to the Baltic—Relations with Prussia—Voyages to the Mediterranean—Trade with the North—Voyages to Iceland—Depredations of the English there—English ships forbidden to visit Iceland—Further depredations—‘Libel of English Policie’—Search for O’Brazil—English Consul at Pisa.



DURING the fifteenth century, on the eve of the great Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, or indeed whilst these were actually being made, the records of English voyages are provokingly slight. From the allusions in the ‘Libel of English Policie,’ we know that there must have been considerable trade with Spain and Portugal; but our seas appear to have been very insecure till Henry VII. came to the throne. The Paston Letters contain more than one allusion to pirates, who landed and swept the vicinity of the coasts of valuables and kidnapped men. Under Henry VI. there existed an organised band of pirates who called themselves “Rovers of the Sea.” London and Norwich even had to defend themselves against such attacks by booms and chains. Ships sailed in large companies to protect one another, and the whole convoy was usually under one selected captain. So great were the English losses that an Act was passed in Henry VI.’s reign directed expressly against the neutrals who were stealing the English trade.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth-century voyages to Norway and the Baltic appear to have been common.¹ In 1361 the English merchants had factories at the now strangely decayed town of Wisby in the island of Gotland. In 1388 there was a treaty of reciprocity with the Grand Master of Prussia, whose territories then

¹ From the number of letters, treaties, etc., in Rymer’s ‘Fœdera’ (*q.v.* for these years), the volume of trade to the Baltic must have been considerable.

lay between Danzig and Memel.¹ There is in the treaty mention of English ships at Danzig and of Prussian ships at Lynn. Both sides seem to have plundered one another freely, and hence the trouble. At the same time there is mention of negotiations with the Hanse Towns. In 1393 three Lynn ships of large size were allowed to aid Margaret of Denmark against the Hanse Towns. It does not, then, surprise us to discover in 1399, that the English merchants complain of bad treatment on the part of Prussia in the Hanse Towns, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, and Greifswald, where pirates plundered them right and left. In 1394 Bergen in Norway was burnt by freebooters, and twenty-one houses, valued at £146, belonging to merchants of Lynn, were destroyed. In 1401 there were more complaints of Prussia against ships of Lynn,² and counter-charges on the part of the English king for the seizure of English ships by Prussia. Acts of piracy were not, however, repressed, and in 1403 there are the old complaints again, settled by a fresh treaty of reciprocity and amity between England and Prussia. In 1408 we find that the English settlement at Bergen is important enough to have a governor of its own, who resides there for the direction of the English trade to Scandinavia. In 1409 the Hanse Towns and Henry IV. exchanged sums of money for damage done by pirates on either side, and piracy appears to have somewhat abated. William Waldron, Lord Mayor of London in 1412 and 1422, ships £24,000 worth of cargo to the Mediterranean in 1412, which was promptly seized by the jealous Genoese. In 1417 a patent was issued granting annuities to the masters or owners of large ships. Some years later is a treaty of reciprocity between Scotland and Norway. In 1429 the King of Denmark forbade English merchants to sail to Finmark, or indeed to any place but Bergen.

In 1446 one Gibson of Glasgow is mentioned as trading to Poland, France, and Holland, in pickled salmon. In 1449 John Taverner of Hull built a very large merchant ship, and was graciously permitted to sail with her to Italy for trading purposes. Now, too, Canyng, Mayor of Bristol, was sending ships to Danzig, Iceland, and Finmark, in spite of the Danish prohibition. In 1467 there was a treaty of reciprocity with Denmark. A large passenger trade was also springing up with Spain; and in 1445 we find ships which could contain two hundred passengers sailing

¹ 'Fœdera,' vii. 599.

² *Ib.*, viii. 203.

in summer for Spain, with pilgrims who wished to visit the shrine of Compostella.

During the fifteenth century that intercourse between England and Iceland, which we have noted as existing in the fourteenth century, continued and developed. Thus we know from the Icelandic annals that in 1407 news reached the Icelanders of the murder of the Archbishop of York. In 1412 we hear that a fishing vessel arrived from England at Dyrholm Isle, and that five men came ashore from her, as she was short of provisions, and wintered in the island. Next year came an English merchant in a vessel freighted with wares, which he was, by the King of Norway's leave, to be allowed to land without toll. Thirty English "fish doggers" also arrived, whilst it is noted, seemingly as strange, that "a ship came safe and sound from Norway to Iceland." Already the English adventurers were taking the Viking Norseman's place in the northern seas. The English fishermen, we read, seized sheep and were disorderly. In 1414 there were five English ships, apparently all laden with goods; the annals notice in the course of this year the destruction of the "English yard" at Bergen by fire. In 1416 there were six English vessels, one of which conveyed home fifty lasts of stockfish and much burnt silver. In 1419 twenty-five English ships were wrecked round the coast on Maundy Thursday, when there was a heavy gale. All the men were lost, but the goods were cast on shore. In this same year, Thorleif Arnisson sailed from Iceland to Denmark to complain to the Danish king of the harm done by the English, who, it appeared, ill-treated the Icelanders, and were guilty of rapine and manslaughter.¹ The King of Denmark had already complained to Henry V., who in 1415 had ordered that during this year no subject of his should visit the coasts of the islands belonging to Denmark and Norway, least of all Iceland, for the purpose of trading and fishing, otherwise than according to ancient custom.² The notice was sent to Lynn, Scarborough, Whitby, Hull, and other places, but it does not seem to have had much effect. It has been conjectured that the English were ordered only to refrain from fishing inshore. Thorleif Arnisson on his way to Denmark was attacked by an English pirate, but took refuge at the Farøes, and finally came safely to his destination. In 1420, too, English ships, under John Marris and Rawlin Tirington, were

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, xlix. 404 ff.

² Rymer, 'Fodera,' ix. 322.

at Vestmannäyjar in Iceland, and stole nine lasts of the king's stockfish. About the same time we hear of ten English clerks or merchants, by name, who traded with Iceland, and dwelt there through the winter. So also the English crews landed, killed a Danish officer, and robbed and plundered. In 1424 they carried off six more lasts of dried fish, and had actually entrenched bases on the detached islets of the coast. In 1425 they carried off Hans Paulsson and one Balthazar, besides despoiling the cloisters of Helgafell. In 1430 the Icelandic annals end, but in 1436 the Bishop of Iceland is licensed to engage John May with his ship *Katherine* to sail to Iceland; and in the same year the name of a London stockfish dealer is well known to the Icelanders. In 1440 two ships are sent by the king laden with goods, as the Icelanders had neither wine nor salt in the country. In 1450 a treaty between England and Denmark prohibits Englishmen from trading to Iceland; but Thomas Canyng, Mayor of Bristol, is exempted, because he has done the Icelanders great service. He was allowed to send out two ships to load with fish. In 1445 two men of Lynn are punished for kidnapping a boy in Iceland. And, in 1478, Robert Alcock, of Hull, was permitted to send a ship, which was to bring back fish or other goods.¹ The 'Libel of English Policie,' devotes several lines to the "commodious stockfish of Iceland," adding that—

"Out of Bristowe and costes many one
Men have practised by neddle and by stone,
Thider wardes within a little while
Within twelve yers and without perill,
Gon and come, as men were wont of old,
Of Scarborough unto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware
That moch losse for unfreight they bare."²

Again, in his letters, Columbus writes: "I sailed (in February, 1477) a hundred leagues beyond the island of Tile, the southern part of which is not as some will have it 63° but 73° from the equinoctial line. It lies much more to the west than the western meridian of Ptolemy. This island is as large as England, and the English, especially those of Bristol, go there with their merchandise. At the time that I was there the sea was not frozen."³ His statement that the sea was not frozen is corroborated by the Icelandic annals, and

¹ Icelandic Sagas, Chronicles and Rolls Series, iv. 421 ff.; and De Costa, 'Inventio Fortunata,' pp. 11-13.

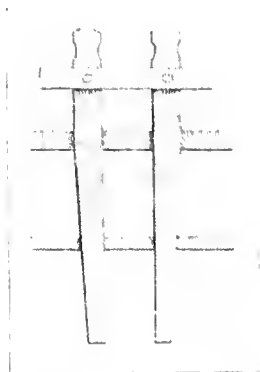
² Hakluyt, B. L. i. 201.

³ Major, 'Zeni,' xviii.

his Tile must have been Iceland or "Thule." His testimony to the activity of the Bristol traders is interesting. On July 15, 1480, Thomas Lloyd sailed from the port of Bristol, with "ships of 80 tons burden" belonging to John Say. His object was to discover the mysterious island of Brasyllé or O'Brazil, which was reported to lie out in the Atlantic—to the west of Ireland. His voyage lasted nine months, but it was fruitless.¹ But all these early voyages want a *rates sacer*. The last indication of early travel with which our record fitly closes, comes from the other extreme of Europe, where Strozzi was in 1485 appointed English consul at Pisa for the Mediterranean, and where a treaty of reciprocity was concluded with Florence.²

¹ Harrisse, 'Discovery of North America,' 659.

² A few events which rightly belong to the latter part of this period are, for the sake of convenience, dealt with in Chap. XVI.



CHAPTER XIII.

CIVIL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1485-1603.

Progress in navigation—"Ephemerides"—The astrolabe—The cross-staff—Behaim's globe—"Lunars"—Variation of the needle—Mercator's charts—Books on navigation—Davis's quadrant—The telescope—The fleet—Ships of Henry VII.—The *Henry Grace à Dieu*—Ordnance—Naval literature—Arms—Gear—Ships of Henry VIII.—Ships of Edward VI.—Ships of Elizabeth—Naval pay—Agreement between Henry VIII. and Sir Edward Howard—Howard of Effingham's instructions—Pensions—The chest at Chatham—Naval arsenals—Docks—The first dry dock—The government of the service—Reforms of Henry VIII.—The Navy Board—Trinity House—Punishments—The seafaring population—Encouragement of trade—Elizabeth's care of her country's interests.



BEFORE the end of the fifteenth century, European seamen had ceased to be mere unscientific gropers in darkness.¹ They knew how Eratosthenes had calculated the obliquity of the ecliptic by means of the *armilla*, or great copper circles, fixed in the square porch of the Alexandrian Museum, and how he had determined the circumference of the earth. He had heard that deep wells in Syene were enlightened to the bottom on the day of the summer solstice, and he therefore reasoned that Syene must be on the tropic. He had ascertained the latitude of Alexandria by observation, and he assumed that the two places were on the same meridian. The arc thus measured enabled him to calculate the proportion it bore to the whole circumference of the earth, and his result was a fair approximation to the truth.

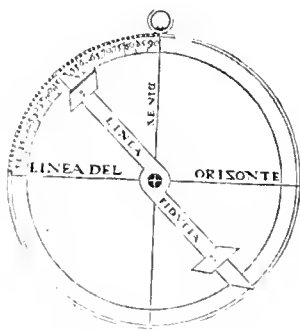
Then again, the fifteenth-century seamen had the catalogue of the stars and constellations, the system of mapping by degrees of latitude and longitude, and the theory of the precession of the

¹ For much of what here follows, concerning the improvements in the art of navigation, recognition is due to Chap. viii. of Sir Clements Markham's admirable 'Life of John Davis, the Navigator,' in 'The World's Great Explorers' series, London, 1889.

equinoxes— all bequeathed to them by Hipparchus, and preserved for them by Ptolemy. The system of Ptolemy was the navigator's text-book in the Middle Ages; and the *Almagest*, the Arabic translation of his work, was the foundation of astronomical knowledge. It was to learned men, well versed in the *Almagest*, that Alfonso X. of Castille, had entrusted the preparation of the astronomical tables which are called after him, and which, after they had remained in manuscript for about two hundred years, were first printed in 1483. Before the accession of Henry VII., Georg Peurbach and Johann Müller, better known as Regiomontanus, had lived and done their work, and the latter had not only constructed valuable instruments, but had also published his "Ephemerides," with tables of the sun's declination calculated for the years from 1475 to 1566.

It was, however, in the lifetime of Henry VII. that greater progress was made than in any previous period of thrice the duration, and the chief authors of this remarkable progress were the two celebrated navigators, Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, and Christopher Columbus.

Behaim, a merchant, was a pupil of Regiomontanus, and a student of the *Almagest*. While in Portugal, he adapted for



EARLY ASTROLABE.

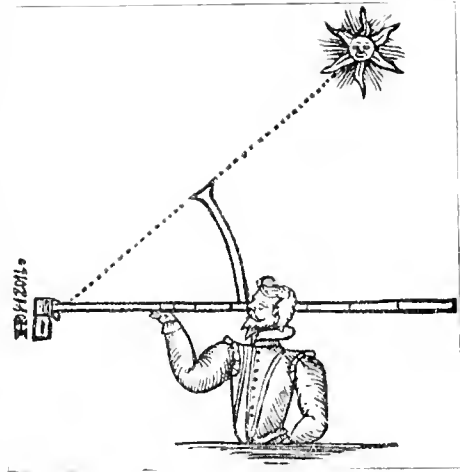
(From Martin Cortes' *Arte del Navegar*, Seville, 1556.)

João I., as an instrument of navigation, the astrolabe, which had previously been used only in astronomy. A graduated metal ring, held so as to hang as a plummet, with a movable limb across it, fitted with two perforated sights, enabled the seaman to observe the angle between the horizon and the sun at noon; and with this, and the daily declination of the sun, as given by Regiomontanus, the discovery of the latitude involved only a simple calculation. This seems to have been about the year 1483. Not many

years elapsed ere a more suitable instrument for observing the sun's altitude was devised. This was the cross-staff, the first known description of which dates from 1514, and is by Werner of Nürnberg. After accompanying Diogo Cão on his West African voyage in 1484-85, and then living for a time in the Azores, Behaim returned to Nürnberg, and constructed his great globe, concerning

which Baron Nordenskiöld has written as follows to Sir Clements Markham :—

“The globe of Behaim is, without comparison, the most important geographical document that appeared between A.D. 150, the date of the composition of Ptolemy's Atlas, and A.D. 1507, when Ruysch's map of the world was published. This globe is not only the oldest known to exist, but, from its size and its wealth of geographical detail, it far surpassed all analogous *monuments de géographie*, until the appearance of the globe of Mercator. It is the first geographical document which, without any reserve, adopts the existence of antipodes. It is the first which plainly shows the possibility of a passage by sea to India and Cathay. It is the first on which the discoveries of Marco Polo are clearly indicated. It is true that the Behaim globe may be said to have been preceded, in some respects, by some other earlier maps of the fifteenth century—for instance, the map in a codex of Pomponius Mela of 1427, in the library of Rheims, and that of Fra Mauro. But if these



CROSS-STAFF.

(From Davis's 'Seaman's Secrets,' London, 1594.)

are impartially studied, it will be found that they are based on the idea of Homer, that the earth is a large circular island encompassed by the ocean, a conception totally incompatible with the new geographical discoveries of the Spaniards. These and analogous maps are, therefore, not in the slightest degree comparable with the globe of Behaim, which may be said to be an exact representation of the geographical knowledge of the period immediately preceding the first voyage of Columbus.”

The ascertaining of the longitude continued for many generations to be a difficulty, although Werner of Nürnberg proposed the method of observing the distance of the moon from the sun with simultaneous altitudes—a method subsequently known as taking a “lunar”; and Gemma Frisius of Louvain had an idea, made public in 1530, that longitude might be found by comparison of times kept by small clocks, a foreshadowing of the modern use of the chronometer.

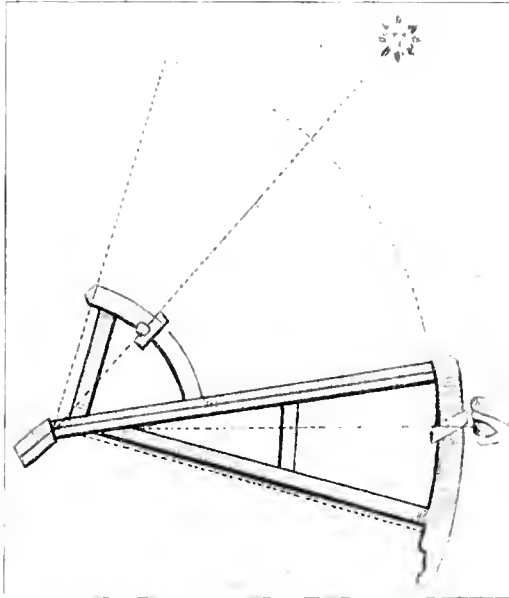
Columbus was the first to observe the variation of the needle. This was on September 14th, 1492. It afterwards attracted the attention of Sebastian Cabot. But the peculiarity was very generally believed at the time to be non-existent, the observations being inaccurate; and, as late as 1571, Sarmiento doubted it.

Globes, and not charts, were chiefly used by the early sixteenth-

century navigators who ventured into distant seas. The plane charts were fruitful sources of error and danger, owing to the degrees being shown in them as of equal length. Therefore the discovery of a method of projection which obviated these disadvantages marked a very great advance in the progress of the art of navigation. The discoverer was Gerard Cremer, better known as Mercator. Gerard learnt astronomy at Louvain from Gemma Frisius, published his first map in 1537, and constructed his great globe, two feet in diameter, in 1541. But the chart of the world, on the new projection, did not appear until 1569. The advantage of the system lies in the fact, as the author explains, that, although distances are distorted, the relative positions of places are correct. The actual chart is incorrectly drawn, and if Mercator really had a definite theory, he supplied others with no practical methods of working it out. The idea was not utilised in a scientific manner until Edward Wright of Garveston, in 1594, the year of Mercator's death, discovered the method of dividing the meridian. Five years later he published his treatise on 'The Correction of Certain Errors in Navigation,' and only thereafter did charts, on what is still nevertheless called Mercator's projection, come into general use.

Other valuable aids to the advancement of the science of navigation were furnished, in the sixteenth century, by the work of Pedro Nuñez, or Nonius, Martin Fernandez Enciso, Pedro de Medina, Martin Cortes, Bourne, William Borough, Blundeville, Hondius, Blagrave, Thomas Hood, Hues, Heriot, John Davis, and Gilbert of Colchester. Nonius gave the solution of several problems, including the determination of the latitude by the sun's double altitude, and was the first to introduce rhumb lines on charts. Enciso's 'Suma de Geografia' was the first practical navigation book for the use of sailors. Medina, though a Spanish writer, was the mentor of the early Dutch navigators. Cortes's 'Compendium' appeared in an English translation in 1561, and was used by John Davis, the navigator. Bourne's 'Regiment of the Sea' (1573) was the earliest original English work on Navigation, and contains the first account of the modern method of measuring a ship's run by means of the log and line, an apparatus which Bourne elsewhere says was the invention of one Humplrey Cole, of the Mint in the Tower. Borough wrote on the Magnet and Loadstone in 1581. Blundeville published his very popular 'Exercises' in 1594, with a table of meridional parts as furnished to

him by his friend Edward Wright, and an explanation of the principle of Mercator's projection. Hondius, in 1595, published at Amsterdam a new chart of the world on Mercator's projection, in the preparation of which he utilised Wright's tables. Blagrove and Hood improved the astrolabe and cross-staff. Hues expounded various problems in navigation, and included in his 'Tractatus de Globis' (1594), a chapter by Heriot on the use of rhumbs. John Davis, the navigator, wrote 'The Seaman's Secrets' in 1594, and invented the back-staff or, Davis's quadrant, which rapidly super-



BACK-STAFF, OR DAVIS'S QUADRANT.

(From John Robertson's 'Elements of Navigation,' London, 1742.)

seded the cross-staff, and which, improved by Flunsted, remained in common use until Hadley's reflecting quadrant took its place in 1731. And Doctor Gilbert of Colchester, in the last year of the century, followed up the previous works by Borough, Norman, and others, on magnetism, by propounding the theory that the earth itself is a magnet. Nor must the invention of the telescope be forgotten. It is due to Zacharias Janssen, of Middelberg, about 1590, and the instrument, quickly improved, soon became part of the sea captain's equipment.

Henry VII., unlike some of his fifteenth-century predecessors,

deemed it of importance to build some vessels specially for war, instead of relying entirely upon ships hired from the merchants, and more or less hastily and imperfectly adapted for it, and he strengthened the Navy Royal by adding to it at least two finer men-of-war than had been previously seen in England.

With the crown he acquired the *Grace à Dieu*,¹ the *Governor*,² the *Martin Garcia*,³ the *Mary of the Tower*,⁴ the *Trinity*, the *Falcon*, and possibly the *Bonaventure*. He purchased the *Carrel of Eue*⁵ (Caravel of Eue, in Normandy), and perhaps also a small craft called the *King's Bark*; he captured the *Margaret* in 1490; and he built the *Regent*, the *Sovereign*, the *Sucepstake*, and the *Mary Fortune*.

The tonnage and dimensions of the *Regent*⁶ and the *Sovereign* are unknown; but it is tolerably certain that both ships were larger and more powerful than any of their predecessors in the English navy.

The *Regent* was constructed in Reding Creek, on the Rother, under the supervision of Sir Richard Guildford,⁷ and seems to have been launched in 1489 or 1490. She carried 225 serpentines, all apparently on the upper deck, fore-castle, and poop. She had a foremast and fore-top-mast,⁸ a main-mast, main top-mast, and main top-gallant-mast, a main mizen-mast, a bonaventure mizen-mast, and a sprit-sail on the bowsprit. Each mast seems to have carried a yard. The *Regent* was burnt in 1512.

The *Sovereign* was constructed, partly out of the remains of the broken-up *Grace à Dieu*, under the superintendence of Sir Reginald Bray,⁹ and, in all likelihood, was launched in 1488. She was smaller than the *Regent*, carrying only 141 serpentines. Her masts were like those of the *Regent*, except that she had no main top-gallant-mast.¹⁰

¹ Probably bought or built, 1473.

² Bought, 1485. Excheq. Warr. for Issues, January 31st, 1485.

³ Probably bought, 1470. Excheq. Warr. for Issues, July 18th, 1470.

⁴ Bought, 1478.

⁵ Re-named *Mary and John*.

⁶ It is known, however, that the *Regent* was copied from a French ship, the *Columbe*, of 600 tons.

⁷ Son of Sir John Guildford, of Hempsted. He was made Master of the Ordnance in 1486, then Controller of the Household, and, in 1500, a K.G.

⁸ These top-masts were separate spars, but fixed, and not strikable.

⁹ Later, a Privy Councillor and K.G. He was the architect of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster.

¹⁰ Nav. Accts. and Inventories of Henry VII. (Oppenheim), pref. xix-xxiv.

The *Sweepstake*¹ and *Mary Fortune* were built in 1497, and were small craft, each with three lower masts, a main top-mast, and a sprit-sail on the bowsprit.² One had eighty and the other sixty oars, for use as sweeps.

The *Regent*, the principal warship, bequeathed to Henry VIII. by his father, was, as will be seen later, burnt in the action off Brest, on August 10th, 1512, and it would appear that it was as a substitute for her that the famous *Henry Grace à Dieu* was laid down at Erith in the course of the autumn of the same year. On June 13th, 1514, the not extravagant sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* was offered at her "hallowing,"³ from which fact it may be concluded that she was then launched; and in the course of the following year she seems to have been completed for sea. William Bond, the master-shipwright who built her under Brygandine's direction, is supposed to have been the first master-shipwright of the Royal Navy. A MS. Augmentation Office account, quoted by Charnock,⁴ indicates that in November, or December, 1514, she was moved from Erith to Barking Creek by a party which included twenty-one seamen who had been discharged from the *Lizard*, each of whom received 8*d.* for his share of the work.

Several alleged representations of this interesting ship exist, and some of them are reproduced here. One is found in a picture which was long hanging in Canterbury Cathedral, and which was presented to Sir John Norris, Admiral of the Fleet, by the dean and chapter. It is still in the possession of Sir John's descendants, and was exhibited at the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891. Another occurs in the picture by Volpe of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover on May 31st, 1520, to meet Francis I. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. This picture, the property of the Crown, is at Hampton Court Palace. Another occurs in the well-known drawing preserved in the Pepysian collection at Cambridge. And there are two models in the museum at Greenwich. The authenticity of these last was, however, so much doubted by the models committee of the Naval Exhibition, that they were merely described in the catalogue as probably representing large ships of the sixteenth century. Upon the whole, Volpe's picture, long ascribed to

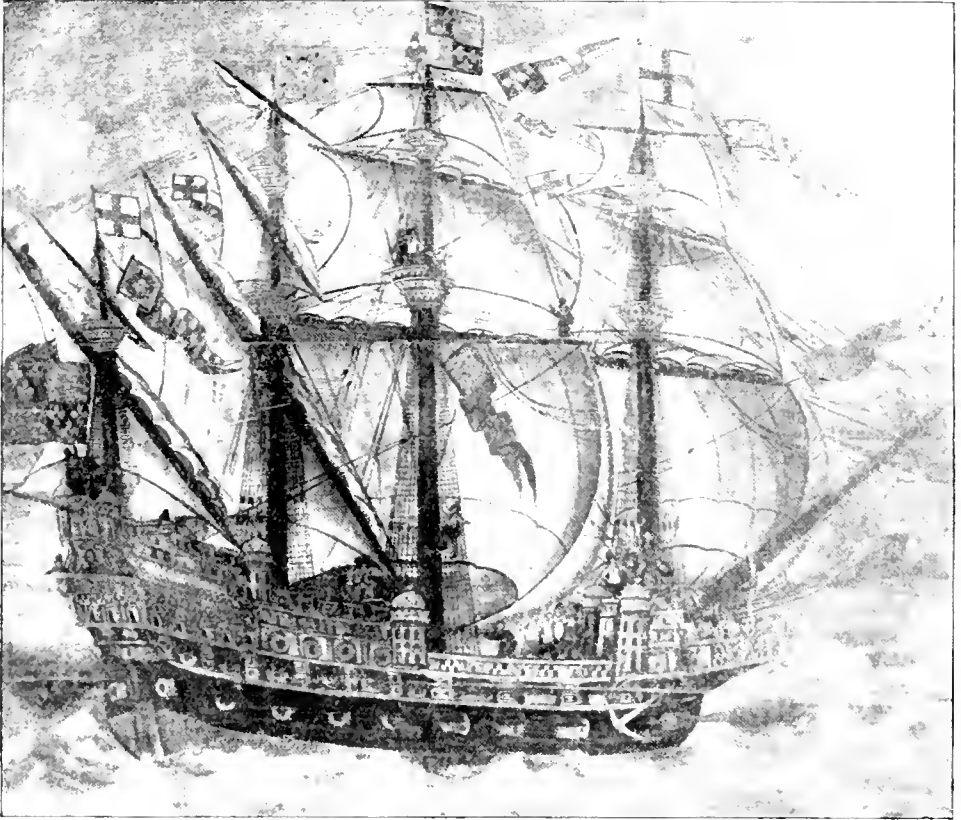
¹ Re-named *Katherine Pomegranate* under Henry VIII.

² Nav. Accts. and Inventories of Henry VII. (Oppenheim), pref. xxvii.

³ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII. pp. 1464, 1465. Record Office.

⁴ Charnock, ii. 43.

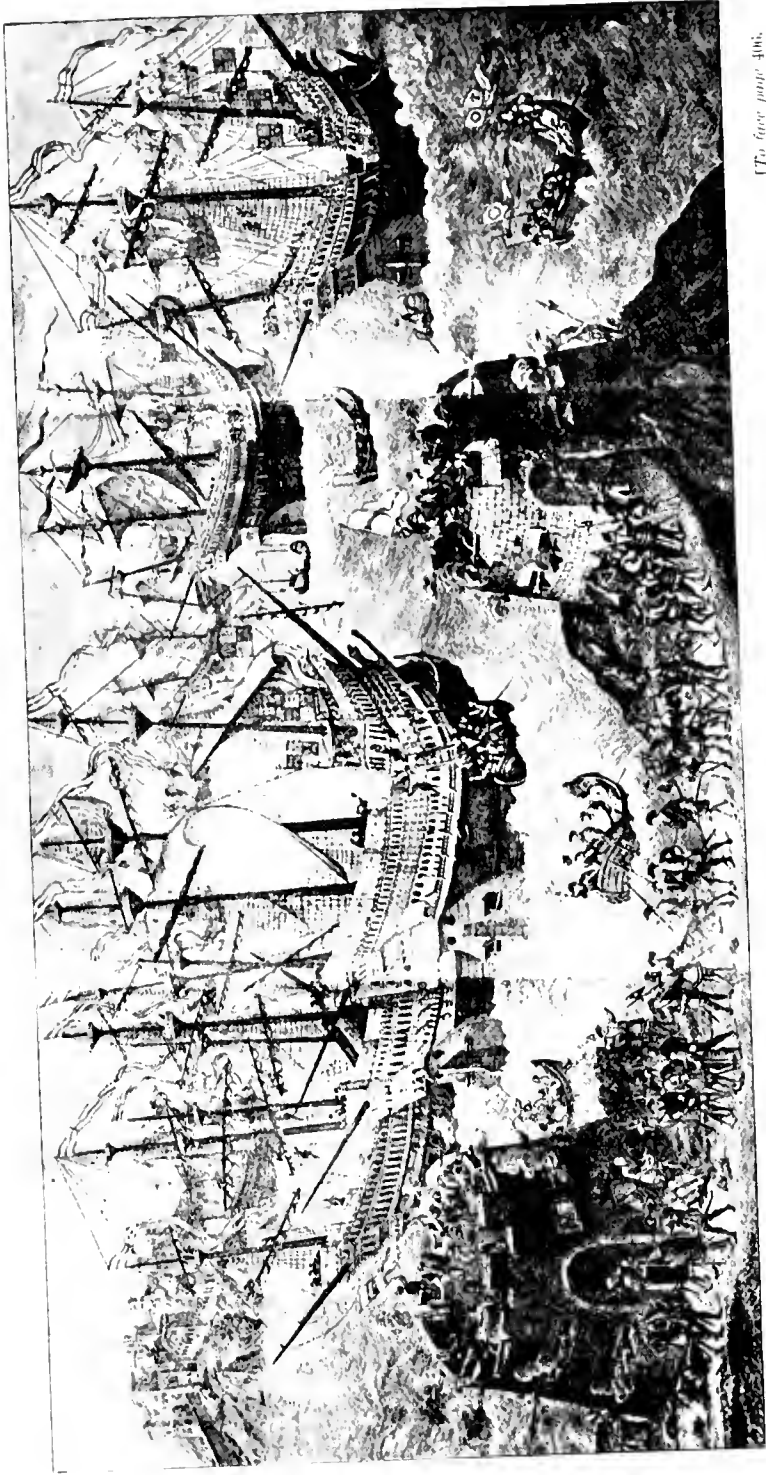
Holbein, seems to be the most trustworthy, although it does not represent the vessels which actually convoyed Henry, but rather those vessels which would have convoyed him, had the harbours where the king embarked and disembarked been deep enough to admit them. The following account of Volpe's picture, which is of



THE "HENRY GRACE À DIEU."

(From a supposed contemporary panel, formerly in Canterbury Cathedral, given by the dean and chapter to Admiral of the Fleet, Sir John Norris. By kind permission of H. C. Norris, Esq.)

necessity here reproduced on a very diminished scale, and does not, therefore, show details with great clearness, will assist the student. Of it Pepys says: "I came a little too late (to receive the Communion at Whitehall), so I walked up into the house, and spent my time in looking over pictures, particularly the ships in King Henry VIII's voyage to Bullaen, marking the great difference between those built then and now."

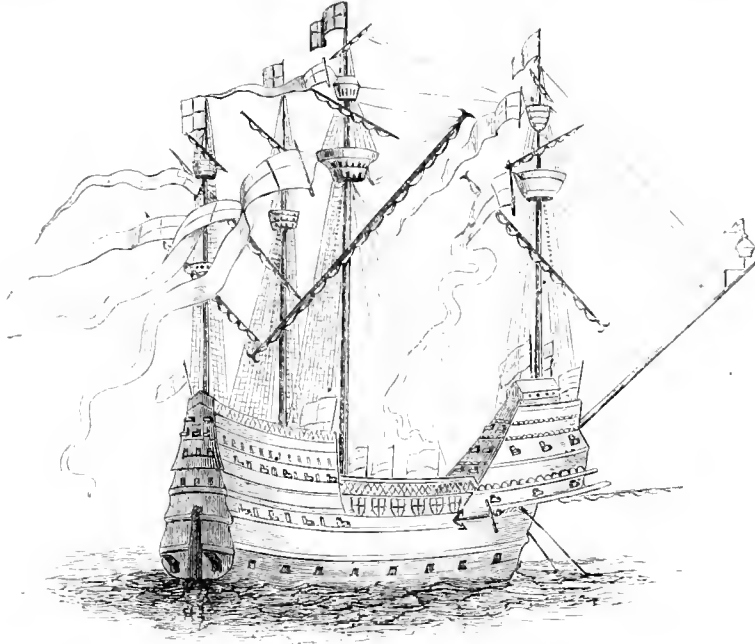


[To face page 406.]

EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII AT DOVER, MAY 31st. 1520.

(From Bussey's Engraving after Tulp's Pictures, now at Hampton Court.)

The *Henry Grace à Dieu* is the vessel which is sailing out of harbour, and which is immediately above the right tower. She has four pole masts, with two round tops on each, except the shorter mizzen, which bears only one. Her sails and pennants are of cloth of gold damasked. The royal standard of England flies on each of the four angles of the forecastle, and the staff of each standard is surrounded by a fleur-de-lys Or. Pennants fly from the mastheads, and at each angle of the poop is a banner of

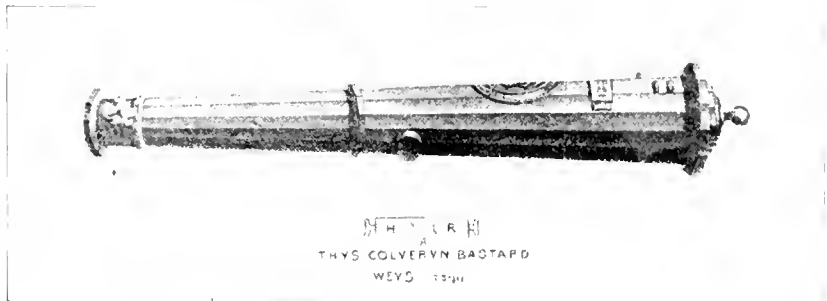


THE "HENRY GRACE À DIEU."

(From the drawing in the Pepysian Library in Magdalen College, Cambridge.)

St. George. Her quarters and sides, as well as her tops, are hung with targets, charged differently with the Cross of St. George, Azure a fleur-de-lys Or, party per pale Argent and Vert a union rose, and party per pale Argent and Vert a portcullis Or, alternately and repeatedly. In the waist stands the king, in a garment of cloth of gold, edged with ermine, the sleeves, jacket, and breeches, crimson. His round hat bears a white feather, lying on the brim. On his proper left stands a person in a dark violet coat, slashed with black, and with red stockings. On his right are three other persons, one in black, another in bluish-grey, and the third in red, guarded with black, and with a black slashed jacket. Behind are yeomen of the

guard, with halberts. Two trumpeters, sounding their trumpets, sit on the break of the poop, and two more are on the break of the forecastle. On both forecastle and poop are many yeomen of the guard. Beneath the break of the forecastle are shown, party per pale Argent and Vert, within the garter, the arms of England and France, quarterly crowned: the supporters, a lion and a dragon, being those then used by the king. The same arms appear on the stern. On each side of the rudder is a porthole, showing the muzzle of a brass gun. The figure-head seems to represent a lion. Under the stern is a boat, having at her head two banners of St. George, and at her stern the same. Two yeomen of the guard, and other persons are in her. Both stern and forecastle



CULVERIN BASTARD, XVITH CENTURY.

are two decks higher than the waist, which itself appears to be two clear decks above the water.

Four other ships, all large, are shown in the picture. The king's squadron actually consisted of the *Great Bark*, the *Less Bark*, the *Katherine Pleasaunce*, the *Mary and John*, and two row barges, all comparatively small craft; but the painter obviously shows us some of the crack ships of the time. The visit to France was paid in Henry's twelfth year. In the thirteenth year of his reign, 1521-22, according to a MS. in Pepys' *Miscellanies*,¹ the five largest ships in the English navy, with their tonnage, were as follows: *Henry Grace à Dieu*, 1500;² *Sovereign*, 800; *Gabriel Royal*, 650; *Mary Rose*, 600;³ and *Katherine Forteleza*, 550; and it is very probable that these five vessels are the five depicted. On

¹ *Miscellanies*, viii.

² Most authorities, however, agree that the tonnage was but 1000. The more probable tonnage of all these ships will be found in the table printed *infra*, p. 419.

³ Elsewhere generally described as of 500 tons.

this assumption, the ship which men are boarding, and which is the innermost of the three lying alongside one another, would naturally be the *Sovereign*, since she alone, except the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, has four masts.

The heavy guns of the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, according to an account in 'Archæologia,'¹ taken from a MS. in the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College, Cambridge, were twenty-one in number, and were all of brass. The following are the types and



BRASS GUN FROM THE "MARY ROSE."

numbers of each, with the number and nature of the shot carried for them:—

GRASS.	NUMBER.	SHOT.	NUMBER.
Cannon	4	Iron	100
Demi-cannon	3	"	60
Culverin	4	"	120
Demi-culverin	2	"	70
Saker	4	"	120
Cannon Perer (Cannon Petro)	2	{ Stone or { lead }	67
Falcon	2	Iron	100

There were also the following light guns, viz.: port pieces, 14; slings, 4; demi-slings, 2; fowlers, 8; bassils, 60; top-pieces, 2; hail-shot pieces, 40; and hand-guns, 100. Her complement was made up of 301 mariners, 50 gunners, and 349 soldiers, making 700 in all.

It would be waste of time, in default of specific information on

¹ 'Archæologia' (App. III.), vi. 216.

the subject, to endeavour to indicate how and where the different heavy guns were mounted; but some particulars as to the guns themselves can and should be attempted. In this we are assisted by the fact that several guns which went down in the above-mentioned *Mary Rose* in 1545, off Portsmouth, have been recovered, and are still in existence, and by the further fact that little change in the size and nature of ships' heavy guns took place during the sixteenth century. A table of the principal guns of that period, compiled from extant specimens, and from what appear to be the most trustworthy ancient authorities,¹ is therefore appended:—

Name of Piece.	Calibre.	Length.		Weight of Gun.	Weight of Shot.	Charge of Powder.
	Inch.	Ft.	Inch.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
Cannon Royal	8·54	8	6	8,000	74	30
Cannon	8·0	..	..	6,000	60	27
Cannon Serpentine	7·0	..	..	5,500	42	25
Bastard Cannon	7·0	..	..	4,500	42	20
Demi-Cannon	6·4	11	0	4,000	32	18
Cannon Pedro, or Petro ²	6·0	..	..	3,800	26	14
Culverin ³	5·2	10	11	4,840	18	12
Basilisk	5·0	..	..	4,000	14	9
Demi-Culverin	4·0	..	..	3,400	8	6
Culverin Bastard	4·56	8	6	3,000	11	5·7
Saker ⁴	3·65	6	11	1,400	6	4
Minion	3·5	6	6	1,050	5·2	3
Falcon	2·5	6	0	680	2	1·2
Falconet ⁵	2·0	3	9	500	1	·4
Serpentine	1·5	..	..	400	·5	·3
Rabinet or Robinet	1·0	..	..	300	·3	·18

¹ Monson puts the length of the guns mentioned by him at 8 ft. 6 in.; but specimens still extant, dating from about his time, indicate that this was not always correct.

² "Cannon Pedro" was the English form of "canon pierrier," and means a gun primarily intended for throwing stone shot.

³ *Le coulverin*—serpent. Compare Basilisk.

⁴ Named after the Saker hawk. Compare Falcon.

⁵ In the grounds of the Seigneurie, Sark, is a well-preserved brass gun, apparently a falconet, 57 inches in length, and 1½ inches in calibre, bearing the following inscription:—"Don de sa Majesté la Royne Elizabeth au Seigneur de Sark, A.D. 1572." See p. 412.

¹ See Sir W. Monson's 'Tracts' in Churchill's *Voyages*, iii.; 'Archæologia,' vi. 189, xi. 170, xiii. 27, etc. Tartaglia's 'Three Books of Colloquies,' translated by Lucar (London, 1588); and S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxlii. 64. Hardly any two of these agree. The paper Dom. Eliz. cxlii. 64, is printed at length as an appendix to the 'State

The weights of guns of the same denomination, and of the shot for them, may, even the calibres, seem to have varied considerably, and the windage was greater than was ever allowed in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. In the cannon royal it must have amounted to a full half-inch at least, and if, as some authorities say, the cannon royal threw only a sixty-six pound shot, the windage must have been in some cases as much as three-quarters of an inch. In his preface to the 'Defeat of the Spanish Armada,' Professor Laughton speaks loosely of the shot being "a good inch and a half less in diameter than the bore of the gun." This is surely an exaggeration. Had the proportions been so, the iron shot for an 8-in. gun would have weighed less than 40 lbs.; that for a 7-in. gun less than 24 lbs.; that for a 6-in. gun about 13 lbs.; and that for a 5-in. gun only about 6 lbs. The relatively large charges of powder may be explained by this great windage, and the excessive badness and weakness of the explosive. In the eighteenth century, twenty-five pounds was a proof charge for a 42-pounder, and the heaviest sea-service charge for it was only seventeen pounds, while the proof

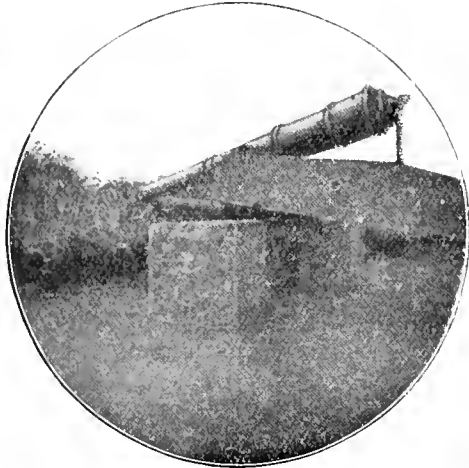
Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada' (Nav. Rec. Soc.), and contains a table from which the following is extracted:—

—	Height (calibre) of the Piece.	Weight of the Piece.	Weight of the Shot.	Weight of the Powder.	Point blank (range) by the Quadrant.	Random (range with elevation).
	Inches.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Score Paces.	Paces.
Cannon Royal	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7000	66	30	..	1950
Cannon	8	6000	60	27	17	2000
Cannon Serpentine	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5500	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	20	2000
Bastard Cannon	7	4500	41 $\frac{3}{4}$	20	18	1800
Demi-Cannon	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4000	30 $\frac{1}{4}$	18	17	1700
Cannon Pedro	6	3000	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	16	1600
Culverin	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4500	17 $\frac{1}{3}$	12	20	2500
Basilisco	5	4000	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	10	..	..
Demi-Culverin	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3400	9 $\frac{1}{3}$	8	20	2500
Bastard Culverin	4	3000	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	18	1800
Saker	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1400	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	17	1700
Minion	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1000	4	4	16	1600
Falcon of 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ inches	2 $\frac{1}{3}$	800	3	3	15	1500
Falconet	2	500	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	1400
Serpentine	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	400	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	13	1300
Robinet	1	300	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	1000
Falcon	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	650	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	15	1500

The charges are for "cannon corn powder" (serpentine meal powder). When "fine corn powder" (small arm powder) was used, 25 per cent. less of it was to be employed. The table and directions are signed "Jo. Sheriffe."

charge for an 18-pounder was fifteen pounds, and the sea-service charge was but nine pounds.¹

The ships of Henry VII. appear to have been the first English ones to be fitted with regular port-holes. The *Regent* and *Sovereign* certainly had them in their poops and forecastles. The invention



ELIZABETHAN FALCONET, AT THE
SEIGNEURIE, SARK.

of the device has been ascribed to Descharges, a ship-builder of Brest, about the year 1500, but there is no doubt that it was of a rather earlier date. The numerous small guns of the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, and of the other large ships of her time, were mounted on the upper deck, in the tops, in the poop and forecastle, and under the break of the poop and forecastle, so as to command the waist and sweep it, should boarding be attempted there.

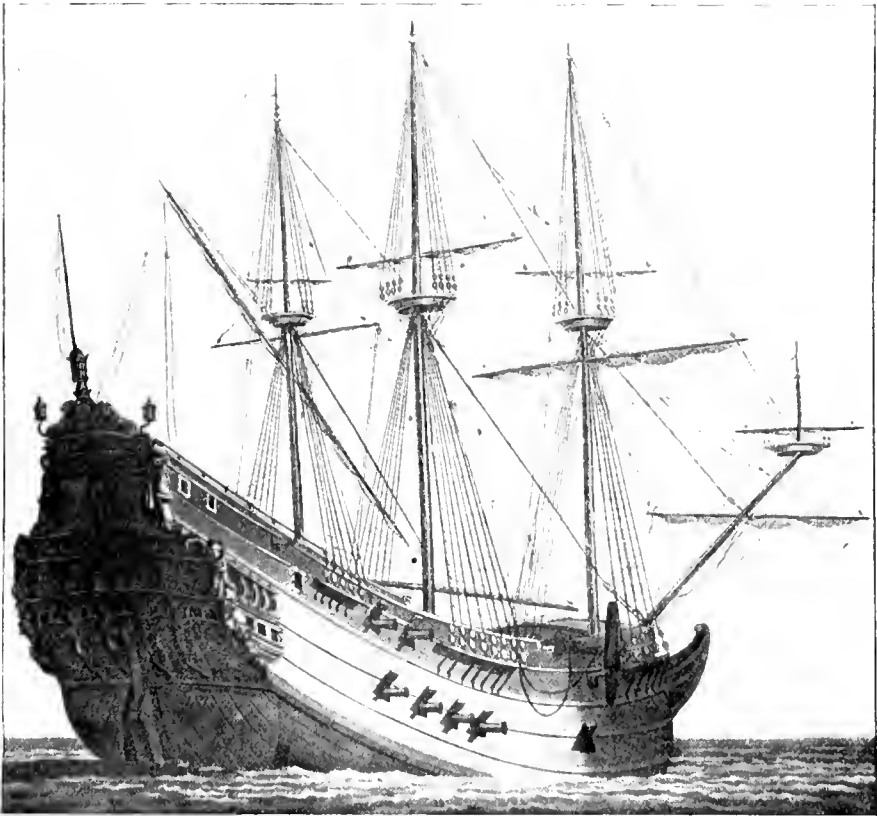
Among these small guns were:—Fowlers, short, light weapons, with or without a separate breech which could be unshipped and reloaded while another was being discharged; port-pieces, small fowlers with the same peculiarities; curtalds, short heavy guns, apparently employed for high-angle fire; slings, demi-slings, bassils or small basilisks, and top-pieces, all of diminutive calibre and relatively large powder-charge, working on swivels or pivots; hail-shot pieces, carrying a charge of cubical dice; and hand-guns or calivers, which, though fired from the shoulder, required to be supported on a pivot or staff.

Among the stores of the *Henry Grace à Dieu* at her commissioning were two lasts, or 4800 pounds of "serpentyne" powder in barrels, and six lasts, or 14,400 pounds of "corn" powder, also in barrels.² This, and the provision of shot, must have been more than ample, for the larger guns could be fired only very seldom, there being no mechanical contrivances for working them; and it is recorded as a marvellous thing by Du Bellay that in the action

¹ Montaigne's 'Practical Sea Gunner's Companion,' London, 1747, p. 71.

² From a MS. in the Pepysian Library, printed in Charneck, iii. 41.

of 1545, when about two hundred ships were hotly engaged at close quarters for two hours, there were not less than three hundred cannon-shot fired on both sides. Du Bellay, as a military contemporary, no doubt wrote what was quite true;¹ but he probably included only the shots thrown from the heavier guns engaged, and paid no attention to the fire of light pieces. Still, the expenditure



A GENOESE CARRACK.

(From Charnock, who says that it is copied from an original drawing made in 1452.)

was remarkably small, and it cannot have permitted the heaviest guns to be discharged more than twice or thrice apiece. The seamen of the period had not, however, begun to depend exclusively, nor even chiefly, upon firearms as their weapons of offence, and this abundantly appears from the fact that, among the stores of the *Henry Grace à Dieu* were 500 bows of yew, ten gross of bow-

¹ Though another contemporary says that not less than 300 guns were engaged.

strings, 200 morris pikes, 200 bills, ten dozen lime pots, and great quantities of arrows and darts. As late as 1578,¹ there were, among the stores of Queen Elizabeth's ships, 300 bows, 380 sheaves of arrows, 460 morris pikes, and 460 bills; nor had the gun fully asserted its supremacy until several years after the time of the Armada. It should be added that in the case of the largest guns of the Tudors, the powder was made up on board into cartridges in canvas cases, paper cases being used for the charges of the medium and lighter guns. Hence the comparatively early origin of the term cartridge-paper.

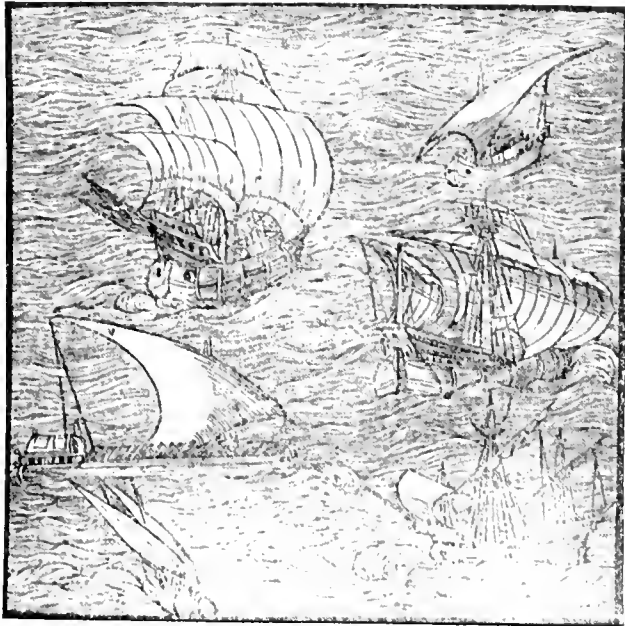
No picture, print, or model of the *Henry Grace à Dieu* suggests to the modern technical critic that the vessel was in the least suited for sea work: yet the ship was undoubtedly a good sailer, for, writing to the king on June 4th, 1522, from the Downs, Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitzwilliam reported that she sailed as well as, and rather better than, any ship in the fleet, weathering all save the *Mary Rose*.

An inventory of her gear, made in 1521, shows that she possessed a 22-inch cable, a 20-inch cable, and an 8-inch hawser. Her mainstay was sixteen inches in diameter. When she was still building, the authorities paid for a streamer or pennant, fifty-one yards long, for her mainmast, a sum of £3, and for two flags; with crosses of St. George, 10*d.* each. These last may have been boat-flags; for, of course, she carried boats, though it is not clear how she hoisted them out and in, and where she stowed them. They must have lain, possibly on chocks, on deck in the waist. The boat davit was a much later invention. Some notes as to the prices of certain gear for other ships, from records of the year 1513, may be added here: For the *Trinity of Bristol*, otherwise the *Nicholas of Hampton*, a spirit-sail yard cost 9*s.* (she was a craft of 200 tons); 100 feet of oak plank, 6*s.*; a hundredweight of small ropes, 11*s.* 4*d.*; a boathook, 4*d.*; a compass, 2*s.*; a foreyard, 14*s.*; and two gallons of vinegar, "to make fine powder for hand-guns," 8*d.* A mizzenmast for the *Katherine Pomegranate*, otherwise the *Sweepstake*, of 65 (or 80) tons, cost 10*s.*, and an anchor for the same craft, 20*s.*

Contemporary literary references to naval matters of the sixteenth century are so rare, and so very few of them are attributable to writers who seem to have been at all familiar with the technical

¹ As shown in a list printed in Campbell, viii., from a MS. of Dr. Samuel Knight.

aspects of naval life, that no excuse is necessary for printing here an extract from a volume which was published at Edinburgh in 1801, and which is entitled 'The Complaynt of Scotland.' The work was written by an unknown author in 1548; and it takes the form of a satire directed against those responsible, or supposed to be responsible, for the misfortunes of the northern kingdom. In the first part, the author laments his country's woes, and considers the causes of them; in the second, as if endeavouring to escape from the sadness of his reflections, he gives a vivid description of a



VESSELS, XIVTH CENTURY.

(Frontispiece to "L'Arte del Navegar," Venise, 1555.)

number of characteristic scenes. Among these (page 61) is the following naval picture¹:—

"Than I sat doune to see the flouying of the fame: quhar that I leukyt fart furth on the salt flude. There I beheld ane galiasse gayly grathit for the veyr, lyand fast at ane ankir, and her salis in

¹ The following is a fairly close translation, so far as the above extract appears to be translatable. In the original, some inconsistencies of spelling and obvious inaccuracies are corrected. In the translation, obscure passages are left in italics:—

"Then I sat down to see the flowing of the foam: where I looked far forth on the salt flood. There I beheld a galliass gayly caparisoned for the war, lying fast at an

hou. I herd many vordis among the marynalis, bot I vist nocht quhat tai menit. Zit I sal reherse and report ther crying and ther eal. In the fyrst, the maister of the galiasse gart the botis man pas vp to the top, to leuk fart furth gyf he culd see ony schips. Than the botis man leukyt sa lang quhit that he sae ane quhyt sail. Than he cryit vitht ane skyrl, quod he, 'I see ane grit schip.'

"Than the maister quhislit, and bald the marynalis lay the cabil to the cabilstok, to veynde and veye. Than the marynalis began to veynde the cabil vitht mony loud cry. And as ane cryit, al the laif cryit in that samyn tune, as it hed bene ecco in ane hon heuch. And, as it aperit to me, thai cryit thir vordis as eftir follouis: 'Veyra, veyra, veyra, veyra, gentil gallandis, gentil gallandis! Veynde; I see hym: veynde; I see him. Pourbossa; pourbossa! Hail al and ane! Hail al and ane! Hail hym vp til vs! Hail hym vp til vs!'

"Than, quhen the ankyr vas halit vp abufe the vattir, ane marynal cryit, and al the laif follouit in that sam tune; 'Caupon caupona; caupon caupona; caupun hola; caupun hola; caupun holt; caupun holt; sarrabossa; sarrabossa.' Than thai maid fast the sthank of the ankyr.

"And the maister quhislit and cryit: 'Tua men abufe to the foir ra! Cut the raibandis, and lat the foir sail fal! Hail doune

anchor, with her sails furled. I heard many words among the mariners, but I knew not what they meant. Yet I shall rehearse and report their crying and their call. In the first [place] the master of the galiass bid the boatsman¹ pass up to the top, to look far forth if he could see any ships. Then the boatsman looked so long out that he saw one white sail. Then he cried with an oath, quoth he: 'I see a great ship.'

"Then the master whistled, and bade the mariners lay the cable to the cable-stock² to wind and weigh. Then the mariners began to wind the cable with many [a] loud cry. And as one cried, all the rest cried in that same tune, as it had been [an] echo in a cave. And, as it appeared to me, they cried their words as after follows: 'Veer, veer, veer, veer, gentle gallants, gentle gallants! Wind; I see him. Wind; I see him. Pourbossa; pourbossa! Haul all and one! Haul all and one! Haul him up to us! Haul him up to us!'

"Then, when the anchor was hauled up above the water, one mariner cried, and all the rest followed in that same tune: 'Caupon caupona; caupon caupona; caupun hola; caupun hola; caupun holt; caupun holt; sarrabossa; sarrabossa!'³ Then they made fast the shank of the anchor.

"Then the master whistled, and cried: 'Two men above to the foreyard! Cut the lashings, and let the foresail fall! Haul down to starboard! Luff hard aboard! Haul aft the foresail sheet! Haul out the bowline!'

¹ The boatsman was the first officer.

² Windlass.

³ Apparently corrupted Mediterranean terms. *Caupon* (Ital.) means "cable."

to steir burde! Lufe harde aburde! Hail eftir the foir sail scheit!
Hail out the bollene!'

"Than the maister quhislit and cryit; 'Tua men abufe to the mane ra! Cut the raibandis, and lat the mane sail and top sail fal! Hail doune the lufe close aburde! Hail eftir the mane sail scheit! Hail out the mane sail bollere!' Than ane of the marynalis began to hail and to cry, and al the marynalis ansuert of that samyn sound: 'Hou! Hou! Pulpela! Pulpela! Boulena! Boulena! Darta! Darta! Hard out strif! Hard out strif! Afoir the vynd! Afoir the vynd! God send! God send! Fayr vedthir! Fayr vedthir! Mony pricis! Mony pricis! God foir lend! God foir lend! Stou! Stou! Mak fast and belay!' Than the maister cryit and bald: 'Renze ane bonet! Vire the trossis! Nou heise!' Than the marynalis began to heis vp the sail, cryand: 'Heisau! Heisau! Vorsa! Vorsa! Vou! Vou! Ane lang draucht! Ane lang draucht! Mair maucht! Mair maucht! Zong blude! Zong blude! Mair mude! Mair mude! False flasche! False flasche! Ly a bak! Ly a bak! Lang suak! Lang suak! That! That! That! That! Thair! Thair! Thair! Thair! Zallou hayr! Zallou hayr! Hips bayr! Hips bayr! Til hym al! Til hym al! Viddefullis al! Viddefullis al! Grit and smal! Grit and smal! Ane and al! Ane and al! Heisau! Heisau! Nou mak fast the theyrs!'

"Than the maister cryit: 'Top zour topinellis! Hail on zour top sail scheitis! Vire zour listaris and zour top sail trossis, and

"Then the master whistled, and cried: 'Two men above to the mainyard! Cut the lashings, and let the mainsail and topsail fall! Haul down the luff close aboard! Haul aft the mainsail sheet! Haul out the mainsail bowline!' Then one of the mariners began to hail and to cry, and all the mariners answered that same sound: '*Hou! Hou! Pulpela! Pulpela! Boulena! Boulena! Darta! Darta!*¹ *Hard out strif! Hard out strif!*² Before the wind! Before the wind! God send! God send! Fair weather! Fair weather! Many prizes! Many prizes! Good fair land! Good fair land! Stow! Stow! Make fast and belay!' Then the master cried, and bade: 'Out with a bonnet!³ Veer the trusses! Now hoist!' Then the mariners began to hoist up the sail, crying: '*Heisau! Heisau! Vorsa! Vorsa! Vou! Vou* One long pull! One long pull! More power! More power! Young blood! Young blood! More mud! More mud! False flesh! False flesh! Lie aback! Lie aback! Long suak! Long suak! That! That! That! That! There! There! There! There! Yellow hair! Yellow hair! Hips bare! Hips bare! To him all! To him all! *Viddefullis al! Viddefullis al!* Great and small! Great and small! One and all! One and all! *Heisau! Heisau!* Now each make fast his!'

"Then the master cried: 'Top your *topinellis!* Haul on your topsail sheets! Veer your leeches, and your topsail trusses, and hoist the topsail higher! Haul out the

¹ Probably more Mediterranean corruptions.

² Unintelligible.

³ A bonnet was an extra cloth laced to a sail or course for fine-weather sailing.

heise the top sail heiar! Hail out the top sail boulene! Heise the myszen, and change it ouer to leuart! Hail the loriche and the scheitis! Hail the trosse to the ra!’

“Than the maister cryit on the rudirman: ‘Mait, keip ful and by! A luf! Cumma heiar! Holabar! Arryva! Steir clene vp the helme! This and so!’

“Than, quhen the schip vas taiklit, the maister cryit: “Boy to the top! Schaik out the flag on the top mast! Tak in zour top salis and thirl them! Pul doune the nok of the ra in daggar vyise! Marynalis, stand be zour geyr in taiklene of zour salis! Eury quartar maister til his aen quarter! Botis man, bayr stanis and lyme pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top, and paucis veil the top vitht paucis and mantillis! Gunnaris, cum heir, and stand by zour astailzee, enyrie gunnar til hir aen quartar! Mak reddy zour cannons, culuerene moyens, culuerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saikyrs, and half falcons, slangis, and half slangis, quartar slangis, hede stikkis, murdresaris, pasauolans, bersis, doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of croche, half haggis, culuernis, and hail schot! And ze soldaris and coupangzons of veyr, mak reddy zour corsbollis, hand bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lancis, pikkis, halbardis, rondellis, tua handit sourdis and tairgis!’

“Than this gaye galiasse, beand in gude ordour, seche follouit fast the samyn schip that the botis man hed sene; and for mair

topsail bowline! Hoist the mizen, and change it over to leeward! Haul the leeche and the sheets! Haul the truss to the yard!’

“Then the master criel to the steersman: ‘Mate, keep full and by! Luff! Con her! Steady! Keep close! Steer straight ahead! That will do!’

“Then, when the ship was under sail, the master cried: ‘Boy to the top! Shake out the flag on the topmast! Take in your topsails and *thirl* them! Pull down the *nok* of the yard in dagger-wise! Mariners, stand to your gear for handling of your sails! Every quartermaster to his own quarter! Boatsman, bear stones and lime-pots full of lime in the *craklene pokis* to the top, and *paucis* veil the top with pavises and mantlets! Gunnars, come here, and stand by your artillery; every gunner to his own quarter! Make ready your cannons; medium culverins, culverins bastard, falcons, sakers, half sakers, and half falcons, slings and half slings, quarter slings, head sticks, murdering pieces, passevolants, bassils, dogs, double bassils, arquebusses with crooks, half arquebusses, calivers, and hail shot! And ye soldiers and companions of war, make ready your crossbows, hand-bows, fire spars, hail shot, lances, pikes, halberds, rondels, two-handed swords, and targes!’

“Then this gay galiass, being in good order, she followed fast the same ship that the boatsman had seen; and for more speed the galiass put forth her studding¹ sails and a hundred oars on every side.

¹ If “stoytene” be really “studding,” the vessel employed studding sails as well as bonnets. The translation is doubtful.

speid the galiasse pat furht hir stoytene salis, and ane hundretht aris on euerye syde.

“The maister gart al his marynalis and men of veyr hold them quiet at rest, be rason that the mouying of¹ he pepil vitht in ane schip stopes hyr of hyr fair. Of this sort the aid galiasse in schort tyme cam on vynduart of the tothir schip. Than eftir that thai hed hailsit vthirs, thai maid them redde for battel.

“Than quhar I sat I hard the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus crak—duf, duf, duf, duf, duf, duf. The bersis and falcons cryit tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf. Than the smal artailze cryit tik, tak, tik, tak, tik, take. The reik, smeuk, and the stink of the gumpuddir fylit al the ayr, maist lyk as Pluto is paleis hed been birmand in ane bald fyer. Quhilk generit sik mirknes and myst that I culd nocht see my lynth about me.”

As the period now under consideration was that of the infancy and early growth, if not of the actual birth of that magnificent creation, the British Navy, some lists of the royal fleet, as it stood at different dates, will here be appropriate:—

LIST¹ OF WARSHIPS BUILT, PURCHASED, OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRED, BY HENRY VIII. (1509–1547), AND APPARENTLY LOST OR DISPOSED OF BEFORE THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI.

SHIP.	*Built. †Bought. ‡Taken.	Tons.	SHIP.	*Built. †Bought. ‡Taken.	Tons.
1. <i>Anne Gallant</i> . . .	†1512	140	13. <i>Great Elizabeth</i> . . .	†1514	900
2. <i>Artigo</i>	†1544	100	14. <i>Great Nicholas</i> . . .	†1512	400
3. <i>Bark of Boulton</i> . . .	†1522	80	15. <i>Great Zabra</i>	*1522	50
4. <i>Bark of Morlaix</i> . . .	†1522	60	16. <i>Henry Galley</i>	*1512	?
5. <i>Black Bark</i>	†1513	?	17. <i>Henry of Hampton</i> . . .	†1513	120
6. <i>Christ</i>	†1512	300	18. <i>Jennet Perwyne</i>	†1511	70
7. <i>Dragon</i>	*1512	100	19. <i>John Baptist</i>	†1512	400
8. <i>Fortune</i>	*1522	160	20. <i>John of Greenwich</i> . . .	†1523	50
9. <i>Gabriel Royal</i>	†1509	700	21. <i>Katherine Galley</i>	*1512	80
10. <i>Galley Blancherd</i> . . .	†1546	?	22. <i>Katherine Fortleza</i> . . .	†1512	700
11. <i>Great Bark</i>	*1512	400	23. <i>Katherine Plea-</i>	*1518	100
12. <i>Great Barbara</i>	†1513	400	<i>sauce</i>		

¹ Compiled mainly from information in Oppenheim's 'Admin. of Royal Navy.'

“The master bid all his mariners and men of war hold themselves quietly at rest, by reason that the moving of the people within a ship stops her on her course. In this manner the said galliass in short time came to windward of the other ship. Then, after that they had hailed one another, they made them ready for battle.

“Then where I sat I heard the cannons and guns make many hideous cracks—duf, duf, duf, duf, duf, duf. The bassils and falcons cried tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf. Then the small artillery cried tik, tak, tik, tak, tik, take. The reek, smoke, and the stink of the gunpowder filled all the air, most like as Pluto's palace had been burning in one bad fire: which generated such murkiness and mist that I could not see my length about me.”

LIST OF WARSHIPS BUILT, ETC.—*continued.*

SHIP.	*Built. †Bought. ‡Taken.	Tons.	SHIP.	*Built. †Bought. ‡Taken.	Tons.
24. <i>Less Bark</i> . . .	*1512	160	37. <i>Mary James (II).</i>	†1545	120
25. <i>Less Pinnace</i> . . .	*1545	60	38. <i>Mary Odierne</i> . . .	†1545	70
26. <i>Lesser Barbara</i> . . .	†1512	160	39. <i>Mary Rose</i> . . .	*1509	500
27. <i>Lesser Zebra</i> . . .	*1522	40	40. <i>Mary Thomas</i> . . .	†1545	100
28. <i>Lion</i> . . .	†1511	120	41. <i>Maudlyn of Dept- ford</i> . . .	*1522	120
29. <i>Lizard</i> . . .	*1512	120	42. <i>Minion</i> . . .	*1523	180
30. <i>Mary George</i> . . .	†1510	300	43. <i>Primrose</i> . . .	*1523	160
31. <i>Mary Gloria</i> . . .	†1517	300	44. <i>Rose Galley</i> . . .	*1512	?
32. <i>Mary Grace</i> . . .	†1522	?	45. <i>Roe</i> . . .	*1545	80
33. <i>Mary and John</i> . . .	†1521	?	46. <i>Sovereign</i> (rebuilt)	*1509	600
34. <i>Mary Guildford</i> . . .	*1524	160	47. <i>Swallow</i> . . .	*1512	80
35. <i>Mary Imperial</i> . . .	*1515	120	48. <i>Sweepstake</i> . . .	*1523	65
36. <i>Mary James (I.)</i> . . .	†1509	300			

2. Called also *L'Artique*. Sold 1547.
 3. "Bullen," i.e. Boulogne.
 5. Also called *Black Bark*, *Christophor*, and *Mark Florentine*.
 6. Also called *Christ of Lynn*. She was captured in 1515.
 9. Perhaps called also *Mary Lorette*.
 10. Taken from the French.
 12. Formerly *Maudlin*.
 13. Formerly *Salvator*, of Littlebeck. Wrecked in 1514.
 15. *Zebra* means pinnace.
 18. Taken from Barton.
 19. Formerly *John Hepton*.
 22. Genoese built.
 27. See 15.
 28. Taken from Barton.
 30. Probably ex *Mary Howard*.
 35. Rebuilt 1523.
 36. Possibly ex *James*, of Hull.
 39. Rebuilt 1536. Overset 1545.
 42. Rebuilt of 300 tons, about 1536. Given to Sir T. Seymour.
 45. Taken by the French, 1547.
 47. Rebuilt 1524.

LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY ON JANUARY 5TH, 1548 (1 EDW. VI.) IN
 ARCHÆOLOGIA V., 218 (WITH DATES SUPPLIED FOR THE MOST PART FROM
 OPPENHEIM, 'ADMIN. OF ROY. NAVY').

SHIP.	* Built. † Bought. ‡ Taken.	Tons.	MEN.	GUNS. ¹	
				Brass.	Iron.
² <i>Henry Grace à Dieu</i> (rebuilt) . . .	* 1540	1000	700	19	103
³ <i>Peter</i> (rebuilt) . . .	* 1536	600	400	12	78
³ <i>Matthew</i> . . .	† 1539	600	300	10	121
³ <i>Jesus</i> . . .	† 1544	700	300	8	66
³ <i>Panncy (Pansy)</i> . . .	* 1541	450	300	13	69
³ <i>Great Bark</i> . . .	† 1539	500	300	12	85
³ <i>Less Bark</i> ^a . . .	† 1539	400	250	11	98
³ <i>Murryau</i> ^b . . .	† 1545	500	300	10	53
³ <i>Struce of Danzke</i> ^c . . .	† 1544	450	250	0	39
³ <i>Christopher</i> ^d . . .	† 1546	400	246	2	51
³ <i>Trinity Henry</i> . . .	* 1519	250	220	1	63
³ <i>Sweepstake</i> . . .	* 1539	300	230	6	78
³ <i>Mary Willoughby</i> ^e . . .	* 1536	140	160	0	23
⁴ <i>Annæ Gallant</i> . . .	* 1545	450	250	16	46
⁴ <i>Salmander</i> . . .	† 1544	300	220	9	40
⁴ <i>Hart</i> . . .	* 1546	300	200	4	52
⁴ <i>Antelope</i> . . .	* 1546	300	200	4	40
⁴ <i>Swallow</i> . . .	* 1544	240	100	8	45
⁴ <i>Unicorn</i> ^f . . .	† 1544	240	140	6	30

¹ The armament certainly varied at different times.
² At Woolwich.

³ At Portsmouth.
⁴ Gallies at Portsmouth.

^a Ordered to be rebuilt, 1551.

^b Sold, 1551.

^c Danzke—Danzig. Sold, 1551.

^d Ordered for sale, 1551, but not sold till 1556.

^e Taken by the Scots; retaken, 1547; rebuilt, 1551.

^f Ordered for sale, 1551; sold, 1556.

LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY ON JANUARY 5TH, 1548.—*continued.*

SHIP.	* Built. † Bought. ‡ Taken.	Tons.	Men.	GUNS. ¹	
				Brass.	Iron.
⁴ <i>Jennet</i>	* 1539	180	120	6	35
⁴ <i>New Bark</i>	* 1523	200	140	5	48
⁴ <i>Greyhound</i> ^g	* 1545	200	140	8	37
⁴ <i>Tiger</i>	* 1546	200	120	4	39
⁴ <i>Bull</i>	* 1546	200	120	5	42
⁴ <i>Lion</i> ^h	* 1536	140	140	2	48
⁴ <i>George</i>	† 1546	60	40	2	26
⁴ <i>Dragon</i> ⁱ	* 1544	140	120	3	42
⁵ <i>Falcon</i>	* 1544	83	55	4	22
⁵ <i>Black Pinnace</i>	?	80	44	2	15
⁵ <i>Hind</i> ^j	* 1545	80	55	2	26
⁵ <i>Spanish Shallop</i>	?	20	26	0	
⁵ <i>Harr</i>	* 1545	15	30	0	10
⁶ <i>Sun</i>	* 1546	20	40	2	6
⁶ <i>Cloud in the Sun</i>	* 1546	20	40	2	7
⁶ <i>Harp</i>	* 1546	20	40	1	6
⁶ <i>Maidenhead</i>	* 1546	20	37	2	6
⁶ <i>Gillyflower</i> ^k	* 1546	20	38	0	0
⁶ <i>Ostrich Feather</i>	* 1546	20	37	1	6
⁶ <i>Rose Slip</i>	* 1546	20	37	2	6
⁶ <i>Flower de Luce</i>	* 1546	20	43	2	7
⁶ <i>Rose in the Sun</i>	* 1546	20	40	3	7
⁶ <i>Portcullis</i>	* 1546	20	38	1	6
⁶ <i>Falcon in the Fetterlock</i>	* 1546	20	45	3	8
⁷ <i>Grandmistress</i> ^k	* 1545	450	250	1	22
⁷ <i>Marlion</i>	† 1545	40	50	4	8
⁷ <i>Galley Subtle, or Row Galley</i>	* 1544	200	250	3	28
⁷ <i>Bryggandine</i>	* 1545	40	44	3	19
⁷ <i>Hoy Bark</i>	?	80	60	0	5
⁷ <i>Hawthorn</i>	* 1546	20	37	0	0
⁸ <i>Mary Hamborow</i> ^l	† 1544	400	246	5	67
⁸ <i>Phoenix</i>	† 1546	40	50	4	33
⁸ <i>Saker</i>	* 1545	40	50	2	18
⁸ <i>Double Rose</i>	* 1546	20	43	3	6
53 ships		11,268	7,780	237	1,850

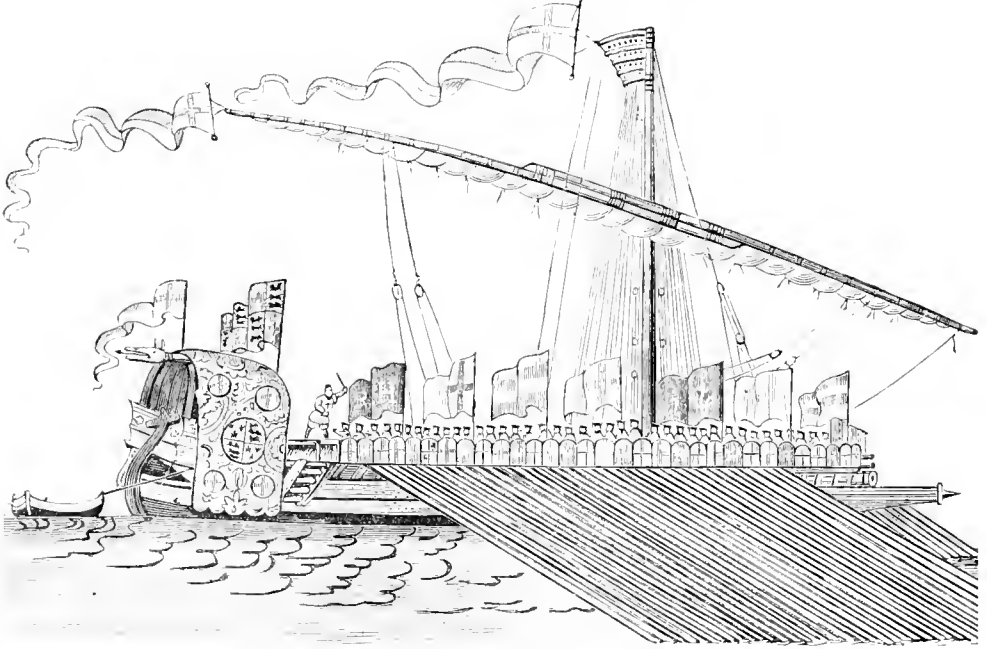
¹ The armament certainly varied at different times.⁵ Pinnaces at Portsmouth.⁶ Row Barges at Portsmouth. Most of these were sold in 1548-49.⁷ At Deptford stronde.⁸ In Scotland.^g Wrecked off Rye, 1562.^j Sold in 1555.^h Ordered to be rebuilt, 1551.^k Condemned, 1551; sold in 1551.ⁱ Ordered to be rebuilt, 1551.^l Sold in 1555.

Of the 7780 men in the fleet, 1885 were soldiers, 5136 mariners, and 759 gunners. The importance of Portsmouth, where no fewer than forty-one of the fifty-three vessels were stationed, will not fail to be noticed.

By August, 1552, as a list in Pepys's *Miscellanies*, viii. 143, shows, there had been added to the above the *Primrose* (launched in 1551), *Gyrfalcon* (120 tons), *Swift* (30 tons), *Moon*, *Seven Stars* (35 tons),

and *Bark of Bullen* (60 tons), and the *Henry Grace à Dieu* had apparently been re-named the *Edward*.¹ There had also been added a French prize, the *Black Galley*, taken in 1549, and the *Lion*, taken from the Scots by the *Pauncy*, but presently lost off Harwich.

In 1558, the year of the death of Queen Mary, the Royal Navy had been reduced to twenty-six vessels of 7110 tons in all. In 1565, the eighth year of Elizabeth, there were but twenty-nine ships, of an unknown total tonnage. In 1575, the eighteenth year of



THE GALLEY "SUTTLE."

(From the drawing by Anthony Anthony in the British Museum.)

Elizabeth, the number of ships had further fallen to twenty-four, and the tonnage was but about 10,470. At that time there were in England one hundred and thirty-five other ships of 100 tons and upwards, six hundred and fifty-six of from 40 to 100 tons, about a hundred hoys, and a large but unstated number of small barks and smacks. Practically the whole of the Royal Navy was engaged against the Spanish Armada in 1588; and an account of the fleet then employed will be found later in the appendix to the history of Philip's attempted invasion.

¹ But she was again known as the *Henry Grace à Dieu* when she was accidentally burnt on August 25th, 1553.—Machyn's 'Diary': Camd. Soc.

I insert, for reference purposes, an alphabetical key-list of all the vessels (except a few small prizes taken in 1562, and apparently returned in 1564), which, I have been able to satisfy myself, were acquired for the Royal Navy during the reign of Elizabeth. The tonnages given are only approximate. Almost every contemporary document that pretends to show them differs more or less from every other :—

SHP.	* Built. † Bought. ‡ Taken.	Tons.	SHP.	* Built. † Bought. ‡ Taken.	Tons.
<i>Achates</i> ¹	* 1573	100	<i>Mary Rose</i> (rebuilt) ¹³	1589	600
<i>Advantage</i>	* 1590	200	<i>Mercury</i>	* 1592	?
<i>Advantagia</i>	* 1601	?	<i>Mer Honour</i>	* 1590	?
<i>Adventure</i>	* 1594	250	<i>Merlin</i>	* 1579	50
<i>Advice</i>	* 1586	50	<i>Minion</i> ¹⁴	† 1560	?
<i>Aid</i> ²	* 1562	250	<i>Minnikin</i>	* 1595	?
<i>Answer</i>	* 1590	200	<i>Moon</i>	* 1586	60
<i>Antelope</i> (rebuilt)	1581	400	<i>Nonpareil</i> (rebuilt) ¹⁵	1584	500
<i>Ark Royal</i>	* 1587	800	<i>N. S. del Rosario</i>	† 1588	?
<i>Black Dog</i>	† 1590	?	<i>Popinjay</i>	* 1587	?
<i>Bonovolia</i> , galley ³	1584	?	<i>Post</i>	* 1563	?
<i>Brygandiac</i>	* 1583	90	<i>Primrose</i> ¹⁶	† 1560	800
<i>Bull</i> (rebuilt) ⁴	1570	200	<i>Primrose</i> , hoy	* 1590	80
<i>Charles</i>	* 1586	70	<i>Quittance</i>	* 1590	200
<i>Crane</i>	* 1590	200	<i>Rainbow</i> ¹⁷	* 1586	500
<i>Cygnat</i>	* 1585	30	<i>Revenge</i> ¹⁸	* 1577	500
<i>Delfance</i>	* 1590	500	<i>St. Andrew</i> ¹⁹	† 1596	900
<i>Dreadnought</i> ⁵	* 1573	400	<i>St. Mathew</i> ²⁰	† 1596	1000
<i>[Duc] Repulse</i>	* 1596	700	<i>Scout</i> ²¹	* 1577	120
<i>Eagle</i> ⁶	† 1592	?	<i>Search</i>	* 1563	?
<i>Eleanor</i> , galley ⁷	† 1563	?	<i>Seven Stars</i>	* 1586	?
<i>[Elizabeth] Bonaventure</i> ⁸	† 1567	600	<i>Speedwell</i> , galley ²²	* 1559	?
<i>Elizabeth Jonas</i> ⁹	* 1559	900	<i>Spy</i>	* 1586	50
<i>Foresight</i>	* 1570	300	<i>Sun</i>	* 1586	40
<i>Flight</i>	* 1592	?	<i>Superlativa</i>	* 1601	?
<i>French Frigate</i>	† 1591	?	<i>Swallow</i> ²³	? 1573	360
<i>Gallerita</i>	* 1602	?	<i>Swiftsure</i> ²⁴	* 1573	400
<i>Garland</i>	* 1590	700	<i>Talbot</i>	* 1585	?
<i>George</i> , hoy (rebuilt)	1601	100	<i>Tiger</i> (rebuilt) ²⁵	1570	200
<i>[Golden] Lion</i> (rebuilt)	1582	500	<i>Tremontana</i>	* 1586	150
<i>Greyhound</i>	* 1585	?	<i>Triumph</i> ²⁶	* 1561	1100
<i>Guide</i>	* 1563	?	<i>Trust</i>	* 1586	?
<i>Handmaid</i>	* 1573	80	<i>Tryright</i> , galley ²⁷	* 1559	?
<i>Hope</i> ¹⁰	* 1559	600	<i>Vanguard</i> ²⁸	* 1586	500
<i>Lion's Whelp</i> (I.) ¹¹	* 1590	?	<i>Victory</i> ²⁹	† 1560	800
<i>Lion's Whelp</i> (II.) ¹²	† 1601	?	<i>Volatilla</i>	* 1602	?
<i>Makeshift</i> (I.)	* 1563	?	<i>Warspite</i>	* 1596	600
<i>Makeshift</i> (II.)	* 1586	?	<i>[White] Bear</i> ³⁰	* 1563	1000

¹ Converted to a lighter.

² Condemned, 1599.

³ Ex *Eleanor*, rebuilt. Sold 1599.

⁴ Broken up, 1594.

⁵ Rebuilt, 1592.

⁶ A Lilbecker, used as a hulk.

⁷ Probably taken from Havre.

⁸ Rebuilt, 1581.

⁹ Rebuilt, 1594.

¹⁰ Rebuilt, 1581 and 1602.

¹¹ Lost, May 17th, 1591.

¹² Bought from E. of Nottingham.

¹³ Built, 1556.

¹⁴ Condemned, 1570.

¹⁵ Ex *Philip and Mary*, rebuilt.

¹⁶ Sold, 1575.

¹⁷ Rebuilt, 1602.

¹⁸ Taken by Spain, 1591.

¹⁹ Taken at Cadiz.

²⁰ Taken at Cadiz.

²¹ Converted to a lighter.

²² Disposed of ca. 1580.

²³ Condemned, 1603.

²⁴ Rebuilt, 1592.

²⁵ Converted to a lighter.

²⁶ Rebuilt, 1596.

²⁷ Disposed of ca. 1580.

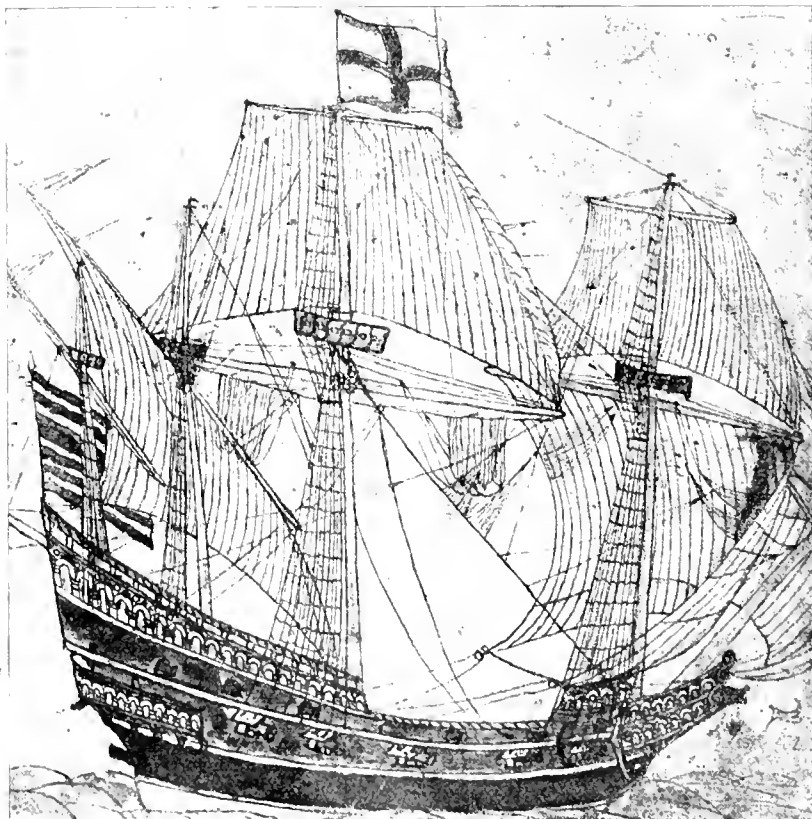
²⁸ Rebuilt, 1599.

²⁹ (?) Ex *Great Christopher*. Re-

³⁰ Rebuilt, 1599. [built, 1586.

At the death of the great Queen in 1603, the effective Royal Navy, according to a list preserved by Monson in his 'Tracts,' corrected and here supplemented, as to certain details from other contemporary sources,¹ was as follows (*see table on following page.*)

During the reign of Henry VII. the position of officers and men,



AN ELIZABETHAN SHIP OF WAR.

(From Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, iv., 192, folio 20.)

as regards their pay and "rewards," seems to have remained much as before. The men were given 1s. a week in harbour, and 1s. 3*d.* at sea. Their victuals, early in the reign, cost 1s. 0½*d.*, and later 1s. 2*d.* a week. Masters received 3s. 4*d.*; pursers and boatswains, 1s. 8*d.*; quartermasters, 1s. 6*d.*; and stewards and cooks, 1s. 3*d.*

¹ Especially from a MS. list of 1599, which is printed in 'Archæologia,' and which, in 1797, belonged to Dr. Leith of Greenwich.

SHIPS.	Tons.	MEN.				GUNS.											Total, all Guns.			
		Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.	Total, all Men.	HEAVIER.							LIGHTER.							
						Cannon.	Demi Cannon.	Culverin.	Demi Culverin.	Saker.	Minion.	Falcon.	Falconet.	Total Heavier.	Portpieces.	Portpiece Chambers.		Fowlers.	Fowler Chambers.	Curfolds.	Total Lighter.
<i>Elizabeth</i> } <i>Jonas</i> }	900	340	40	120	500	3	6	8	9	9	1	2	38	1	12	5	10	18	56	
<i>Triumph</i> .	1,000	340	40	120	500	4	3	17	8	6	..	..	38	1	4	5	20	30	68
<i>White Bear</i> .	900	340	40	120	500	3	11	7	10	..	..	..	34	12	..	..	..	9	40
<i>Victory</i> .	800	268	32	100	400	..	..	12	18	9	..	..	39	..	..	..	13	20	59
<i>Mere Honour</i> ¹ .	800	268	32	100	400	..	..	15	16	4	..	..	39	..	..	..	..	41	53
<i>Ark Royal</i> .	800	268	32	100	400	4	4	12	12	6	..	..	38	4	7	12	4	17	48
<i>St. Matthew</i> .	1,000	340	40	120	500	4	4	16	14	4	4	2	48	..	..	..	..	9	48
<i>St. Andrew</i> .	900	268	32	100	400	..	..	8	21	7	..	..	38	..	..	..	..	12	50
<i>Dieu Repulse</i> ² .	700	230	30	90	350	..	2	3	13	14	6	..	38	12	4	12	7	12	50	
<i>Guardland</i> ³ .	700	190	30	80	300	..	..	16	14	4	..	..	34	12	4	12	3	11	45
<i>Warspite</i> .	600	190	30	80	300	2	2	13	10	2	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	0	29
<i>Mary Rose</i> .	600	150	30	70	250	..	4	11	10	4	..	..	29	3	7	..	..	10	39
<i>Hope</i> .	600	150	30	70	250	2	4	9	11	4	..	..	30	4	8	..	..	18	48
<i>Bonaventure</i> .	600	150	30	70	250	2	2	11	14	4	..	..	35	2	4	12	4	12	47
<i>Lion</i> ⁴ .	500	150	30	70	250	..	4	8	14	9	..	1	36	..	..	8	16	24	60
<i>Nonpareil</i> .	500	150	30	70	250	2	3	7	8	12	..	..	32	4	8	4	8	24	56
<i>Defiance</i> .	500	150	30	70	250	..	..	14	14	6	..	..	34	12	4	12	4	12	46
<i>Rainbow</i> .	500	150	30	70	250	..	6	12	7	1	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	0	26
<i>Dreadnought</i> .	400	130	20	50	200	2	..	4	11	10	..	2	29	..	4	8	8	12	41	
<i>Antelope</i> .	350	114	16	30	160	..	..	4	13	8	..	1	26	12	4	4	4	12	38
<i>Swiftsure</i> ⁵ .	400	130	20	50	200	2	..	5	12	8	..	..	29	..	4	4	3	12	41
<i>Swallow</i> .	330	114	16	30	160	..	..	..	..	12	1	..	3	..	..	..	3	8	8
<i>Foresight</i> .	300	114	16	30	160	..	..	..	14	8	3	3	28	..	3	6	..	9	37
<i>Tide</i> ⁶ .	250	88	12	20	120	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
<i>Crane</i> .	200	76	12	20	108	..	..	..	6	7	6	..	19	..	..	3	..	5	24
<i>Adventure</i> .	250	88	12	20	120	..	..	4	11	5	..	..	20	..	..	12	4	6	26
<i>Quittance</i> .	200	76	12	20	108	..	..	2	6	7	4	..	19	..	..	4	4	6	25
<i>Answer</i> .	200	76	12	20	108	..	..	..	5	8	..	..	15	..	..	4	4	6	21
<i>Adventure</i> .	200	70	12	20	102	..	..	4	11	5	..	..	20	..	..	4	4	6	26
<i>Tiger</i> ⁷ .	200	70	12	20	102	..	..	..	6	14	..	2	22	..	..	..	..	0	22
<i>Tremontana</i> .	140	52	8	10	70	..	..	..	..	12	7	2	21	..	..	..	..	0	21
<i>Scout</i> ⁷ .	120	48	8	10	66	..	..	..	..	4	..	6	10	..	..	..	..	0	10
<i>Achates</i> ⁷ .	100	42	8	10	60	..	..	..	6	..	12	5	13	..	..	..	..	0	13
<i>Charles</i> .	70	32	6	7	45	..	..	..	..	8	..	12	10	..	..	4	..	6	16
<i>Moon</i> .	60	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	4	4	1	9	..	..	..	..	0	9
<i>Advice</i> .	50	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	4	12	3	9	..	..	..	..	0	9
<i>Spy</i> .	50	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	4	12	3	9	..	..	..	..	0	9
<i>Merlin</i> .	45	26	5	4	35	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	0	7
<i>Sun</i> .	40	24	4	2	30	..	..	..	1	..	4	..	5	..	..	..	..	0	5
<i>Cygnet</i> .	20	?	?	?	20	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	0	3
<i>George, hoy</i> .	100	?	?	?	10	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
<i>Princesse</i> } <i>hoy</i> }	80	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
42 ships	17,055	5,531	804	2,008	8,346	32	60	232	326	213	43	50	2	958	29	58	78	149	2,316	1,274

¹ The original and meaning of this name are obscure. The ship sometimes is called *Mere Honour*, sometimes *Mer Honour*; sometimes *Honour de la Mer*; and sometimes *Mary Honora*. ² Or *Dieu Repulse*. ³ Later corrupted into "Garland."
⁴ Also called *Golden Lion*. ⁵ *I.e.*, "Swift Pursuer" probably. Later corrupted into "Swiftsure."
⁶ Doubtful whether this belonged to the Royal Navy; perhaps hired.
⁷ These, converted to lighters, were in use to support the chain at C'pior.

a week in harbour,¹ and higher pay at sea. But early in the reign of Henry VIII. an alteration was effected. The nature of this is shown in an agreement² made in 1512 between the king and Sir Edward Howard, captain-general of the armed force at sea (or Lord High Admiral). Part of this agreement had better be given at length. It runs thus:—



SIX ANGEL PIECE OF
EDWARD VI.

(From Ruding's *Annals of
the Coinage of Great Britain.*)

“The said admiral shall have under him in the said service three thousand men, harnessed and arrayed for the warfare, himself accounted in the same number, over and above seven hundred soldiers, mariners and gunners that shall be in the King's ship, the *Regent*. A thousand seven hundred and fifty shall be soldiers; twelve hundred and thirty-three shall be mariners and gunners. . . . And the said admiral shall have for maintaining himself, and his diets and rewards, daily during the voyage, ten shillings. And for every of the said captains, for their diets, wages, and rewards, daily during the said cruise, eighteen-pence. . . . And for every soldier, mariner, and gunner, he shall have, every month, during the said voyage, accounting twenty-eight days for the month, five shillings for his wages, and five shillings for his victuals, without anything else demanded for wages or victuals, saving that they shall have certain dead shares, as hereafter doth ensue; all which wages, rewards and victual money the said admiral shall be paid in manner and form following:—He shall, before he and his retinue enter into the ship, make their musters before such commissioners as it shall please our said sovereign Lord to depute and appoint; and immediately after such musters shall have been made, he shall receive of our sovereign Lord, by the hands of such as his Grace shall appoint, for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners, wages, rewards, and victual money, after the rate before rehearsed, for three months then next ensuing, accounting the month as above. And, at the same time, he shall receive for the cost of every captain and soldier four shillings, and for the cost of every mariner and gunner twenty pence; and at the end of the said three months, when the said admiral shall with his navy and retinue resort to the port of Southampton and then and there victual himself and the said navy and army and retinue, he shall make his musters before such commissioners as it shall please his Grace, the King, therefore to appoint within board; and after the said musters so made, he shall, for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners, receive of our said sovereign Lord, by the hands of such as his Grace shall appoint, new wages and victual money, after the rate before rehearsed, for the three months next ensuing; and so, from three months to three months continually during the said time. . . . The said admiral shall have for his dead shares of the ships as hereafter ensueth, that is to say, for the *Regent*, being of the portage of 1000 tons, 50 dead shares and four pilots; and for the—

<i>Mary Rose</i>	of 500 tons, 30½ dead shares.
<i>Peter Pomegranate</i>	.. 400 .. 23½
<i>Nicholas Reed</i>	.. 400 .. 23½

¹ Augmt. Off., bk. 316, f. 72.

² Printed in Charnock, ii. 36.

<i>Mary and John</i>	of 260 tons	24½ dead shares
<i>Ann, of Greenwich</i>	„ 160 „	24½ „ „
<i>Mary George</i>	„ 300 „	20½ „ „
<i>Dragon</i>	„ 100 „	22½ „ „
<i>Barbara</i>	„ 140 „	20½ „ „
<i>George, of Falmouth</i>	„ 140 „	20½ „ „
<i>Nicholas of Hampton</i>	„ 200 „	22 „ „
<i>Martenet</i>	„ 140 „	22½ „ „
<i>Jennet</i>	„ 70 „	22½ „ „
<i>Christopher Dary</i>	„ 160 „	22½ „ „
<i>Sabjan</i> ¹	„ 120 „	20 „ „

And for the victualling and refreshing the said ships with water and other necessaries, the said admiral shall . . . have two crayers, the one being of three score and fifty tons, wherein there shall be the master, twelve mariners, and one boy; and every of the said masters and mariners shall have for his wages five shillings, and for his victual money five shillings, for every month, accounting the month as above; and every of the said two boys shall have for his month's wages two shillings and sixpence, and for his victuals five shillings; and either of the said masters shall have three dead shares; and the other crayer shall have a master, ten mariners, and one boy, being of the burden of 55 tons, with the same allowances. Also the said soldiers, mariners, and gunners shall have of our sovereign Lord conduct money, that is to say, every of them, for every day's journey from his house to the place where they shall be shipped, accounting twelve miles for the day's journey, sixpence; of which days they shall give evidence, by their oaths, before him or them that our said sovereign Lord shall appoint and assign to pay them the said wages and conduct money. And forasmuch as our said sovereign Lord, at his costs and charges, victuals the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore answer our said Lord the one-half of all manner of gains and winnings of the war, that the same admiral, or his retinue, or any of them, shall fortune to have in the said voyage, by land or water; all prisoners, being chieftains, or having our said sovereign Lord's adversary's power; and one ship royal, being of the portage of 200 tons or above, with the ordnance and apparel of every such prize that shall fortune to be taken by them in the said war, reserving to our said sovereign Lord all artillery contained within any other ship or ships by them to be taken."

The document, to put it briefly, shows that at the time of the armament of 1512 the daily pay of an admiral was 10s.; the daily pay of a captain, 1s. 6*d.*; the lunar monthly² wage of master,

¹ There are accidentally omitted from this copy of the agreement:—

"John Hopton's Ship"	. . . . .	400 tons.
<i>Lion</i>	. . . . .	120 „
<i>Peter, of Fowey</i>	. . . . .	120 „

These bring the strength of the fleet up to eighteen sail (as mentioned elsewhere in the indenture), or, with the crayers, to twenty sail.

² Lunar months, of thirteen to the year, were there, and long afterwards, the ordinary official divisions of the year. A MS. list of the services of captains from 1688 to 1717 (in the Author's Coll.) contains such entries as one to the effect that Captain John Norris entered on the command of the *Corbant*, prize, on March 24th, 1695, and

soldier, mariner, or gunner, 5*s.*, together with 5*s.* for victuals, and the lunar monthly wage of a boy, 2*s.* 6*d.*, together with 5*s.* for victuals. It also shows that the men were allowed conduct money to the port of embarkation at the rate of 6*d.* per twelve miles: that the profits of prizes were to be divided, one-half, together with one vessel of 200 tons or more, and all ordnance and "apparel" (? movable fittings) going to the king, and the rest to the captors in stipulated proportions; and it appears to show that, as head money, a sum of 4*s.* for each captain and soldier, and of 20*d.* for each mariner and gunner, was payable to the admiral, although this is not quite clear. The "dead shares" were non-existent men, something like the widows' men of a later date. Pay on their behalf was allowed, and the pay so granted was divided among the really existent ship's company. This extra pay took the place of the "rewards" of an earlier period. But it does not appear certain that, after the reign of Henry VIII., the seamen participated in the dead shares.

In the earlier years of Elizabeth, the seaman's lunar monthly pay was 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1586, on the representation of Hawkyns,¹ this was raised to 10*s.*, and other pay was raised in proportion, so that a captain's pay, which had been 1*s.* 8*d.*, became 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, besides certain allowances which varied according to ship and circumstances. The practice of allowing dead shares continued; but little, if any, of the proceeds can have gone to the men, seeing that masters and master-gunners each received a whole dead share, boatswains probably the same; quarter-masters half a dead share; some of the gunners one-third of a dead share, and so on. But the subject is still in much obscurity.



AN ELIZABETHAN
SEAMAN.

(From sketch in Harleian
MSS. 167, folio 39b.)

was discharged from it on February 25th, 1696 (O. S.), having served in the ship for 6 years, 12 months, 0 weeks, and 3 days. For many purposes, the naval month remained twenty-eight days until after the beginning of the nineteenth century. At present, in the Navy, 1 month equals 30 days; 2 months equal 61 days; 3 months equal 91 days; 4 months equal 121 days; 5 months equal 152 days; 6 months equal 182 days; 7 months equal 212 days; 8 months equal 243 days; 9 months equal 273 days; 10 months equal 303 days; 11 months equal 334 days; and 12 months (1 year) equal 365 days, unless otherwise provided.

¹ Dom. Eliz. clxxxv. 33, ii.

In 1588, the superior officers who served against the Armada had daily pay as follows:—¹

	£	s.	d.
The Lord High Admiral	3	6	8
Lord Henry Seymour, as his Vice-Admiral	2	0	0
Sir John Hawkyns, as his Rear-Admiral	0	15	0
Sir Henry Palmer } Sir William Wynter } Sir Martin Frobiser }	commanding under Lord Henry Seymour ..		
Thomas Gray, "Vice-Admiral" under Lord H. Seymour (while in command of a detached force)	0	6	8
Sir Francis Drake, "Captain and Admiral"	1	10	0
Thomas Fenner, his "Vice-Admiral"	0	15	0
Nicholas Gorges, "Admiral" of the merchant coasters, for him and his lieutenant	0	13	8

It would appear from the above that both rule and consistency were lacking in the apportionment of the pay of these officers; and the fact is that the rate depended quite as much upon the social rank and title of the recipient as upon his position in the fleet. In all these cases there were allowances, though of unknown amount in addition. In the Armada period, it may be added, the master in a flagship was virtually her captain in all senses; and the Thomas Gray, who is mentioned above as having commanded an independent or detached squadron with the temporary rank of vice-admiral, had previously held, and may have reverted to, the position of master of the *Ark*.

The instructions of Howard of Effingham and Essex to the officers under their command for the Cadiz Expedition of 1596 are so interesting, and throw so much light upon the naval customs of a very important period in English history, that they are here printed at length, so far as they can be deciphered from the damaged manuscript² in which they are contained. They are among the earliest instructions extant, and seem to have served as a basis for many subsequent regulations of the same sort.

"INSTRUCTIONS AND ARTICLES set down by us, Robert, Earl of Essex, and Charles, Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, Generals of her Majesty's forces employed in this action, both by sea and land, to be observed by every Captain and chief officer of the Navy: And that every ship's company may not be ignorant hereof, we do hereby straitly charge and command all Captains to give order that, at Service time, they may be openly read, twice every week.

"I. IMPRIMIS, that you take special care to serve God, by using of Common Prayers

¹ From a paper, printed in 'Defeat of Spanish Armada' (Navy Rec. Soc.) by Prof. J. K. Laughton, ii. 314.

² Cotton MSS. Otho. B. ix.

twice every day, except urgent cause enforce the contrary, and that no man, soldier or other mariner do dispute of matters of religion, unless it be to be resolved of some doubts; and, in such case, that he confer with the ministers of the army: for it is not fit that unlearned men should openly argue of so high and mystical matters. And if any person shall forget himself and his duty herein, he shall, upon knowledge thereof, receive open punishment to his shame, and after be banished the army. And if any shall hear it, and not reveal it to us, Generals, or to his Captain, or some other especial officers, whereby the knowledge thereof may come to us, the Generals, he shall likewise receive punishment, and be banished the army.

"II. *TREM.* You shall forbid swearing, brawling, diceing, and such like disorders as may breed contention and disorders in your ships; wherein you shall also avoid God's displeasure and win His favour.

"III. *PICKING* and stealing you shall severely punish; and, if the fault be great, you shall acquaint us, Generals, therewith, that martial law may be inflicted upon the offenders.

"IV. You shall take great care to preserve your victuals, and to observe such orders therein as you shall receive by particular directions from your Generals. And that every Captain of each ship receive an account once a week how his victuals are spent, and what remains, that their provision may be lengthened by adding more men to a mess in time.

"V. *ALL* persons whatsoever, within your ship, shall come to the ordinary services of the ship without contradiction.

"VI. You shall give special charge for avoiding the danger of fire, and that no candle be carried in your ship without a lantern: which, if any person shall disobey, you shall severely punish. And if any chance of fire or other dangers (which God forbid) should happen to any ship near unto you, then you shall, by your boats and all other your best means, seek to help and relieve her.

"VII. Your powder you shall carefully preserve from spoil and waste; without which we cannot undertake any great service.

"VIII. You shall give order that your ship may be kept clean daily, and sometimes washed; which (with God's favour) shall preserve from sickness and avoid many other inconveniences.

"IX. You shall give order and especial charge that your top-masts be favoured, and the heads of your masts, and that you have care not to bear too high sail when your ships go by the wind, and especially in a head-sea; for the spoil of our masts may greatly hinder us, and endanger the enterprises which otherwise (with God's help) we should perform with safety.

"X. *ALL* such as are in ships under the government" [of the admiral in char!]¹ "go of a squadron, shall, as near as in them lieth, keep with it, and not for chase of other ships, or any other cause, go from that squadron, but by the command of the admiral of that squadron; unless any of the two Chief Generals shall send for them, or, by message, appoint them to any service, or that, by weather, they be separated. And then, as they may, they shall endeavour to repair to the place appointed by such instructions as shall be set down. And if there be any sail perceived by any of the ships of any squadron, it shall be lawful for the next ship, having the wind, to give chase, the ship descried being to the windward; and the like of any that shall be nearest to bear up, if the sail be descried to the leeward.² But because, upon every chase, all will be apt to follow the same, and so be led away upon every occasion from the Fleet, it shall not be lawful for any second ship to follow any chase (one having

¹ There is a hiatus. These words are conjecturally supplied.

² This permission is difficult to reconcile with the first clause of the instruction. Apart from that, it is wrongly expressed. But the meaning is clear.

undertaken the same), unless the admiral of the squadron hang out two flags, one over another. If it be necessary that three do follow, then shall the General, or admiral of the squadron hang out three flags, one over another, which shall be for warrant to the next and fittest to follow as aforesaid. But if the admiral bear up, and come upon a wind himself, then may all the squadron give chase, and follow. Which, if it should seem convenient to any of the Lords Generals of the army, if it please any of them to hang out the flag of council, the same may be a warning that the chase is mislikel, and that then all give over and keep their course.

“XI. EVERY ship shall, towards the evening, seek to come, as near as she conveniently may, to speak with the admiral of the squadron, to know his pleasure and what course he will keep; and that the admiral of a squadron do bear up, or stand upon a wind, to speak with us, their Generals, if he conveniently may. The rest of the squadrons may, notwithstanding, keep their course and distance. And if the admiral of the squadron cannot recover the head of his fleet before night, the rest shall then follow the light of the vice-admiral of the said squadron.

“XII. THAT every squadron keep a good breadth one from another, and that the squadrons do, in themselves, keep a reasonable breadth one from another, that they fall not foul one of another, whereby danger may grow; and that the great ships have especial regard not to calm the smaller ships. And if any of these smaller ships shall negligently bring themselves in danger of the greater ships, the Captains and Masters especially shall be severely punished. And further, that either the admiral, or rear-admiral of the squadron be always in the rearward of his fleet.

“XIII. WHEN there is a flag of council of the red cross¹ out in either one of the two Generals' ships, half-mast high against the main mizzen,² then the Captains and Masters of every ship shall repair on board that ship where the flag is so hung out. And when the flag of arms³ shall be displayed, then shall the selected Council⁴ only come on board.

“XIV. If your ship happen to spring a mast, to fall into a leak, or such mischance (which God forbid), you shall shoot off a piece and spring a loose.⁵ If it be in the night, you shall shoot off two pieces and bear two great lights, one a man's height and a half above another.

“XV. EVERY Captain and Master of the Fleet shall have a special regard that no contention be found betwixt the mariners and the soldiers. And in time of sickness (if any do happen amongst you), you shall, of such good things as are to be had and are needful for them, distribute unto them in such convenient sort as you may.

“XVI.⁶ If you happen to lose company, your token shall be [. . .] main-topsail twice, if it be foul weather, th [. . .] strike your main mizzen twice, or as often as you list [. . .] nder [. . .] re your white pennant on your mizzen yard. And if you shall be of the company of us, your Generals, you shall find us at such place as we will give you instructions for, at sea.

“XVII. If in chasing of any ship you happen to fetch her up, if she be a ship in amity with her Majesty, you shall treat her well, and bring her to us. But if you find her to be an enemy, you shall make no spoil of the goods in her, but shall take the captain and master of her aboard you, and put into her some sufficient persons to bring

¹ The St. George's flag.

² Main mizzen, apparently the third mast of a four-masted ship.

³ *I.e.*, with the Queen's arms.

⁴ The Council of Five Officers, and the extra members, if any, appointed by the Generals. See Chap. xiv.

⁵ Seventeenth-century instructions bade the disabled ship haul up her courses.

⁶ “Spring a loose” seems to mean, “let fly.”

⁶ The MS. is too much damaged to admit of this instruction being intelligible.

her forthwith unto us, your Generals, or to such as we shall assign, that order may be taken what shall be done with her.

“XVIII. WHEN you shall be appointed to give chase, and that you shall surprise any enemy's ship that shall have treasure or merchandise of value in her, you shall take great care that those commodities in her be preserved: in respect whereof, and for your loyal and faithful service to be done in this voyage, her Majesty's favour, bounty, and pleasure is that a third part of that which shall be taken from the enemy, so it be not the King's treasure, jewels, or a carrack, shall be employed to the commodity and benefit of the whole company, over and above his ordinary wages, according to his desert.

“XIX. No Captain or Master shall suffer any spoil to be made aboard any ship or bark that shall be taken by them or any of their companies, upon pain to be displaced of their offices, or some great punishment, according to the offence given: because the rest of the company have interest in everything that shall be taken. Therefore the value of every such thing, be it of great or small importance, must especially be regarded and considered of. And whatsoever soldier or mariner that obeyeth not accordingly shall be despoiled of that which he hath gotten, and his person extremely punished.

“XX. WHOSOEVER shall enter aboard any ship, he shall give account of those things which shall be wanting and taken out of her: for that no other company shall board her, unless there shall be need of their help.

“XXI. If we happen to meet with any great fleet, supposed to be the army of the King of Spain, you shall endeavour yourself to come as near us, Generals, or to the admiral of your squadron, or, in our absence, to the vice-admiral, or rear-admiral of the Fleet [as possible], to know what you shall be directed unto, as you will answer it upon the peril of your lives.

“XXII. The watch shall be set every night by eight of the clock, either by trumpet or drum, and singing the Lord's Prayer, some of the Psalms of David, or clearing the glass. And after the watch is set, no trumpet or drum shall be heard, or any piece whatsoever shall be shot off, without such great cause offered as is before signified, or such like.

“XXIII. You are to take especial care of your watch by night, and that the soldiers do watch, as well in harbour as at the seas, one-third part of them every night, and that there be a captain of the watch appointed, who shall take care that no fire or light be suffered, but only such candles in lanterns as are allowed to the quarter-masters, or otherwise upon necessity: and that in harbour a certain number be appointed to keep diligent watch in the fore-castle or beak-head of your ships, for fear of cutting of cables, which is a practice much used in hot countries.

“XXIV. If at any time the Generals have occasion to order a chase, and that order be given to any other ships [. . . ¹] their flags until their return unto the Fleet, all the [. . . ²] shall follow the flag, in what ship soever it be placed: and that whatsoever ship shall be next, the same shall take up our, your General's, boats,³ when we give chase, or the boats of any of the admirals of squadrons or others whatsoever.

“XXV. No man, upon pain of death, shall presume to land in any country until his return into England, without order from us, your Generals, or such as we shall appoint to command.

“XXVI. No person shall depart out of the ship wherein he is⁴ placed into another, without special leave of his Captain: and no Captain or Master shall receive any

¹ Possibly insert, “to take them on board, and to carry.”

² Probably insert, “other ships.”

³ *I.e.*, the boats in which the Generals had proceeded on board the temporary flag-ships.

such person without the knowledge of us, your Generals, or such as we shall appoint.

“XXVII. In fogs (if any happen), when your ships are becalmed, you shall cause some noise to be made, by drum, by trumpet, by shooting off a musket or calliver now and then, or by some other like means, that, hearing you to be near, every one may take heed lest he fall foul of another.

“XXVIII. No person whatsoever shall dare to strike any Captain, Lieutenant, Master, or other officer, upon pain of death. And, furthermore, whatsoever he be that shall strike any inferior person, he shall receive punishment, according to the offence given, be it by death or otherwise.

“XXIX. THERE shall be no report or talk raised in the Fleet, wherein any officer or gentleman in the same may be touched in reputation; or matter of importance spoken, without his author shall be severely punished as an evil member amongst us.”

Up to the twenty-third year of Queen Elizabeth there was no regular provision for the maintenance of seamen disabled in the service of their country. In that year an Act was passed to assess every parish at a certain weekly sum for the support of the disabled



GOLD RIAL OF ELIZABETH.

(From Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*.)

sailors and soldiers belonging to the county. In 1590, thanks to the interest displayed in the matter by Nottingham, Hawkyns and Drake, the Chest at Chatham was established. The origin of the mutual benevolent fund known by this name arose out of the consideration “that by frequent employment by sea for the defence of this kingdom” . . . divers and sundry, “masters, mariners, shipwrights, and seafaring men, by reason of hurts and maims received in the service, are driven into great poverty, extremity and want, to their great discouragement.” It was therefore determined that perpetual relief should be afforded in such cases, and, in order to be able to afford it, it was voluntarily agreed that every man and boy in the navy should regularly forfeit to the fund a small proportion of his monthly wages, such contributions to be from time to time placed “in a strong chest with five locks, to that purpose especially provided.” The chest, which is of iron, still

exists in Greenwich Hospital, where it was placed by the Admiralty in 1846. The fund, which, before the utilisation of banks, and the value of investments became properly appreciated, the chest contained, continued, under varying regulations, to exist, until in 1803 it was transferred to the supervisors and directors of the chest at Greenwich, and practically became part of the relief funds at Greenwich Hospital. Not until 1829 did the stoppage on behalf of it of sixpence a month from the wages of every seaman of the Royal Navy cease.

Henry VIII. contributed greatly to the creation and development of the bases and arsenals of the navy, and built numerous important works of defence along the coast. He founded Woolwich Dockyard, and much improved the yards at Portsmouth¹ and Deptford, erecting at the latter large magazines and storehouses.

The fortification of Gravesend and Tilbury was his work, as was also the building of the castles at Walmer, Deal, Sandgate, Sandown, Portland, Hurst, Cowes, Camber, Southsea, Queenborough, Pendennis, and St. Mawes. At several of these places there were earlier

¹ "The land here, on the east side of Portsmouth Haven, runneth further by a great way straight into the sea, by south-east from the haven mouth, than it doth at the west point. There is, at this point of the haven, Portsmouth town, and a great round tower, almost double in quantity and strength to that which is on the west side of the haven, right against it; and here is a mighty chain of iron to draw from tower to tower. About a quarter of a mile above this tower is a great dock for ships, and in this dock lieth part of the ribs of the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, one of the biggest ships that have been made *in hominum memoria*. There be above this dock creeks in this part of the haven. The town of Portsmouth is fenced from the east tower . . . with a mud wall armed with timber, whereon are great pieces both of iron and brass ordnance; and this piece of the wall, having a ditch without it, runneth so far flat south-south-east, and is the most apt to defend the town there open on the haven. There runneth a ditch almost flat east for a space, and within it is a wall of mud like to the other, and so thence [it] goeth round about the town to the circuit of a mile. There is a gate of timber at the north-east end of the town; and by it is cast up a hill of earth ditched, wherein are guns to defend entry into the town by land. There is much vacant ground within the town wall. There is one fair street in the town, from west to north-east. I learnt in the town that the towers in the haven mouth were begun in King Edward the Fourth's time, and set forward in building by Richard the Third. King Henry the Seventh ended them at the procurement of Fox, Bishop of Winchester. King Henry the Eighth, at his first wars into France, erected in the south part of the town three great brewing-houses, with the implements, to serve his ships at such time as they should go to the sea in time of war. One Carpenter, a rich man, made of late time, in the middle of the High Street of the town, a Town House. The town is bare, and little occupied in time of peace."—Leland, 'Itinerary,' iii., pp. 81, 82. Leland was on his journey between 1536 and 1542; so that this description of Portsmouth applies to the town as it then was. The allusion to the ribs of the *Henri Grace à Dieu* is obscure, seeing that the ship was in existence until a later date.

castles or towers, but Henry's strongholds were, for the most part, much finer coast defences than had previously been seen in England. The sums thus spent may be regarded as having been to a large extent wasted; for, even in those days, they might have been to

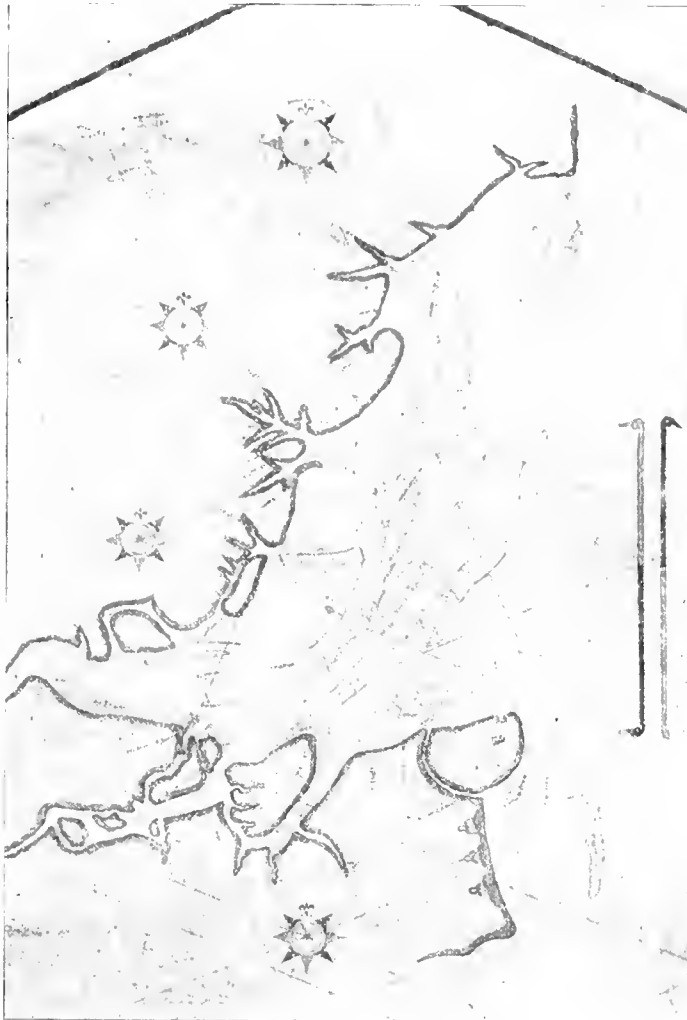


CHART OF THAMES MOUTH, 1580.

(From original in the possession of the Marquess of Salisbury. Copied by permission.)

better advantage assigned to the increase of the fleet; but in an age when ships were much more at the mercy of the winds and waves than they were when the art of navigation had somewhat further progressed, it would perhaps have been injudicious of the govern-

ment to neglect these works altogether. At one crisis during his reign, Henry was threatened with a combination between France and the Empire; and, had such an alliance attacked him with all its resources, and seized the most favourable occasion for doing so, it is possible that the coast castles might have proved very useful. Upnor Castle on the Medway, and works at Portland, Hurst, Southsea, Calshot, and elsewhere were built under Elizabeth, who also founded Chatham Dockyard,¹ on the site of the modern gunwharf. The yard was transferred to its present situation about 1622. Elizabeth, too, improved the defences of Plymouth.² Scilly was first garrisoned, and St. Mary's Guernsey, and Jersey were fortified in 1593, when the Treaty of Melun was concluded with France against Spain.

The first real dry dock in England was built at Portsmouth under Henry VII., the superintendent of the work being Robert Brygandine, Clerk of the Ships, and the business being completed in 1496. This dock was of wood and stone, but was not closed by a caisson, or a dock gate on hinges. What were called the "dock gates" were two walls of wood or stone, one within the other, which overlapped and partially blocked the entrance. When a ship, after passing between these walls, had been berthed, the space between the two walls was filled with earth, etc., and the dock then pumped out. Such, at least, are the only conclusions to be plausibly drawn from contemporary accounts of the manner in which this dock was utilised.³

Although, as has been said, dockyards were established or improved, the number of dry docks in the country remained very

¹ Camden describes Chatham Dockyard as "stored for the finest fleet the sun ever beheld, and ready at a minute's warning, built lately by our most gracious sovereign Elizabeth, at great expense, for the security of her subjects and the terror of her enemies, with a fort on the shore for its defence." The original dockyard became the gun wharf in the reign of James I., who began the existing yard on a site farther to the north. This was enlarged and much improved under Charles I.

² The most ancient fort for the defence of Plymouth was built in the reign of Edward III. by Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, and is described by Leland as "a strong castle quadrate, having at each corner a great round tower." This fortress stood on the south of the town, near the Barbican. In the reign of Elizabeth, numerous blockhouses and platforms were erected on different points of the shore of the harbour; and several of them were, about the year 1592, combined into a fort, called the Fort on the Hoe Cliffs. This was demolished upon the building of the citadel in 1670-71.

³ Chapter House, bk. vii. *passim*, printed in Oppenheim's 'Nav. Accts. and Inventories of Hen. VII.'

small until after the end of the sixteenth century. From a letter addressed to the Lord High Admiral in 1583, and preserved among Pepys' 'Miscellanies' (viii. 198), it appears that there were then only two queen's dry docks in the Thames, one at Woolwich, and the other probably at Deptford. The writers, Sir John Hawkyns, William Wynter, and William Folstoke, proposed "to enlarge that at Woolwich to that length and bigness that two royal ships at one time might be brought in to be repaired and built within the same."

Before the time of Henry VIII., the general executive government of the navy and some of the various other functions now discharged by the Admiralty were for a long period in the hands of the Admirals-in-Chief, no matter whether they happened to be called at the moment Admirals of the North and of the West, and held divided but co-equal authority, or whether the single head was Lord High Admiral. The civil work was done by the Clerk of the Ships, and occasionally by the King's Chancery. But the increasing business of the service necessitated the erection of more elaborate machinery. A Lord High Admiral continued to be appointed as before. To relieve him, however, of various branches of his duty, especially in his administrative work, civil officers, known as Commissioners, were appointed in April, 1546, to attend to victualling, construction and repair of ships, procuring of suitable ordnance, etc. These civil officers constituted the Navy Board.¹

¹ The Navy Board was established by patent of April 24th, 1546. The officers then appointed were a Lieutenant of the Admiralty (whose post was never refilled after the death of the second occupant); a Treasurer; a Comptroller; a Surveyor; a Master of the Ordnance of the Navy (whose post was not refilled when it fell vacant for the third time, in 1598); and, at first, a couple of extra officers. In 1550, a Surveyor of Victuals was also appointed. The sequence of officers in these posts, up to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, was as follows:—

Lieutenant of the Admiralty:

April 24, 1546, Sir Thomas Clere.
Dec. 16, 1552, Sir William Woodhouse.

Treasurer of Marine Causes:

April 24, 1546, Robert Legge.
July 8, 1549, Benjamin Gonson, senr.
Jan. 1, 1578, John Hawkyns.
(*In abeyance from Nov. 12, 1595.*)
Dec. 22, 1598, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke

Comptroller of Ships:

April 24, 1546, William Broke.
Dec. 12, 1561, William Holstock.
1589, William Borough.
Dec. 20, 1598, Sir Henry Palmer.

Surveyor of Ships:

April 24, 1546, Benjamin Gonson, senr.
July 8, 1549, William Wynter.
July 11, 1589, Sir Henry Palmer.
Dec. 20, 1598, John Trevor.

To assist in the executive business of the Lord High Admiral, the Admiralty Office or Admiralty Board was formed. Full regulations for the conduct of all these officials do not seem to have existed until the time of Edward VI.; and, indeed, it may be assumed that no department of such great importance could, at the mere *fiat* of an individual, leap at once into full activity and usefulness. The Commissioners of the Navy Office met, apparently from the time of their first appointment, on Tower Hill, in a building which, under Elizabeth, was known as the Queen's Consultation Room. The Board of Admiralty, in the earlier days of its existence, had no fixed home, and met sometimes at the Lord High Admiral's residence and sometimes even afloat.¹

At the instance of Sir Thomas Spert,² Henry VIII. also, in 1513, established what is usually known as Trinity House, but is properly entitled "The Guild of the Holy and Undividable Trinity and St. Clement, at Deptford Strond." It was at first associated to some extent with the navy, part of its duty being to examine into the professional qualifications of officers and petty officers, and to supply seamen as they were needed. In 1566, the master, wardens, and assistants of the Guild were empowered to set up beacons and sea-marks; and, gradually, lighting, buoying, and pilotage fell more and more under their control, until their original connection with the navy became obscured.

Naval punishments, "according to the custom of the sea," which was extremely barbarous, were much the same in the

Clerk of the Ships:

April 24, 1546, Richard Howlett.
 Oct. 10, 1560, George Wynter.
 March 24, 1580, William Borough.
 Nov. 6, 1588, Benjamin Gonson, junr.
 1600, Peter Buck.

Master of the Ordnance of the Navy:

April 24, 1546, Sir William Woodhouse.
 Dec. 16, 1552, Thomas Windham.
 Nov. 2, 1557, William Wynter (who held it, with the Surveyorship, until his death in 1589, when the office ceased to exist).

Extra Officers:

April 24, 1546, William Holstock.
 April 24, 1546, Thomas Morley.

Surveyor of Victuals:

June 28, 1550, Edward Baeshe.
 June 30, 1587, James Quarles.
 Nov. 8, 1595, Marmaduke Darell.

[A continuation of these lists will be found in Chapter XVII.]

¹ It may still meet wherever convenience dictates.

² He died in 1541. On his monument in St. Dunstan's, Stepney, he is called "Comptroller of the Navy," but there was no such office in 1541. The error arises from the monument being of a much later period. He was Clerk of the Ships in 1538.

sixteenth century as they had been in previous ages; but in the account of Drake's dealings with Thomas Doughty, in 1578, and with Captain William Borough, and the other mutinous people in the *Golden Lion* in 1587, we have indications of the gradual evolution of the court-martial, and of a more just, if scarcely less severe, administration of marine law. Doughty, charged with a plot against Drake's life, was brought before a body of officers, who, hearing him confess himself guilty, as is alleged, unanimously signed the sentence by which he was condemned to death. Borough, convicted before "a general court holden for the service of her Majesty aboard the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*," was, with his abettors, sentenced *in contumaciam*, "to abide the pains of death" in case of their being caught. "If not, they shall remain as dead men in law."¹

The regular seafaring population of England, as distinct from the numerous other people who went to sea upon occasion, was small at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and not large even in the early days of Elizabeth. In 1583, a census of the maritime inhabitants of the country, Wales being excluded, showed that there were 1484 masters, 11,515 mariners, 2299 fishermen, and 957 Thames wherrymen, or in all, 16,255 persons who were in some sort accustomed to the water.

The number does not seem to be proportionate to the very considerable sea-borne trade of the country at that time. Henry VII. had furthered commerce, and at the same time benefited himself, by hiring out to the merchants his own men-of-war, when they were not needed for the service of the State. He also enacted navigation Acts in his first and fourth years, for the encouragement of English shipping. Henry VIII. had hired out many of his ships of war; but the practice had fallen into disuse about 1534. The discoveries of Columbus, Cabot, and the Portuguese had opened fresh markets. The trade with Iceland had received great impetus, owing to the convention of 1488, whereby Denmark undertook not to interfere with it. An advantageous commercial treaty had been concluded with Castille. Henry VIII. had freed the principal rivers of England from weirs and obstructions; suppressed illegal tolls; improved many of the harbours, including Dover, where he built a new pier; encouraged commerce, especially with the Levant, where he appears to have appointed the first consul;

¹ This quarrel between Drake and Borough was afterwards peaceably patched up.

and employed his diplomatic agents to advance the interests of the merchants. Under Edward, and under Mary, the Newfoundland trade had been increased and freed from restrictions; English merchants on the continent had been signally protected and encouraged; the African trade had largely grown; the judicial privileges of the merchants of the Steelyard had been withdrawn, and their other privileges curtailed; the Russia Company had been established; and there had been enlarged commercial intercourse with Spain.

But it is true that in 1583, the date of this census, the stimulating atmosphere of the Elizabethan era had not yet produced its full effect upon the energies of the country. The letters patent to the Company of Traders to Barbary were not granted until 1585; and the origin of the East India Company date only from 1600.

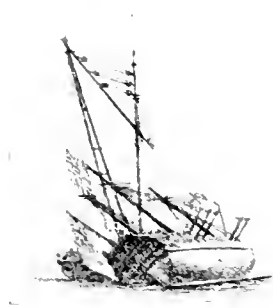
Elizabeth seldom neglected an opportunity of asserting the dignity of her country, and vindicating the interests of her subjects, especially where trade was concerned. Her conduct in 1597, in the matter of the dispute with the Hanse Towns, may be taken as typical of her general attitude in such cases. Commercial jealousy had induced the Hanse Towns to persuade the emperor to prohibit the traffic of English merchants with Germany. Elizabeth made remonstrances to the emperor and the electoral princes, and, obtaining no satisfaction, adopted prompt retaliatory measures. By proclamation she ordained that upon the day fixed for the English traders to leave Germany, all merchants of the Hanse Towns should quit England, and the Lord Mayor should seize that locality in London known as the Steel Yard, which the merchants of the Hanse Towns had been privileged to occupy. This was the deathblow to the influence of the Hansatic League in England. The ultimate effect of it was to throw into English hands great part of that Northern European trade which had previously, for a long period, been the almost exclusive appanage of foreigners.

CHAPTER XIV.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1485-1603.

Henry VII.—The Earl of Oxford, Lord Admiral—Simmel's invasion—Woodville's expedition—Sir Andrew Wood—War with France—Expedition against Ravenstein—Siege of Boulogne—Peace with France—Warbeck in Ireland and in Scotland—His invasion of England—Philip of Austria in England—Henry VIII.—Co-operation with Spain against the Moors, and with Burgundy against Gelderland—Sir Andrew Barton—The Lord Admiral's whistle—Lord Edward Howard, Lord Admiral—Action with the French off Brest—A French account of it—Portzmoguer—Blockade of Brest—Proceedings of Echyngham—Actions near Brest—Death of the Lord Admiral—Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Admiral—Prégent's raids—Howard's revenge—The Field of the Cloth of Gold—Alliance with the Emperor—Surrey, admiral of the combined fleet—He raids the French coasts—A Scots squadron defeated—Peace with France—Richmond, Lord Admiral—Fitz William, Lord Admiral—Bedford, Lord Admiral—Lisle, Lord Admiral—War with France and Scotland—Expedition to the Forth—Boulogne blockaded—Seymour's cruise—"Capitaine Polain"—D'Annebaut—Attack on Portsmouth—Action at Spithead—Loss of the *Mary Rose*—Indecisive action in the Channel—Lisle burns Tréport—Plague in the fleet—Naval skirmishes—Edward VI.—Lord Seymour of Sudely, Lord Admiral—French expeditions to Scotland—Capture of the *Lion*—An English fleet in the Forth—Villegagnon—Seymour defeated—Unofficial war with France—Open hostilities—Wynter in the Channel Islands—Clinton, Lord Admiral—Peace with France—Piracies in the Narrow Seas—Exploit of the *Fulcou*—The first voyage to Guinea—Mary I.—Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral—Wynter and Throgmorton—Philip comes to England—He is obliged to salute the flag—Clinton, Lord Admiral—Loss of Calais—Clere defeated in Orkney—The fleet assists Count Egmont—Elizabeth—Peace with France—Renewal of the war—Peace with Scotland—Wynter in the Forth—Evacuation of Scotland by the French—The Queen and the continental Protestants—Le Havre handed over to Elizabeth—Francis Clarke—War with France—Evacuation of Le Havre—Peace with France—Detention of treasure—Spanish irritation—Elizabeth assists La Rochelle—Gabriel de Montgomeri—Privateering—Holstock and the pirates—Significance of the struggle with Spain—Spanish expedition to Munster—Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral—Elizabeth assists the Low Countries—The case of the *Primrose*—The case of the Turkey ships—War with Spain—The first prize of the war—Leicester goes to Flushing—Cumberland's first voyage—Alliance with Scotland—Drake at Cadiz—Capture of the *San Felipe*—The Spanish Armada—Assistance given to Don Antonio of Portugal—Drake and Norreys on the coast of Portugal—Michelson to Mexico—Hawkyn's and Frobiser's expedition to Spain—Action between merchant ships and Spanish galleys—Cumberland's fourth expedition—Lord Thomas Howard to the Azores—Loss of the *Revenge*—Fight off Cape Corrientes—Exploit of the *Centurion*—Expedition of Frobiser and Burgh—

Cumberland's fifth voyage—Cruises of Newport and King—White and the quicksilver ships—Cumberland's sixth expedition—Frobiser at Brest—Death of Frobiser—Cumberland's seventh expedition—Last expedition of Drake and Hawkyus—Cruise of Preston and Somers—Eighth expedition of Cumberland—Expedition to Cadiz—Cumberland's ninth expedition—Spanish designs on Ireland—The voyage to the islands—Fishing difficulties with the French—Cumberland's tenth expedition—Rapid mobilisation of a fleet—Leveson to the Azores—Attempted Spanish descent on Ireland—Leveson defeats Siriaco—Parker's privateering cruise—Expeditions of Gosnoll, Mace, and Weymouth—Leveson and Monson on the Spanish coast—Death of Elizabeth.



HENRY VII. loved commerce, and was himself a great trader; he was a miser, and disliked any expenditure which did not appear to him to be absolutely necessary; his title to the throne was bad, and his seat upon it was consequently precarious; and he was a wise man, possessed of marked diplomatic ability. His qualities moulded his policy. His reign was, upon the whole, pacific; and, although he invaded France, he had no insatiate thirst for military glory, and no tyrannous lust of conquest; and he gladly seized the first opportunity for concluding a fairly honourable peace. His only other important foreign expedition, that for the repression of Ravenstein, in 1492, was undertaken in the interests of commerce.

Upon his accession, he appointed John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, to be Lord High Admiral from September 21st, 1485, and this officer held the post until after the king's death.

It was Henry's misfortune that the fallen House of York remained for many years popular with the common people of the country, and especially of Ireland, and that the lost cause still had a most powerful and unscrupulous supporter in the person of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, a sister of Edward IV. Her court became the natural headquarters of all conspirators who sought the overthrow of the House of Tudor.

The best possible claimant among the Yorkist princes to the crown was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of George, Duke of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV.; but Warwick was a prisoner in the hands of Henry. As, therefore, Warwick was not available as a tool for the malcontents, a false Warwick was invented in the person of Lambert Simmel, a baker's son, who appears to have been carefully trained for his part by Richard Simon, a

priest in the confidence of the Yorkist leaders. Lambert was recognised by the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, a nephew of Edward IV., and, of course, by the unscrupulous Margaret of Burgundy; and at Dublin the pretender was proclaimed King of England, as Edward VI., in May, 1487.

Henry replied by parading the real Warwick through the streets of London; but this measure seems to have had little or no effect upon the infatuated people, and the movement continued. It may have been owing to Henry's parsimony that the Narrow Seas were so inefficiently policed as to allow the pretender and his friends, accompanied by two thousand Germans, under Martin Schwartz, to land in Lancashire; but it is more probable that the king, realising the importance of capturing his impudent rival, deliberately preferred to permit him to invade England. Here Simnel gathered few fresh adherents, except a small body of men under Sir Thomas Broughton. He determined to attack Newark; but Henry judiciously placed himself between the rebels and that town, and so, on June 16th, 1487, provoked the battle of Stoke, where, after a well-fought action, Simnel was defeated and taken. His patron Simon was imprisoned for life. Hardly one of the remaining supporters of his claims who happened to be present escaped with his life. As for Simnel himself, he was contemptuously made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and subsequently promoted to be a falconer.

Edward, Lord Woodville, was the indirect cause of the hostilities with France. This nobleman, an uncle of the queen, was Governor of the Isle of Wight; and, happening to be in sympathy with the Duchess of Brittany, who was then in conflict with Charles VIII. of France, he took advantage of his position, and, in spite of Henry's positive orders to do nothing of the kind, raised four hundred men early in 1488, and crossed to the assistance of the princess.¹ He and his followers were cut to pieces at St. Aubin, on July 28th, and the disaster, though perhaps richly merited, gave rise to so much public feeling in England, that Henry felt himself obliged to send to Brittany eight thousand men under Lord Brooke. But he still had some kind of secret arrangement with Charles, and possibly no further forces would have been dispatched, had not Anne of Brittany, in 1491, betrayed her English friends and astonished Europe by marrying her whilom enemy Charles VIII.

¹ This expedition is mentioned by Holinshed.

In 1490, Scotland, which, owing to the unworthy machinations of Henry VII. with the object of seizing the person of the young king, James IV., had no cause to spare England, dealt her two small but stinging blows at sea, and at the same time discovered that she possessed at least one exceptionally able naval officer. This was Sir Andrew Wood, of Largs. Upon the murder of James III. he had declared, against the Council, for that monarch's son, James IV., and he served the new king bravely; for not only did he, with two ships, capture five English vessels,¹ but also, when three more were sent against him under the command of Stephen Bull, he took them likewise. The only capture from the Scots during these operations seems to have been the *Margaret*, which was added to the navy. James IV. established the first efficient navy ever possessed by Scotland. Towards the end of his reign he had thirteen men-of-war, the largest of which, the *Michael*, was, in her day, a marvel of size. And in Sir Andrew Wood, and the equally famous Andrew Barton, he had commanders who, in a very short period, gave the young Scots navy all the prestige it needed. Both Wood, and Barton whose exploits will be noted later, were somewhat piratical in their methods, although they acted under letters of marque; but piracy—especially on land, and where cattle was concerned—was a recognised and characteristic Scots institution until a much later day. It must also be remembered that the Scots of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were, in most respects, less civilised than their southern neighbours.

The marriage of Anne with Charles VIII. gave Brittany to France, and was undoubtedly a great blow at English prestige, the more so seeing that she had been previously supposed to be about to marry the Archduke Maximilian, the ally of Henry. These and other considerations determined Henry to appear to fall in with the obvious desires of his people for a war with France; and in 1491 and 1492 great preparations were made in consequence. But, privately, the king had no wish for hostilities. The acts of Woodville had forced his hand in 1488; the excitement of his people might force his hand again. The king, however, made up his mind that he would not be driven so long as he could stand still; and that if he should be driven, he would do his utmost to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. In the meantime, the patriotism of Parliament and the enthusiasm of his subjects

¹ Apparently hired craft.

supplied him with large sums of money, some of which were expended in preparations, but still more of which remained in the coffers of the tenacious monarch, much to his personal advantage.

An occasion soon arose for pleasing the people by dealing a bye-blow at France, while, at the same time benefiting commerce, and obliging the Archduke Maximilian. A subject of the latter, Philip von Kleve-Ravenstein, was in rebellion against his sovereign, and, aided by citizens of Ghent and Bruges, had seized the town of Sluis, and had formed a piratical stronghold there. It is supposed that he was in receipt of some countenance from France, for his master, Maximilian, was, like Henry, on unfriendly terms with Charles, and Philip himself subsequently entered the French service. Be this as it may, it is certain that the pirate chief had done much harm to English trade and shipping in the North Sea, and that for this reason, if for no other, Henry was glad to tender his help to Maximilian against the rebel. A squadron of twelve ships was in consequence fitted out, and the command of it was entrusted to Sir Edward Poynings,¹

Sir Edward cruised at sea for a few days, and then approached Sluis, where he learnt that the place was besieged on the land side by the Elector of Saxony. He therefore blockaded it by water, and attacked it on that side. Its main defences consisted of two towers or castles, which were connected by a bridge of boats. Poynings made attempts on one or other of these castles every day for twenty days in succession; but failed to produce any impression, and suffered considerable losses, until he succeeded, during a night assault, in burning the bridge of boats. This brought about the surrender of the town to the elector, and of the castles to the English. In the course of the siege, a brother of the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Oxford, lost his life.

In the same year (1492), on October 2nd, Henry reached Dover with an army of twenty-five thousand men and sixteen hundred horses, and was transported to Calais, by the aid of a large fleet which had been assembled for the purpose. About October 19th, he laid siege to Boulogne; but he had not been many days before the town ere peace with France was in principle agreed on. Peace

¹ Second son of Robert, 5th and last Lord Poynings under writ of H. Edw. III. He was a lifelong friend of Henry VII. He died in 14 Hen. VIII. a K.G. One of his natural sons, Thomas, was created Baron Poynings in 1545.

was, in fact, signed at Etaples on November 3rd; ¹ and on December 17th, the king returned to London. The chief article in the stipulations was the payment to Henry of the sum of £149,000. Another was that the person calling himself Richard, Duke of York, should receive no more shelter and assistance in France.

This person was in reality one Perkin Warbeck, or Osbeck, supposed to be the son of a Jew of Tournay, but by a few believed to be a natural son of Edward IV. He claimed to be the Prince Richard whom Richard III. is generally charged with having caused to be murdered in the Tower; and in 1492 he appeared as such in Cork, and was so well received there that Charles VIII. of France invited him to Paris. He had previously been recognised by the unscrupulous Margaret of Burgundy. But, as has been seen, the Treaty of Etaples drove him out of France; and he went to his patroness Margaret. His presence in Flanders encouraged a dangerous conspiracy in England; but Henry was ruthless in searching it out and stifling it; and when, on July 7th, 1495, the pretender, furnished by the duchess with a few ships and troops, landed some men near Sandwich, the intruders were at once captured by the country people. This miserable attempt led to the hanging of one hundred and sixty persons.

Warbeck returned to his patroness in Flanders; but the conclusion in February, 1496, of the treaty known as "The Great Intercourse," between England and Burgundy, proved that commercial advantages were stronger and weightier than dynastic considerations. The treaty stipulated for his expulsion; and the pretender went, first to Ireland, and then to Scotland. James IV. welcomed him as the lawful King of England, and gave him in marriage Lady Katherine Gordon, a member of the Scots royal house. Twice Warbeck attempted an invasion from the north. By July, 1497, ² James had grown tired, if not suspicious, of him; and Warbeck, escorted from Scots waters by the celebrated Andrew

¹ 'Fœdera,' xii. 497.

² At about that time there was in Scots waters a considerable English force under Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke, including, besides the king's ships *Regent*, *Mary Fortune*, and *Successstake*, the hired vessels, *Anthony*, of Saltash, *Henry*, of Bristol, *Mary Bird*, of Bristol, *Mary Tower*, of Bristol, *Andrew*, of Plymouth, *Michael*, of Dartmouth, and a bark of Penzance (Augm. Off. bk. 316), as well as, possibly, the *Margaret Bull*, *Hermitage*, *Ellen*, of Calais, *Christopher*, of Calais, *Mary Hastings*, *Peter*, *Anne*, of Malden, *John*, of Hampton, *Gregory Ismay*, *John Custelyn*, and numerous transports. 'Nav. Accts. and Invts.' 1485-88 and 1495-97, pp. xlv., 84-102, 341-343.

Barton, again became a fugitive. He was leading a precarious existence in Ireland, when he was invited by some malcontents of Cornwall and Devonshire to join them. On September 27th, 1497, he accordingly arrived in Whitsand Bay, near Penzance, with four small vessels, and landed with a few followers. He took St. Michael's Mount, gathered as many as three thousand men, and laid siege to Exeter; but on the approach of Giles, Lord Daubeney,¹ with the royal forces, he fled to Taunton, and subsequently to Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, where, on October 5th, he surrendered himself. His life was spared, and he was generously treated, until repeated attempts to escape, and participation in a plot with the Earl of Warwick, led to his execution in 1499.

During the earlier years of the reign of Henry VII. there were fewer examples than might have been expected of piracy and unofficial warfare in the Narrow Seas; and in 1497, the year of Warbeck's surrender, England and France came to an agreement which had the effect of rendering such proceedings less common than ever, especially in time of nominal peace between the two countries. A treaty was signed, in pursuance of which shipowners were required, ere sending their vessels to sea, to furnish good and efficient bail that they would observe the peace.

In the year 1500, the plague then raging in London, the king and his family went to Calais, arriving there on May 8th, and returning about the end of June. Thereafter, until the death of Henry, there were few events which, by any stretch of the imagination, can be associated with naval affairs. The voyages and explorations undertaken during the reign are separately dealt with elsewhere; and it only remains to note that when, in 1506, Philip of Austria, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Castille, and who was on the way, with his queen, from the Netherlands to Spain, was driven by bad weather into Weymouth, and, contrary to the advice of his suite, ventured ashore, he was speciously detained by Henry, under various polite prettexts, until he had consented to a renewal, very advantageous for England, of the treaty of commerce between the two countries,² and had engaged to deliver up Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk,³ who had fled the kingdom, and who, being a nephew of Edward IV., was a possible thorn in Henry's

¹ Sixth Baron Daubeney. He died a K.G. in 1507.

² 'Fœdera,' xiii. 142.

³ Stowe, 484; Holinshed, ii. 793; Bacon's 'Hist. Henry VII.' ii. 350.

side. The duke, on his surrender, was sent to the Tower. The king died at Richmond on April 22nd, 1509.

Henry VIII. came to the throne, a handsome and accomplished young man, in his eighteenth year. He was as able as his father, but in every other respect utterly unlike him. Generous, genial, and fond of amusement and display, he was also intensely ambitious; and, as his treasury was full, and the state of Europe was troubled, he was able to indulge his inclinations.

In the second year of his reign he joined Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian of Germany in the Holy League against Louis XII. of France; and, about the middle of May, dispatched a body of a thousand archers under Thomas, Lord d'Arcy, to co-operate with Ferdinand against the Moors. The expedition left Plymouth, escorted by four men-of-war, and landed at Cadiz on June 1st. Its mere appearance was sufficient to secure the objects for which it had been demanded. The Moors made terms with the king, and the English, dismissed with presents, returned, without fighting, about August.¹

In July of the same year, another force of fifteen hundred men, under Sir Edward Poynings, was sent into Flanders to assist the Duke of Burgundy against the Duke of Gelderland. After effecting the desired ends, it returned with small loss and much honour.²

But by far the most important naval event of 1511 was the action off the Goodwin with the famous Scotsman, Andrew Barton. Barton had obtained from his sovereign letters of marque and reprisals against the Portuguese, who were alleged to have killed his father, and seized his father's ship, and who had afforded no satisfaction for the outrage. Barton had thereupon equipped two vessels, the *Lion*, carrying thirty-six, and the *Jennet Perwynn*, a "pinnace" or tender, carrying thirty guns, if we may trust the popular Elizabethan ballad on the subject.³ The one seems to have had upwards of three hundred, and the other, one hundred and eighty men on board. But, under pretext of cruising against the Portuguese, Barton seized and plundered many neutral vessels, including English ones, under the pretence that they had Portu-

¹ Holinshed, ii. 802; Hall, 11.

² Grafton, 358; Cooper, 274; Stowe, 488.

³ Their gun strength, unless the guns were extremely small, must be greatly exaggerated in the ballad, for the tonnage of the vessels was but 120 and 70 respectively.

guese goods on board ;¹ and complaints on the subject were made to Henry VIII.²

To Lords Thomas and Edward Howard, the two sons of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and subsequently second Duke of Norfolk, was apparently entrusted the duty of dealing with this piratical adventurer. According to the generally received account, they were assigned by the king two ships for the purpose ; but Colliber,³ though he does not say on what authority, states that these young noblemen fitted out two vessels at their own charges.⁴ Lord Edward Howard, the younger of the two brothers, had been knighted for his bravery in the expedition against Kleve-Ravenstein, and, perhaps on account of the experience thus gained, was appointed senior officer.

The brothers fell in with Barton off the Goodwin, brought him to action, and, after a determined struggle, killed him, and captured his vessels.⁵ The ballad has it that they sunk the pinnace with all on board, and took only the *Lion* ; but the fact is that both vessels were added to the English navy.

The ballad mentions Barton's use of a whistle, probably to direct his men ; and adds that Lord Edward Howard, or Sir Edward, as he is commonly called, received as part of his reward Sir Andrew's jewel and chain. Soon afterwards, on August 15th, 1512, Lord Edward⁶ was made Lord High Admiral.⁷ The account of his death, presently to be given, shows that as badge of his rank he wore a gold whistle, besides a chain of gold nobles about his neck ; and it may well be that this whistle was the one which had been taken from Barton, and that the practice, long continued by Lord High Admirals, of wearing a whistle as their ensign of office, commemorated the defeat and death of the noted Scots seaman.

¹ Hall, f. 15 ; Buchanan, xiii. 424, 425 ; Leslie, 'De Reb. Gest. Scot.' viii. 355.

² Surrey, on hearing the complaints, remarked that "The Narrow Seas should not be so infested while he had estate enough to furnish a ship, or a son capable of commanding it." Lloyd's 'State Worthies,' 143.

³ 'Columna Rostrata,' 49.

⁴ Surrey's words quoted in the note above seem to indicate that he fitted out the vessels.

⁵ Stowe, 489, says that the *Lion* struck to Lord Thomas. Herbert's 'Life of Henry VIII.' 7, says that both ships were brought into the Thames on August 2nd, 1511.

⁶ Lord Edward Howard, second son of the Duke of Norfolk. He had served with Sir Edward Poynings in the expedition against Sluis in 1492. Henry VIII. made him his standard-bearer (Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 24). He fell in action, as will be seen. He had married Alice, daughter of William Lovel, Lord Morley.

⁷ Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

The Barton affair caused much ill blood between Scotland and England, and ultimately served as one of the pretexts for the invasion which ended at Flodden Field on September 9th, 1513. Henry's attitude, when James IV. remonstrated, was "that punishing pirates was never held a breach of peace among princes."¹

In 1512, in furtherance of the objects of the Holy League, Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet of twenty vessels, and entrusted it to the command of Lord Edward Howard, whom he had made Lord High Admiral for the purpose.² The immediate mission of this force was to convoy an English army, under the Marquis of Dorset, to co-operate with King Ferdinand in the south of France. The troops were carried in Spanish ships; and the expedition sailed on May 16th, and reached the coast of Guipuscoa on June 8th.³

As soon as the army had been landed, the Lord High Admiral proceeded on a cruise off the coasts of Brittany, where he attacked several places in the neighbourhood of Le Conquêt and Brest, and burnt some shipping.

France had afloat in the same waters a force under Jean de Thénouënél, Admiral of Brittany; another of her admirals, Prégent de Bidoux, was on his way from the Mediterranean with a reinforcement of four large galleys; and a French ship of great force, the *Marie la Cordelière*,⁴ which Anne, Queen of France, had some years before caused to be built at her own cost, had lately been commissioned by a noted Breton seaman, Captain Hervé de Portzmoguer;⁵ and King Henry, conscious that Howard's command was scarcely equal to contending with such a combination, collected twenty-five other vessels at Portsmouth, and, after having himself reviewed them, dispatched them to the assistance of the commander-in-chief.⁶ Among these ships were the *Regent* and the *Sovereign*, the two finest in the service. The former was commanded by Sir Thomas Knyvett,⁷ Master of the Horse, with Sir John Carew as his second; and the latter by Sir Charles

¹ Hall, f. 15b; Drummond, 'Hist. of Five Jameses,' 130.

² Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

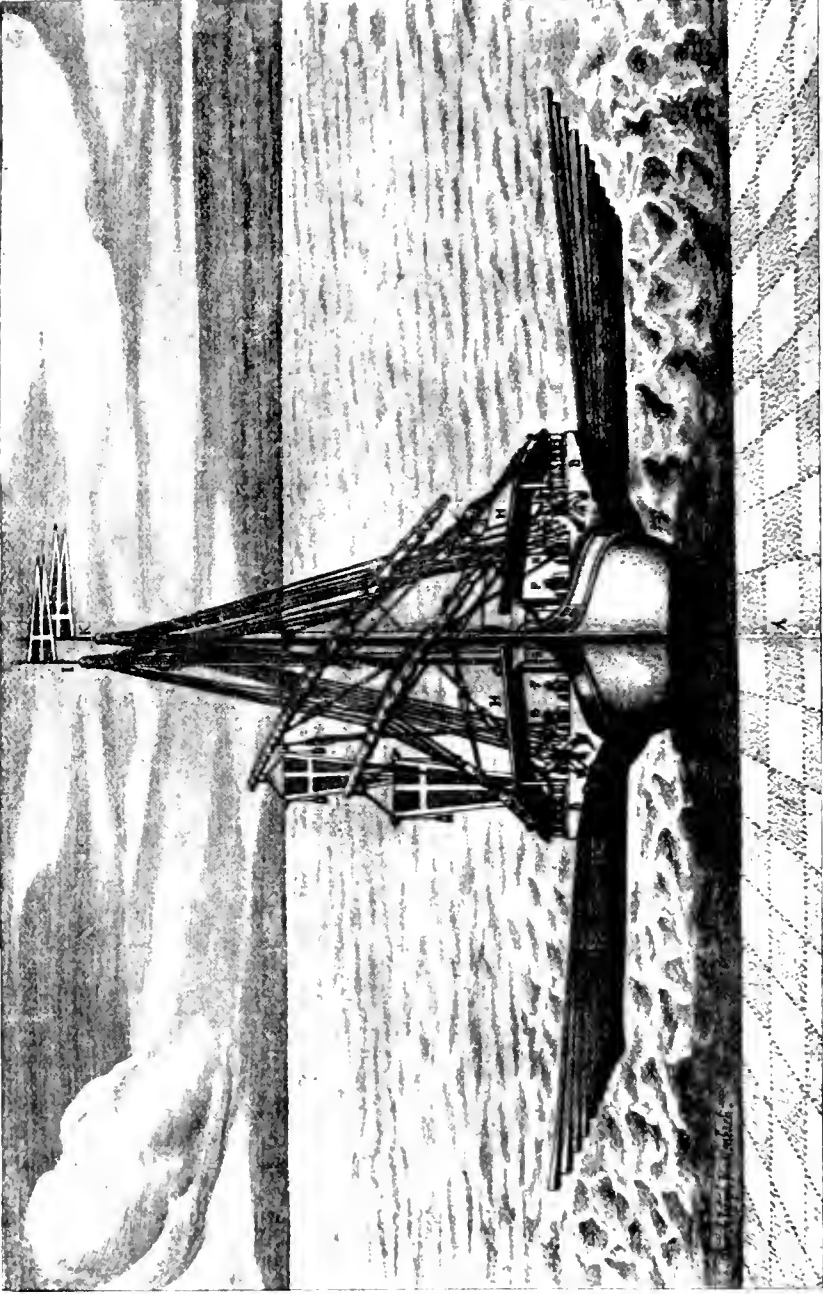
³ Hall, 17; Hist. du Roy. de Navarre (Chappuy), 620.

⁴ Said to have carried 1200 men.

⁵ The name was amusingly Anglicised as "Sir Piers Morgan."

⁶ Holinshed, ii. 815; Hall, 21.

⁷ Sir Thomas Knyvett, of Buckenham, had been made a K.G. in 1509, on the occasion of Henry's coronation. He married Muriel, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and widow of John Grey, Lord Lisle.



[To face page 430.]

A GALLEY.

(From Joseph Furthbach's 'Architectur Navalis,' Ulm, 1855.)

Brandon,¹ with Sir Henry Guildford.² In each case both officers were called captain: so that in the arrangement we may distinguish a foreshadowing of the modern practice of appointing a commander as well as a captain to a large man-of-war. Other captains in the fleet were Sir Anthony Oughtred, Sir Edward Echyngham, and William Sydney.³

Howard, with his reinforced fleet, made the mouth of Camaret Bay on August 10th, just as the French fleet of thirty-nine sail was coming out. Grafton, his spelling modernised, shall continue the story.

“When the Englishmen,” he says, “perceived the French navy to be out of Brest Haven, then the Lord Admiral was very joyous: then every man prepared according to his duty, the archers to shoot, the gunners to loose, the men of arms to fight. The pages went to the topcastle with darts. Thus, all things being provided and set in order, the Englishmen approached towards the Frenchmen, which came fiercely forward, some leaving his anchor, some with his foresail only, to take the most advantage; and when they were in sight, they shot ordnance so terribly together that all the sea coast sounded of it. The Lord Admiral made with the great ship of Dieppe, and chased her still. Sir Henry Guildford and Sir Charles Brandon, being in the *Sovereign*, made with the great carrack of Brest” (*Marie la Cordelière*) “and lay stem to stem with the carrack; but by negligence of the master, or else by smoke of the ordnance, or otherwise, the *Sovereign* was cast at the stern of the carrack, with which advantage the Frenchmen shouted for joy: but when Sir Thomas Knivvett, which was ready to have boarded the great ship of Dieppe, saw that the *Sovereign* had missed the carrack which Sir Henry Oughtred chased hard at the stern and bowged” (rammed) “her in divers places, and set afire her powder as some say, suddenly the *Regent* grappled with her along board: and when they of the carrack perceived that they could not depart, they let slip an anchor, and so with the stream the ships turned, and the carrack was on the weather side, and the *Regent* on the lee side. The fight was very cruel, for the archers of the English part, and the crossbows of the French part, did their uttermost: but, for all that, the Englishmen entered the carrack, which seeing, a varlet gunner, being desperate, put fire in the gunpowder, as others say, and set the whole ship of fire, the flame whereof set fire in the *Regent*; and so these two noble ships, which were so grappled together that they could not part, were consumed by fire. The French navy, perceiving this, fled in all haste, some to Brest, and some to the isles adjoining. The English, in manner dismayed, sent out boats to help them in the *Regent*; but the fire was so great that no man dared approach; saying that, by the *James*, of Hull, were certain Frenchmen that could swim saved. This burning of the carrack was happy for the French navy, or else they had been better assailed of the Englishmen, which were so amazed with this chance that they followed them not. The captain of this carrack was Sir Piers Morgan, and with him nine hundred men

¹ Created Viscount Lisle in 1513, and Duke of Suffolk in 1514. He was also a K.G. He died in 1545.

² Son of Sir Richard Guildford, of Hemsted, who had been Master of the Ordnance under Henry VII. Sir Henry died a K.G., 23 Henry VIII.

³ Sydney, who was knighted at about this time, became chamberlain and steward to Henry VIII, and died at the end of the reign of Edward VI.

slain and dead. And with Sir Thomas Knyvett and Sir John Carew, seven hundred men drowned and burnt; and that night all the Englishmen lay in Bartraun" (Bertheaume) "Bay, for the French fleet was dispersed as you have heard."

Such was the English account. As might be expected, the French accounts bore a somewhat different complexion; and it is perhaps but fair to append Monsieur Guérin's summary of them, although it must be premised that he attributes the battle to a wrong year,¹ that in some other particulars, his story is demonstrably incorrect, and that the entire description is obviously rather picturesque than historical in its mode of expression.

"The English fleet," he says, "appeared on August 10th off Saint Mahé or Saint Mathieu, at the extremity of the peninsula of Brittany. The French fleet, which was chiefly composed of Norman and Breton vessels, was inferior in number by one-half, and, moreover, believing the enemy to be well occupied in Picardy, was taken unawares. The presence of mind of the leaders compensated for the awkwardness of the moment; their courage and that of their men took the place of numbers. The French fleet, which Prément de Bidoux had hurried to join with his galleys,² was careful to retain the advantage of the wind, and it paid its attention solely to boarding, smashing or sinking about half the enemy's vessels. In the midst of this general French attack, there was to be noted above all others a large and beautiful carrack, decorated superbly, and as daintily as a queen. She, of herself, had already sunk almost as many hostile vessels as all the rest of the fleet; and now she found herself surrounded by twelve of the principal English ships, which had combined all their efforts against her. She was the *Marie la Cordelière*, which Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, had caused to be built at great cost at Morlaix, and the command of which she had entrusted to the gallant Portzmoguer, the worthiest Breton captain of his day. The *Cordelière*, alone among so many foes, struggled with a courage which was almost miraculous. Of the twelve vessels surrounding her, she put several out of action and drove off some more. A large English ship, commanded by Sir Charles Brandon, had been completely dismasted by the gun-fire of the *Cordelière*, whose triumph was on the point of being assured, when, from the top of a hostile vessel, there was flung into her a mass of fireworks, the flame from which instantly took hold of her. Some of the soldiers and seamen were able to save themselves in boats, but Captain Portzmoguer, after having given every one the option of relinquishing a fight which now seemed hopeless, declined, in spite of the entreaties of his people, to avail himself of the chance, open to him also, of saving his life. His life was entirely bound up with the existence of the vessel which had been so specially entrusted to him by the queen: the one was to end with the other. Suddenly the *Cordelière* sighted the *Regent*, of 1000 tons, in which Thomas Knyvett, squire to Henry VIII., fulfilled the functions of vice-admiral of England; and, like a floating volcano, bore down, a huge incendiary torch, upon her, pitilessly grappled her, and wound her in her own flaming robe. The powder magazine of the *Regent* blew up, and with it the hostile ship, her commander, and thousands of burnt and mangled limbs went into the air; while the *Cordelière*, satisfied, and still proud amid the disaster, blew up also, and, a whirl of fire and smoke, vanished beneath the waves, like her immortal Captain Portzmoguer,

¹ 1513, as Daniel and other French historians also do.

² It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Prément did join at all that year.

who from a top had thrown himself, fully armed, into the sea. The ships of Dieppe were in great danger, when they were very opportunely succoured by three or four Breton ships belonging to Croisic, which made chase after the enemy. The English fleet took to flight, and was followed up as far as the coast of England."

Portzmoguer appears in many French histories as "Primoguet"; and Hubert Veille, the continuator of Robert Gaguin, latinises him as Primangaius. The fight of the *Cordelière*, like that of the *Vengeur* in 1794, and of our own *Revenge* in 1591, has, thanks to patriotism, poetry, and vulgar tradition, been clouded over with the rosy mists of myth, and has become a naval legend. So much so is this the case that, although the French fleet in modern days has always included a vessel supposed to be named after the gallant captain of the *Cordelière*, he is commemorated, not as Portzmoguer, but as Primauguet.

Little or nothing was done during the winter, it being then and long afterwards the opinion of naval officers that it was almost madness to attempt to keep fleets of heavy ships at sea between the end of autumn and the beginning of spring.¹ But in March, 1513, the Lord High Admiral sailed again for the coasts of Brittany, with forty-two men-of-war, besides small craft. Among his captains were Sir John Wallop,² Sir Thomas Cheyne, Lord Ferrers,³ Sir Henry Sherburn, Sir William Sydney, Sir William Fitz-William,⁴ Sir Edward Echyngham, Sir Richard Cromwell, Stephen Bull, Compton, and others. The immediate object of the expedition seems to have been to clear the seas in order to permit Henry himself to pass over to France and personally conduct the campaign there.

Upon arriving off Brest, Lord Edward learnt that the French fleet lay within ready to sail, and awaiting only the appearance from the Mediterranean of the galleys⁵ under Prigent de Bidoux. He blockaded the enemy, who, to protect himself, threw up batteries on each side of the harbour, and drew across it four-and-twenty hulks

¹ This was the view even of Sir Cloudisley Shovell at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

² Sir John Wallop was made a K.G. in 1544. He died in the fifth year of Edward VI.

³ Sir Walter Devereux, K.G. He was the third Baron Ferrers, and in 1550 was created Viscount Hereford.

⁴ Son of Sir Thomas Fitz-William, Kt., was knighted after the siege of Tournay, and was wounded off Brest in the action of 1513. In 1536 he was made Lord High Admiral and Earl of Southampton. He died a K.G. in 1543.

⁵ As noted above, they do not appear to have arrived in 1512.

chained together.¹ The English fleet entered Le Goulet, the narrow mouth of the harbour, and, manning its boats, made a feint as if to attempt a landing. This brought down the French in great numbers to the shore; and while the admiral held them there, he advanced farther into the harbour, and landed a force on the peninsula of Plougastel, opposite the town. Bodies of men ravaged the country between the rivers Landerneau and Aven; but, owing to the lack of stores and provisions in the fleet, the operations could not then be followed up. Howard, however, continued to hold Le Goulet, and to blockade the port. These events took place in the first and second weeks of April.

The expected stores were meanwhile on their way, under the convoy of Sir Edward Echyngham, who, in a letter preserved in the Cottonian Library, has left an account of his proceedings. He left England on Wednesday, April 13th, and almost immediately sighted a vessel which he recognised as French, and which he chased until she made for the coast of Friesland. On Thursday, the following day, he sighted fifteen sail, which proved to be Spanish, and which appear to have joined company with him. On the morning of the 15th he fell in with three French ships and prepared for action, making arrangements to protect his people with cables and mattresses, encouraging his men, and getting ready his morris pikes and other weapons. Observing his good countenance, the French fled, making for Fécamp, under the walls of which Echyngham chased them. When beyond pursuit they fired at him. On the 16th the wind was S.S.W. Nothing particular happened on the two following days; but on the 19th, at 10 A.M., while chasing a Breton ship and some transports, Echyngham discovered several French galleys among the rocks. The chased transports were two miles from the galleys. The Spaniards are reported to have been extremely terrified on this occasion. Presently Echyngham sighted the masts of other ships, and, approaching them, found, when he had made about ten miles, that they were those of the English fleet in Brest Harbour. He went on board the Admiral, who received him very cordially; for the stores which he brought were sadly needed, the English, for the previous ten days, having been reduced to a single meal a day.

The French galleys which Echyngham had observed must have been those of Prégent de Bidoux from the Mediterranean. Four

¹ Holinshed, ii. 816.

had originally started, but there were now six; and with them were four "foists" or tenders. Echyngham, of course, reported to Howard what he had seen, but no steps seem to have been then taken to deal with Prégent; and the omission had serious consequences; for on Friday, the 22nd, Prégent, with his galleys and tenders, made a dash at part of the English fleet, probably with the idea of joining his friends at Brest, or of forcing the raising of the blockade. He sank the vessel commanded by Compton, and so severely damaged another ship commanded by Stephen Bull, that she narrowly escaped foundering. One of the tenders was taken by the English boats; and Prégent, apparently baffled for the time, went into Blanc-sablon Bay, where he remained throughout Saturday, the 23rd, placing his squadron between the two islets at the mouth of the bay, and fortifying both.

On the night of Saturday he intended to disembark six thousand men on the little peninsula between the bays of Blanc-sablon and Le Conquêt, so as to take the galleys in the rear, but the movements of the enemy caused him to abandon his design and to take his fleet back to Le Goulet, it appearing to him that an effort was to be made to throw supplies into the town of Brest.

On St. Mark's Day, Monday the 25th, Howard determined to essay an attack upon the galleys, which were so situated that they could not be approached at all by large vessels, and that the batteries on the rocks commanded the approach of even boats. Captains Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Sydney, with Lord Ferrers, were associated with him in the hazardous venture; and two small galleys, two large barges and two boats formed the cutting-out force, which advanced to the attack at about 4 P.M.¹

Howard, in the galley which he personally commanded, got alongside the galley of Prégent. He had told off fifteen men to fling into the French vessel his own anchor, so as to hold her, and to make fast the cable of it to his own capstan, with directions that if the French ships caught fire, the cable was to be cut; but either the cable was at once cut by the enemy, or the Englishmen failed to carry out their orders; for, as Howard, followed by a Spaniard named Charrau and sixteen others, clambered into the forecastle of Prégent's ship, his own craft swung clear and drifted away, leaving

¹ Du Bellay, i.; Herbert, 13; 'Reg. of Garter' (Anstis), ii. 275; Duplex, iii. See also Stowe, Speed, and Godwin.

the admiral and his gallant companions fighting for their lives. At the instant of boarding, Charrau, who had forgotten his pistol, sent a servant back for it. When the man had found it he was unable to rejoin his master owing to the distance between the vessels. The admiral and his followers were quickly driven overboard by the pikes of the Frenchmen, and nearly all were drowned. Charrau's servant saw the admiral swimming, and hailing his galley to come to him. When he saw that he could not be saved, he took off his chain of gold nobles and his gold whistle of office, and threw them from him, so that the insignia of an English admiral, even after his death, might not fall into the hands of the enemy. After that he disappeared.

A second English craft came up, but her commander being killed, she retired. Cheyne, Wallop, Sydney and Sherburn all arrived not long afterwards; and the two latter boarded Prégent and did him some damage; but, seeing that the other vessels had withdrawn, and not knowing that the Lord High Admiral had ever quitted his galley, they also withdrew and rejoined the fleet.

For a short time Howard's fate was in doubt. To ascertain it, Cheyne, Cromwell, and Wallop presently went ashore in a boat under a flag of truce; and, upon hearing of their arrival, Prégent rode down on horseback to meet them. He assured them that his only prisoner was a seaman, but added that an officer with a gilt shield on his arm had boarded him, and had been thrust into the sea by the pikes; and that the prisoner declared this officer to have been the English admiral.

Lord Ferrers, in the second English galley, had engaged the other French vessels, but, after expending all his powder and shot and two hundred sheafs of arrows, saw that the admiral's galley had relinquished the combat, and followed it out of action.

On Saturday, April 30th, the fleet, in mourning, reached Plymouth; and on the following day it disembarked its sick, two of whom, according to Echyngam,¹ fell dead as they landed.

Echyngam makes some suggestive comments on this lamentable disaster. He says that after Howard's death it was the unanimous wish of the fleet that the king would send it a commander who, in addition to noble birth, should possess wisdom and firmness, and who should make himself equally loved and feared, no fleet having ever been more in need of a man who would keep it in good order.

¹ Upon whose letter the above account is chiefly based.

To do better in the future against the French, there must be brave captains and better seamen; the rowers must be chained to their benches; there must be plenty of archers; and those who should distinguish themselves must be rewarded, and those who should fail in their duty, punished. These expressions seem to imply that Howard, brave and able though he certainly was, had suffered the discipline of the fleet to deteriorate; that some, at least, of the captains had disappointed expectations; that the seamen were inefficient; that the rowers had abandoned their posts; and that these and other shortcomings had not been duly punished. It may well be that such were the facts. Yet Howard's devotion and gallant death deserve to be remembered.

Lord Thomas Howard,¹ who had but recently returned from the expedition to Picardy, was at once² appointed Lord High Admiral, in succession to his younger brother, and took the sea within a very few weeks; but, in the meantime, Prégent de Bidoux had followed up his success, landing some men in Sussex and ravaging the country. During the course of this raid he lost an eye. Lord Thomas Howard chased him back to Brest, then returned to convoy the king and a large army in four hundred vessels to Calais, and on July 1st, 1513, landed at Blanc-sablon Bay and pillaged the adjacent country in revenge for Prégent's raid upon Sussex.³ Thence he hurriedly returned to co-operate against the Scots, who were endeavouring by an invasion of England to get satisfaction for the death of Andrew Barton. Howard, who had been so intimately concerned in that affair, commanded the van of the English army when it crushed the invaders at Flodden Field on September the 9th.⁴ In the following year, the Lord High Admiral, for his various services, was created Earl of Surrey.

In 1514, Prégent again made a descent upon Sussex, and burnt Brighton, or, as it was then and long afterwards called, Brighthelmstone. Sir John Wallop was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the retaliatory measures, and he did it thoroughly, landing in Normandy and burning twenty-one towns and villages ere he withdrew. This was one of the last operations of the war of the

¹ Later, Earl of Surrey, was eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, whom he succeeded. He died 1554, aged 66.

² On May 4th, 1513.

³ Hall, 246; Godwin, 12, 13; Stowe, 491.

⁴ Grafton, 984; Speed, 755.

Holy League, and for about seven years following there was peace with France.

The naval events of the peace were neither numerous nor important, the most striking of them being, perhaps, the transport by Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitz-William of Henry VIII. to Calais in 1520 to meet Francis I. of France on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Some notice of the ships engaged on that occasion will be found in the previous chapter.

The war recommenced in 1522, England again allying herself with the emperor. Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitz-William was at once sent to sea with a fleet of twenty-eight sail to protect English commerce and annoy French trade, which he effectually did. Another squadron of seven ships went to the Firth of Forth, and, as a precautionary measure, burnt such Scots vessels as lay there. A little later, on June 8th, a great compliment was paid to England and to her Lord High Admiral, by Surrey's appointment as commander-in-chief of the combined fleets of England and the Empire. The emperor's patent to Surrey, signed in London, after reciting that Henry had fitted out a fleet "under the command of the most illustrious Thomas, Earl of Surrey, our most dear cousin, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine," and that it had been determined that the English and Imperial fleets were to act together, and that one captain-general was better than many, gave the command of the whole to the said Admiral of England, he to exercise exactly the same power and authority over the Imperial as over his own fleet.

Sailing immediately after the receipt of this patent, Surrey, with the combined fleet, appeared off Cherbourg, and, landing on June 13th, executed a rapid raid on the neighbouring country. After having returned to Portland, he recrossed the Channel, and on July 1st, landed near Morlaix, and took and sacked that town. He also burnt seventeen sail of French ships, and then carried a great amount of booty¹ to Southampton, leaving Sir William Fitz-William to cruise in the Channel. At Southampton, Surrey found the emperor waiting for a passage to Spain. His majesty and suite embarked on board the fleet on July 6th and were conveyed without mishap to Santander.

¹ Including, apparently, the ships later taken into the navy, as the *Bark of Morlaix*, *Mary Grove*, and *Bark of Boulogne*. Roy. MSS. 14, Bk. xxii. A.

In this and the following year, the Lord High Admiral served on land as well as afloat, and was continuously and very arduously employed. It was probably owing to his many preoccupations, and to the fact that he had to provide for the transport to France of an army of thirteen thousand men in August, 1523, that he did not cruise during that summer. Sir William Fitz-William commanded the main fleet of thirty-six vessels; and Anthony Poyntz¹ was entrusted with an inferior, yet still considerable, squadron which cruised to the westward.

Fitz-William's orders were, if possible, to intercept John, Duke of Albany, who, after having been Admiral of France, had become Regent of Scotland, and who had collected in France a large force with which he intended to enter Scotland, or to invade England. The vice-admiral was so fortunate as to meet a Scoto-French division of twelve vessels which had on board, among other dignitaries, the Archbishop of Glasgow. He took two² of these ships and chased the rest into Boulogne and Dieppe, off which places he left small blockading squadrons. With the rest of his fleet he ravaged the French coast, took and burnt Tréport, destroyed many vessels, and captured much booty; but he returned prematurely to England; and Albany, who had recognised the futility of attempting to cross the sea while Fitz-William was active there, and who had laid up his ships and quartered his troops ashore, no sooner learnt of the withdrawal of the vice-admiral than he quickly re-manned his vessels, sent his troops on board, and sailing with great promptitude, landed in Scotland on September 24th.³

In the same year, one Duncan Campbell, described as a Scots pirate, was, according to Holinshed, taken after a long fight by John Arundel of Cornwall.

Peace was made with France in 1525; and thenceforward for many years, few naval events of sufficient importance to demand notice occurred. On July 16th, 1525, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son of the king by Elizabeth Blount, later, wife of Sir Gilbert Baron Tailbois, was, though only about nine years of age,⁴ appointed Lord High Admiral in supercession of Surrey, who

¹ Afterwards knighted. Seems to have been High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1522 and 1527, and to have died 26 Hen. VIII.

² Possibly including the one which was added to the navy as the *John of Greenwich*.

³ Drummond, 180; Buchanan, xiv. 448; Leslie, 'De Reb. Gest. Scot.' ix. 406, 407.

⁴ He was already a K.G.

had succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1524; but when Richmond died in 1536, the office was more deservedly conferred upon Sir William Fitz-William, K.G.,¹ who, in the following year was made Earl of Southampton and Lord Privy Seal, being already Treasurer of the Household and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At the end of 1539, Southampton, with a fleet of sixty sail, escorted Anne of Cleves to England. This was almost his last naval service. In 1540 he was succeeded as Lord High Admiral by John, Lord Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford;² and he in turn was succeeded on January 27th, 1543, by John Dudley, Lord Lisle, who subsequently became Earl of Warwick and then Duke of Northumberland, and who was the father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey.

The year 1544 found Henry VIII. again in alliance with the emperor, and again at war with France and Scotland. Lisle, with a considerable fleet,³ picked up at the mouth of the Tyne a convoy of two hundred transports laden with troops under the Earl of Hereford, and escorted them to the Forth, where the army was landed near Leith on May 5th.⁴ Edinburgh was taken and sacked, but the castle held out so stoutly that the English withdrew, and the fleet returned to the south ravaging and plundering the Scots coasts on its way. Later in the year the Earl of Lennox, father of Lord Darnley, who had temporarily joined the English party, manifested his zeal by heading a squadron of twelve or fourteen ships, with which he harassed Arran, Bute and Argyll. He brought back much spoil to Bristol, and then made a second raid with a smaller force.

More important operations were undertaken in France. Henry in person landed at Calais on July 14th, and took the field with an army of thirty thousand men. He laid siege to Boulogne, Lord Lisle at the same time blockading it by sea; and on September 14th the place surrendered.⁵

Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was appointed vice-admiral, and directed on October 29th,⁶ 1544, to take command of a fleet for the conveyance of a quantity of stores to the

¹ He assumed office on August 16th, 1536.

² He assumed office on July 18th, 1540.

³ Speed, 782; Stowe, 585; Leslie, 'De Reb. Gest. Scot.' x. 472. Sir William Wynter was in this fleet.

⁴ At Leith were taken the *Unicorn* and *Salamander*, which were added to the navy.

⁵ 'Fœdera,' xv. 52; Hall, 258*b*; Holinshed, ii. 364.

⁶ S. P. Dom. 1544.

newly captured fortress, and, after having accomplished that service, to lie in mid-Channel, and, "if opportunity may serve thereunto, appoint a convenient number of the small shallops and other small vessels to pass in the River Estaples" (the Canche) "and there burn and bring away such vessels of the enemy as may be there found, or do other such annoyance to the enemy as the time will serve." If the ships in the Canche could not be attacked, other annoyance might be caused on the coasts of Normandy. Finally, after leaving a certain number of ships to cruise in the Channel, Seymour was to return to Portsmouth for more supplies for Boulogne.

Seymour proceeded at once, and on November 6th¹ wrote from off Dover to the Privy Council that he had quitted the mouth of the Orwell in a fog; that he had learnt of seventeen men-of-war being at Etaples; that the place was difficult to approach, and more difficult to get out of; and that he begged to be allowed to operate instead upon the coasts of Brittany.

Permission to attack Brittany was given, provided Boulogne was first attended to, and fourteen ships were left to guard the Narrow Seas;² but, in the meanwhile, Seymour was driven from Dover by a gale. He tried to make Boulogne, but was carried too far to the westward; and then, hearing that seventeen sail of the enemy lay in Dieppe, and seventeen more in the Seine, determined to attack them. But the gale veered to E.S.E., and he was obliged to abandon his design. With much difficulty, and with the loss of all his boats, he reached the shelter of the Isle of Wight.³

Henry wrote angrily to Seymour on November 13th; but the sailor returned a straightforward explanation,⁴ and the king was satisfied.⁵ The supplies, however, did not go to Boulogne that winter.

This loss of the valuable fortress spurred France to great exertions. Francis I. concentrated his whole available western fleet on the coasts of Normandy under Claude d'Annebaut, Baron de Retz and Admiral of France, and reinforced it in 1545 with twenty-

¹ S. P. Dom. i. 772.

² *Ib.*, i. 773.

³ *Ib.*, i. 774.

⁴ *Ib.* i. 778. A transport, with 259 out of 300 souls on board, was lost. Another transport, under Sir Henry Seymour, went ashore at Dartmouth, but her people were all saved except three.

⁵ Pat. Rolls, 36 Hen. VIII. 23, where Seymour is given a grant of land on January 16th, 1545.

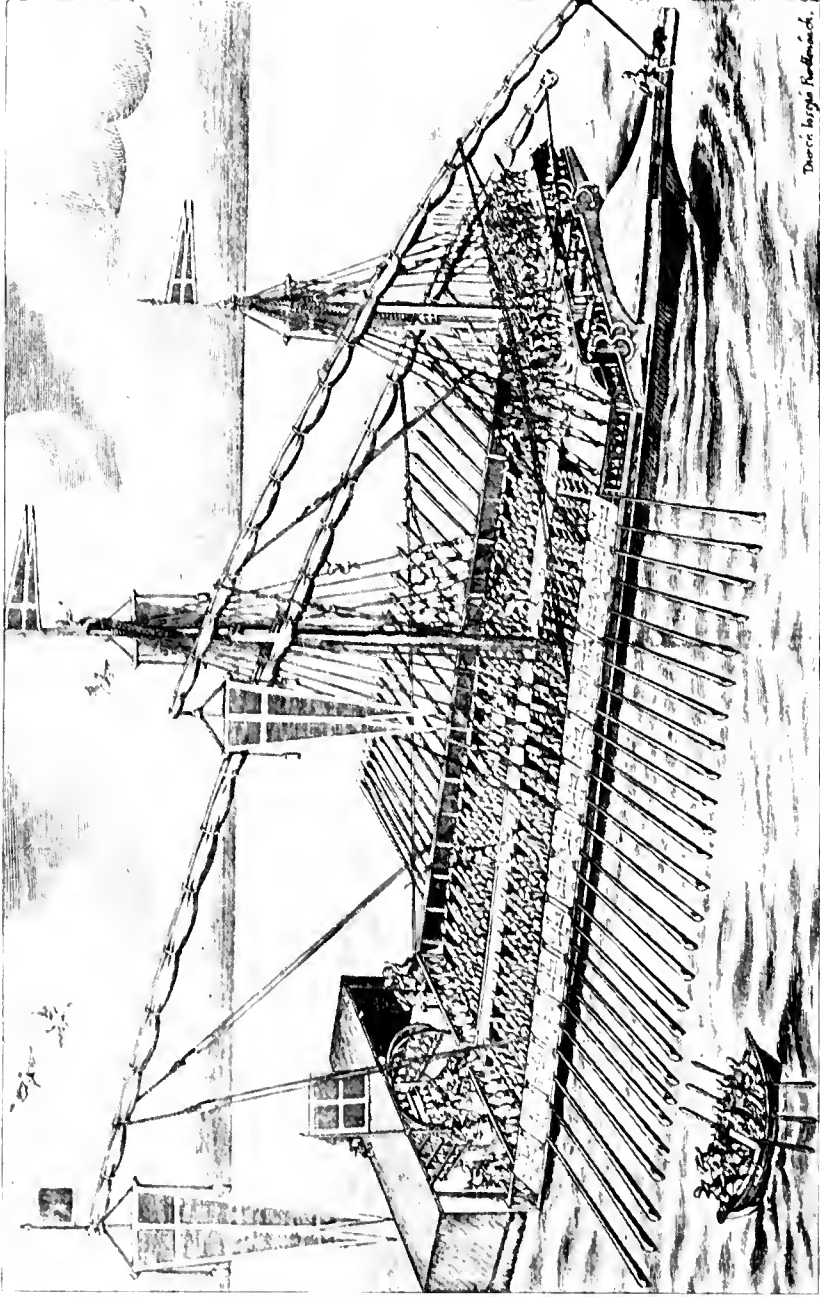
five galleys from the Mediterranean under Polain,¹ Baron de la Garde, and Strozzi, Prior of Capua. Second in command under D'Annebaut was Vice-Admiral de Moüy de la Meilleraye. Polain's own galley was the largest and strongest built up to that time, and was remarkable as having five slaves to each oar. Previous galleys had never had more than four. This combined fleet was directed to take station so as to prevent English supplies from being thrown into Boulogne, which Francis purposed to besiege by land.

In the meantime, English cruisers and privateers captured many richly laden vessels; and wine and fish became drugs in the markets of London. Holinshed, quoting Stowe, also mentions that the English fleet under Lord Lisle looked into the mouth of the Seine where the French fleet lay, and exchanged some shot with it, so inducing the galleys to come out; but that, it beginning to blow, both parties drew off, the galleys because they made very bad weather of it, and Lord Lisle because he had not sufficient sea room among the shoals. The latter returned to Portsmouth.

D'Annebaut, while waiting for Polain, had collected from between Montreuil and Bayonne all the merchantmen and privateers which he could lay hands upon, and had got together an enormous fleet, which, when Lord Lisle saw it in June, numbered two hundred sail without the galleys. Du Bellay says that when it sailed it consisted of one hundred and fifty large ships, fifty vessels of smaller burden, and twenty-five galleys: and although some modern French writers admit only forty-eight ships, fifty smaller craft, and twenty-five galleys, they do not appear to be able to give any good authority for their figures. Francis, not being yet ready to begin the siege of Boulogne, ordered this large force to attack Portsmouth. The English fleet at anchor at or off Portsmouth included only sixty sail, apart from small craft.

The various divisions of the French fleet sailed simultaneously from Le Havre, Honfleur, Harfleur, and other ports in the estuary of the Seine, on July 6th. Francis I. had gone to Le Havre to watch them put to sea, and had intended to give a grand banquet on board the flagship *Caraquon*, 800 tons, while some of the other ships were moving out. Owing to the negligence of the cooks, the

¹ This distinguished seaman's real name was Antoine Escalin. For some unknown reason, he was nicknamed Polain (young horse) or Le Poulin. He was born about 1498 of poor and humble parents at La Garde, in Dauphiné. He gained his rank of captain in an infantry regiment, and always was known as Captain Polain, even when he had attained the highest commands. (Life by Richer, and by Turpin.)



(To face page 482)

A GALLEY.

(From Joseph Forttenbach's 'Architectura Navalis'. Plin. 1865.)

ship caught fire, and the flames could not be extinguished. The galleys managed to approach and take off the treasure which had been placed on board for the payment of the seamen and troops. The king, his suite, and some of the ship's company were also saved. But in consequence of the heating of the guns, which were loaded, the galleys were soon obliged to pull clear to avoid the shot, and numbers of people perished miserably.¹

Arrived off the Isle of Wight on July 18th, D'Annebaut sent Polain with four galleys to reconnoitre the situation of the English fleet which still lay within, and which had for the time completely surrendered the command of the sea. Fourteen English vessels weighed with a very light land wind, and stood out of harbour as if to cut off the galleys, which fell back upon the advancing body of the French. Thereupon, the rest of the English ships weighed and went slowly out; and an interchange of shot at long range ensued, no particular damage however being done on either side. The English manœuvred to draw the enemy among the shallows on the Spit Sand and under the guns of the defences of the town; but D'Annebaut was too wary to be thus caught, and, as night came on, retired to St. Helen's Road, where he found that his largest ship, the *Maitresse*, was making so much water that he had to send her back to Le Havre to be docked.

During the night D'Annebaut rearranged his order of battle, dividing his larger ships into three squadrons, with himself in command of thirty vessels in the centre; De Boutières with thirty-six vessels on the right, and Baron de Curton with thirty-six vessels on the left. The galleys under Polain were ordered to approach the English in the morning, and attempt to induce them, by firing at them, to follow the French to sea. But it would seem that these orders were not carried out very early.

On the 19th, King Henry was with Lord Lisle in the *Henry Grace à Dieu* when the first movement of the enemy was noticed, and he at once ordered an attack and went ashore. In moving out the *Mary Rose*, of 500 tons, being very low in the water, heeled so much when her helm was put hard over, that the sills of her open lower ports, only 16 inches out of the water ere she heeled at all, were submerged.² She rapidly filled and sank, carrying down with

¹ Guérin, ii. 60, 61.

² Oppenheim, 'Admin. of Royal Navy,' 66, says, referring to this statement, which comes from Raleigh, "There is the great improbability that, after at least fifty years'

her her captain, Sir George Carew, and all hands, except about thirty-five persons. This awful catastrophe was witnessed from the shore, not only by the king, but also by Lady Carew, the wife of the gallant and unhappy commander.¹

French historians are almost unanimous in asserting that the *Mary Rose* was sunk in action, some, as Du Bellay, attributing the result to gun-shot, and others, as Guérin and other modern writers, claiming the ship as the victim of the galleys of Polain. There is not a shadow of doubt that she perished as has been related, before she had an opportunity of getting into action.

The wind was too light to enable the English ships to manœuvre properly; and, as the French galleys did not depend upon wind, they were able to inflict a certain amount of annoyance, especially upon the *Henry Grace à Dieu*. But the armed boats of the fleet and the row-barges made a good fight with the enemy until, late in the day, the wind freshened. The galleys were then driven off, and, had not D'Annebaut moved to their assistance, would have suffered heavily. No serious effort, however, was made to engage the main force of the French; and once more the English spent a night among the shoals.

On July 20th, the French landed men at three separate places in the Isle of Wight and plundered some villages, but were easily driven off. Soon afterwards the whole fleet withdrew, coasting as far as Dover, landing at Brighton and Newhaven, but being repulsed there; and then crossing to Boulogne, near which place D'Annebaut put ashore four thousand soldiers and three thousand workmen to assist in the long-deferred siege.

An easterly wind presently drove D'Annebaut from off Boulogne, and obliged him to anchor near the English coast, probably somewhere off the Sussex shore. By that time Lord Lisle, his fleet reinforced to one hundred sail, was cruising in the Channel, and, on August 15th, sighted the enemy to leeward. D'Annebaut had

experience of gunports, they should have been cut so low, since she (the *Mary Rose*) had been rebuilt in or before 1536. Moreover, Anthony's drawings show them to have been pierced very much higher in other vessels." The 'Life of Sir Peter Carew,' in fact, attributes the disaster to the insubordination and disorder which reigned on board. Yet still, the port-sills may have been low, and even lower than normal, and so may have conduced to the accident. When the *Duke of Wellington* left Spithead during the Russian war, her lower port-sills, owing to the extra men and stores on board, were little more above water than those of the *Mary Rose* are alleged to have been.

¹ 'Life of Sir Peter Carew' (Macleau), 34.

Polain's Gallies attacking

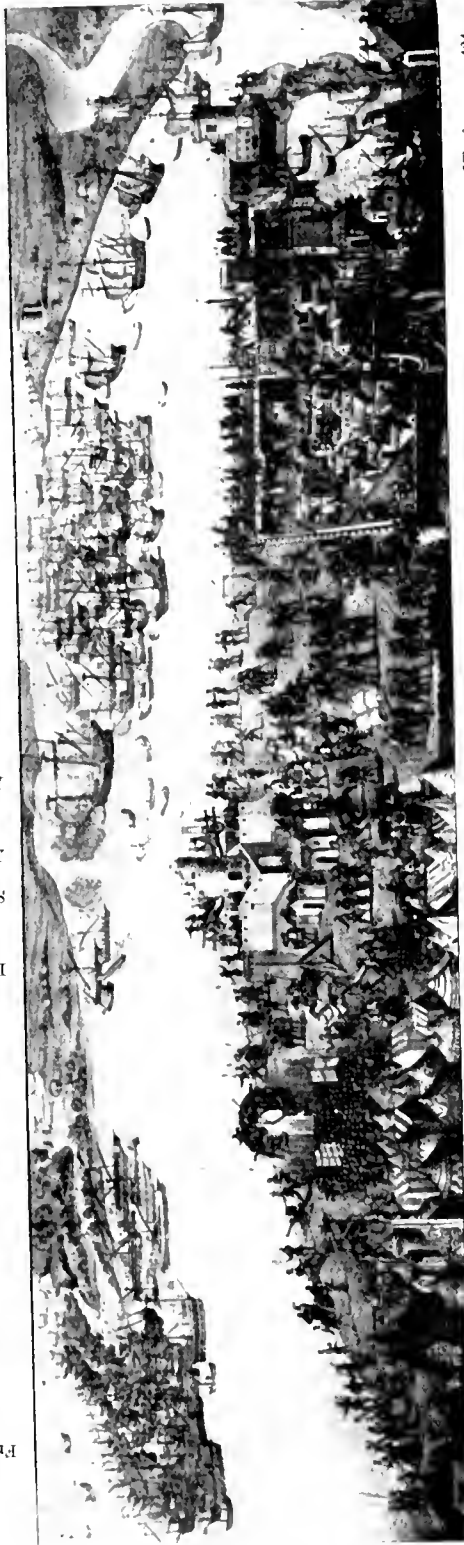
Southsea Castle.

Mary Rose, sunk.

Henry Grace à Dieu.

Gilliker.

French Fleet



[To face page 464.

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ENGLISH FORCES NEAR PORTSMOUTH, JULY 19th, 1545.

Showing the Commencement of the Action with the French Fleet.

(From the Engraving after the Contemporary Painting formerly at Combray, Sisser.)

already weighed, and most of the day was spent in manœuvring for the weather gauge¹ which the English eventually lost; whereupon the galleys under Polain attacked, but were not properly supported by their consorts; and, the wind increasing considerably towards night, the galleys knocked about so much and shipped so many seas that they were in danger not less of foundering than of being taken. The skill of Polain, the best galley commander of his age, saved them; and although firing continued until dark, little damage was done on either side. This does not prevent Du Bellay from declaring that in the morning the French saw a number of dead bodies and much wreckage floating on the water. Night separated the combatants. The English returned to Portsmouth, and the French, who had undoubtedly gained the honours of the affray, went to Le Havre.

The indignities thus put upon England were in part revenged by Lisle, who, crossing to the coast of Normandy, landed 6000 men near Tréport on September 2nd, defeated the French forces opposed to him, burnt the town, the abbey, and thirty ships in harbour, losing only fourteen men, and went back unmolested to Spithead.

All this time the plague was raging to a terrible extent in Lisle's fleet. The number of men who returned from Tréport was 12,000. This was about the 4th or 5th of September. Some were subsequently discharged, but it is clear from the tone of a letter written on September 11th by Lisle, Seymour, and Lord St. John² (who reported that thirteen out of thirty-four ships were then infected) that the disease was very virulent; and musters taken on the 12th showed that only 8488 men remained fit for duty.³ This number was on that day further reduced by discharges to 6445, a number far too small for the exigencies of the service, even on the brink of winter, for as Lisle and St. John lamented, "the men fall daylie sick."⁴

The discharges, however, were very necessary. Russell, writing to the Council from Exeter on August 22nd, when the fleet was still fully manned, said, alluding to the Devon and Dorset fishermen, "Many of them, or the most part, are taken from hence as mariners to serve the king, and all the coast here (is) so barren of them that

¹ S. P. Dom. i. 815.

² Sir William Paulet had been created Lord St. John in 1539. In 1545 he was made Lord Steward; in 1550 Earl of Wiltshire, and in 1551 Marquis of Winchester. He died a K.G. in 1572.

³ S. P. Dom. i. 834.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 833.

there is no fish almost to be gotten here for money ; but that such as we have, the women of the fisher towns, eight or nine of them, with but one boy or one man with them, bring it in, adventuring to sail sixteen or twenty miles into the sea afishing ; and have been sometimes chased home by the Frenchmen. And I myself, being upon occasion on the coast, have seen the fisher boats brought in with women which I think hath not been seen (before).”¹

In 1546, the French renewed their attempts on Boulogne, and, in order to sever the communications by land with Calais, tried to seize Ambleteuse. But they were disappointed by the vigilance of Lord Lisle and the Earl of Hertford ; and a force of nine thousand troops encamped near it for its protection. In the spring there were several naval skirmishes off the place ; and in one of these, which occurred on May 18th, eight English men-of-war engaged an equal number of French vessels, and took a galley² with one hundred and eighty soldiers and one hundred and forty rowers ; but the operations were of no great importance, and they were put an end to by the conclusion of peace on June 7th.³ In the following year D'Annebaut, Baron de Retz, came over with a large suite and with twelve galleys, to pay a state visit to England. He landed under a salute at Tower Wharf, and, proceeding to the king at Hampton Court on August 24th, solemnly swore in the name of his sovereign to perform the articles of peace.

This was the last naval event of the reign. On January 28th, 1547, Henry VIII. died, leaving the crown to his son Edward VI., who was then little more than nine years of age. On February 17th, Sir Thomas Seymour, who was brother of Edward, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, and who seems to have been already on excellent terms with the Queen Dowager, Katherine Parr, whom he married a few weeks later, was created Lord Seymour of Sudeley and Lord High Admiral.

Henry VIII. in his last years had cherished a project for the marriage of his son Prince Edward with the Princess Mary, daughter of James V. of Scotland ; and he had succeeded in inducing the Scots Government to enter into an agreement that the marriage should take place. After Edward's accession, the plan was as warmly taken up by the Lord Protector ; but the idea of the

¹ S. P. Dom., i. 827, 828.

² Taken into the navy as the *Galley Blancherd*.

³ Montluc, i. 237 ; Hall, 260 ; Du Bellay, x.

union was unpopular in Scotland, and was especially offensive to France, which, as a Catholic power, strongly objected to see a Catholic princess of a house long friendly with France allied to a Protestant prince of a house which was France's traditional enemy. The Lord Protector determined to endeavour to force Scotland to observe its undertaking. On the other hand, France determined to endeavour to secure the princess for the Dauphin, and dispatched Leo Strozzi, general of the galleys of France, with a force which on July 3rd, 1547, seized St. Andrews, in Fifeshire, and there captured the leading Scots Protestants who were partisans of the English match.

Before England could strike any forcible blow there were several border skirmishes and small encounters at sea. In one of the latter, if Hayward may be credited, an English man-of-war called the *Pensée*¹ was attacked by a Scots ship called the *Lion*, which, although of superior force, she took. But the prize, with most of her men, was lost off Harwich as she was being brought south.

There was no unnecessary delay in England. A fleet of sixty-five sail, including thirty-four large ships and one galley, was placed under the command of Admiral Edward, Lord Clinton, and Vice-Admiral Sir William Woodhouse, and a large army under Somerset in person marched northward.² On September 10th, the Scots were defeated with enormous slaughter at Pinkie Cleuch,³ near Musselburgh, the fleet co-operating with great effect on the Scots flank; and Leith⁴ was taken immediately afterwards and Edinburgh plundered.⁵ But in spite of this decisive English triumph, and of the damage done along the coast by the fleet, which burnt many towns, and practically annihilated the little Scots fleet,⁶ the Scots were more than ever determined to oppose the English marriage, and more than ever inclined to further a French one. France reciprocated in 1548 by sending to Scotland six thousand men under André de Montalembert, Baron d'Essé,

¹ Or *Pauncy*, or *Pansy*. She was of 450 tons, but her force is unknown.

² Speed, 804; Holinshed, ii. 980; Buchanan, xv.; Keith, 53.

³ The engagement is often called the battle of Musselburgh. Grafton, 1286; Stowe, 594; Cooper, 338*b*; Buchanan, xv.; Keith, 54.

⁴ Here the *Mary Willoughby*, which had previously been taken by the Scots, was re-taken. Holinshed, 989.

⁵ Speed, 805; Holinshed, ii. 990.

⁶ Cotton MS., Cleop. A. 11; Stowe, 586, 587.

and by carrying into practice a cleverly laid scheme for the transport of Mary Stuart, the subject of the dispute, from Scotland to Brittany.

Villegagnon,¹ Vice-Admiral of Brittany, commanded the squadron which conveyed the expeditionary corps to Scotland. He landed the troops at Dunbar on June 18th, and they proceeded to lay siege to Haddington, while he, announcing his intention of returning to France, put to sea. But as soon as he was out of sight of the shore, he steered north instead of south, and passing between the Orkneys and the Shetlands, rounded Scotland, and so reached Dumbarton, where, by arrangement, Mary Stuart awaited him. Sailing again without unnecessary delay, he entered the Channel by way of the Irish Sea, and safely landed his charge in Brittany on July 13th, 1548.²

A month afterwards, a squadron under the Lord High Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was sent to the eastern coast of Scotland to cause a diversion.³ Seymour landed a force at St. Ninian's, in Fifeshire; but it was met by James Stuart,⁴ later known as the Regent Murray, and driven back to its ships with a loss of six hundred killed and about one hundred taken. Seymour made an attempt upon Montrose, but he fell into an ambush organised by Erskine of Dun, and losing six hundred men was obliged to retreat. Although in the course of his cruise he destroyed a few vessels, he returned to England with little gain and no glory.

Peace nominally continued with France; but in July, 1548, the French off Boulogne fired on people who were engaged in building a mole there, and subsequently they captured three or four English victuallers, and made incursions within the English pale.⁵ Remonstrance was in vain, and at length the Council decided to permit the people of the western ports secretly to proceed to sea to intercept the home-coming French fishery fleet from Newfoundland, and to entrust the conduct of this strange privateering expedition to Seymour, Sir Peter Carew, and other officers of rank. But the political events preceding the fall and execution of the Lord High

¹ This officer, who served with distinction in South America, gave his name to the island and fort of Villegagnon in Rio de Janeiro Harbour.

² Guérin, ii. 149.

³ Burnet, ii. 171.

⁴ Natural son of James V., by Lady Margaret Erskine: born 1530; Earl of Murray 1562; Regent 1567; murdered 1570.

⁵ S. P. MSS. Dom. N. 39.

Admiral hindered the carrying out of the design. Seymour was deprived of his office in January, 1549, and was beheaded on March 20th.

Open war with France was resumed in 1549. Henry II. attacked Boulogne; and Leo Strozzi, with twelve galleys convoying transports with two thousand troops, blockaded Jersey and Guernsey. It was then that Captain William Wynter, who, under Elizabeth, showed himself to be a commander of unusual ability, first began to build up his reputation, although he had served as early as 1544 during the operations in the Firth of Forth. Entrusted with a small squadron and eight hundred soldiers, he, in spite of his inferior force, so boldly attacked Strozzi that he took or burnt all his galleys, killed a thousand of his men, and drove the rest of the expedition ignominiously back to France.¹ It is but just to add that the French histories contain no mention of this affair. They do, however, assert that on August 1st, 1549, Strozzi off Boulogne gained a brilliant victory over an English fleet, and drove the shattered remnant of it to Guernsey; and this action is not mentioned by English writers. The evidence as to Wynter's victory is, nevertheless, too strong to be neglected; while the evidence as to the French success is exceedingly and even suspiciously weak. There is less doubt as to the successes of the French on land. They pressed Boulogne² severely, cutting off all communication with it save by sea; and by the treaty of March 14th, 1550,³ they were given possession of it and its dependencies upon payment of 400,000 crowns.

Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who, since October 28th, 1549, had held the office of Lord High Admiral for the second time, relinquished it on May 4th, 1550, to Edward, Lord Clinton, who had been governor of the beleaguered fortress, and who had negotiated the treaty.⁴

The peace between England and France was very displeasing to the emperor, who, in consequence, allowed and probably encouraged his Flamand subjects to cruise against the French in the English seas in a manner destructive to all security of commerce and inter-communication. The French naturally retaliated, the result being

¹ Godwin, 233; Speed, 811; Fox, 'Acts and Monuments,' ii. 671; Holinshed, i. 1055.

² Edward's Diary; Cotton MS. Nero, C. x. 5.

³ 'Fœdera,' xv. 211; Leonard, ii. 472.

⁴ Strype, ii. 230; Edward's Journal, 11, 13; Grafton, 1314.

that the Narrow Seas became the scene of all sorts of piratical irregularities. The English Government did its best to stop these proceedings, and to protect the merchants, whose interests were seriously prejudiced. A squadron of six ships with four pinnaces and a brigantine was sent on a preventive cruise in July, 1551; and the brigantine in question, or another craft of the same type, was dispatched to Dieppe to warn the French against the Flamands in the Channel. It is noteworthy as showing the respect with which the English naval power was then treated, that when this brigantine in her course encountered some Flamand vessels, they lowered their topsails to her. Yet the Flamands were not invariably so subservient. In February, 1552, a Flamand ship had the temerity to attempt to search the *Falcon*—probably the English pinnace of that name—for Frenchmen, whereupon the *Falcon* boarded and took her.

In 1551 there occurred the earliest recorded English voyage to Guinea. It was made by Thomas Windham, who, in the following year, repeated it, and opened a remunerative trade. In 1553 he made a third voyage, with three ships, but perished on the coast.

On March 1st, of 1552, four barks and two pinnaces were sent to reinforce the cruisers policing the Channels, and on March 26th Sir Henry Dudley, with four ships and two barks, was sent to sea with directions to protect the trade. He captured two pirates and carried them into Dover; but he appears upon the whole to have performed his task but indifferently,¹ for the lawless proceedings continued, and those of the French, which in a space of twenty months cost English merchants a loss of £50,000, became so insufferable that very sharp remonstrances were addressed to the court of France.² These led to strained relations, and a rupture appeared to be imminent when, on July 6th, 1553, Edward VI. died.

Mary, who in spite of the opposition of the partisans of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, succeeded her brother, owed her elevation, in a large measure, to the attitude of the navy. The Duke of Northumberland, on behalf of Lady Jane, sent a squadron of six ships, immediately after the king's death, to blockade Yarmouth with a view to preventing Mary, who was in the eastern counties, from leaving the country. But it happened that forces for Mary's support were at that moment being levied in the town,

¹ Edward's Journal, Mar. 26, 1552; Strype, ii. b. ii. c. x.

² *Ib.*, 62-66; Strype ii. 332.

where the princess's interest was strong. Sir Henry Jernegan, one of the officers engaged in this levy, had the courage to put off to the squadron in an open boat, and the ability to persuade the whole command to declare for Queen Mary. At about the same time the Warden of the Cinque Ports took the same course, and the result of these and other pronouncements was that opposition ceased before blood had been shed, and that Mary mounted the throne peaceably.¹ In the following year, on March 26th, she appointed William, first Lord Howard of Effingham, to be Lord High Admiral.²

In the meantime, Captain William Wynter had been sent with a squadron to Ostend to bring to England the ambassadors of the Emperor Charles V., who were charged to negotiate the preliminaries of a marriage between his son, Philip of Spain, and the new queen.³ The emperor on this occasion sent Wynter a chain of gold, which upon his return to England the honest seaman showed to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who exclaimed: "For this gold chain you have sold your country."⁴ Such indeed was the unpopularity of the proposed match that Sir Thomas Wyatt's abortive rebellion was the instant outcome of the arrival of the ambassadors. But nothing sufficed to stay the execution of the project, and in the summer of 1554, Philip with an imposing fleet of one hundred and sixty sail set out for England.

Effingham, with twenty-eight ships, had ere this begun to cruise in the Channel, nominally to guard the trade, but really to welcome the arrival of the future King Consort. He welcomed it in strange fashion. Philip came up Channel with the Spanish flag at his main, and when he sighted Effingham's squadron, proudly kept the flag flying in expectation that Effingham would salute it. The Lord High Admiral did salute, but it was with a shotted gun. It did not seem fitting to him that any foreigner, no matter his rank and pretensions, should enter the seas of the Queen of England without paying the accustomed deference to her rights there. The shot caused Philip to strike his colours and lower his topsails, the marriage being too important a part of his plans to permit of his then disputing the English claims; and the gallant Effingham at

¹ Journal of P. C. (Haynes), 156; Stowe, 611, 612; Holinshed, ii. 1087; Godwin, 268, 271; Speed, 817.

² Pat. 1 Mary, 7; 'Fœdera,' xv. 382.

³ Holinshed, ii. 1106; Strype, iii. 59.

⁴ Both Wynter and Throgmorton nearly suffered for this. The trial is in Holinshed.

once returned the salute in the usual friendly way. Hervey calls this "a noble instance of spirit which well deserves to be commemorated." Campbell considers it "a circumstance worthy of immortal remembrance, and one would think too of imitation."¹

Philip landed at Southampton on July 19th, and the marriage took place at Winchester on the 25th of the same month. On August 12th, the royal pair made their public entry into London, amid the barely repressed disgust of the greater part of the nation.

Philip remained in England only until September, 1555, and did not revisit the country, save for a short period in 1557; yet he was not without influence upon its policy; and his accession to the throne of Spain, upon the abdication of his father in January, 1556, enabled him to involve England in disastrous wars with France and Scotland. Nor, in all probability, was he entirely irresponsible for the supercession, on February 10th, 1557, as Lord High Admiral, of Howard of Effingham by Edward, Lord Clinton: although, no doubt, Howard's devotion to the Princess Elizabeth was the ostensible reason why the change was made.

The French campaign opened well. William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with seven or eight thousand men, and in co-operation with Spanish troops, contributed to the victory of St. Quentin, in Picardy, on July 7th, 1557; but there was soon a great misfortune to be set off against this somewhat useless success. On January 1st, 1558, Francis, Duke of Guise, suddenly appeared at the Bridge of Nieullay, close to Calais, and surprised the defences there. Next day, D'Andelot de Coligny² seized Fort Risban on the sea front; and on the 5th, the citadel was carried by assault. On the 7th, Lord Wentworth, the governor, who had but five hundred men at his disposal, capitulated; and so, after upwards of two hundred years of English occupation, this important strong place was lost, owing to the culpable indifference of the English Government, which, although it was war time, had failed to provide it with necessary men and supplies.³ On January 20th, Earl Grey de Wilton had to surrender Guines;⁴ and presently there remained to England not a single foot of her once splendid dominions in France.

¹ See also Monson's 'Tracts,' in Churchill's *Voyages*, 243; Speed, 824; Holinshed, ii. 1118.

² Brother of Gaspard, the Admiral of France.

³ Grafton, 1354, 1355; Godwin, 330, 331; Daniel, viii. 210; Stowe, 631, 632; Burleigh's *Diary* (Murdin), 747; Duplex, iii. 576, 577; Guérin, ii. 174, 175.

⁴ Grafton, 1357-1359; Godwin, 331, 332; Stowe, 632.

Thirty years later, had England still held Calais, the Spanish Armada might, in all probability, have been completely destroyed there.

The naval campaigns of 1557 and 1558 were hardly more satisfactory. In the former year a squadron of twelve sail, under Sir John Clere of Ornesby, Vice-Admiral of England, was sent to sea to annoy the Scots, and to protect the home-coming Iceland fleet of fishing vessels. A descent was made by it on the mainland of Orkney on August 12th; but on the day following, an overwhelming force of Scots fell upon the landing party, killed three captains belonging to the squadron, took all Clere's artillery, and drove the survivors to their ships. Clere's boat, as he was being pulled off, was upset, and he was drowned.¹

In the summer of 1558, Lord Clinton put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, reinforced by thirty ships belonging to Philip's Netherlands possessions, with orders to attempt the reduction of Brest. Part of the command seems, however, to have been detached to the northward; for, on July 13th, twelve English ships, chancing to find themselves off Gravelines, where a battle was being fought between Count Egmont and the Marshal de Thermes, were able so to gall the French with their gun-fire as to decide the fight, which resulted in a decisive victory for Egmont.

But the main fleet, under the Lord High Admiral, effected no good. It landed seven thousand men in Brittany, and on July 31st, 1558, took and burnt Le Conquêt. Against Brest, however, it did nothing; and a party of Flamands, who had wandered into the country out of gun-shot of their ships, was cut off by the French.²

Queen Mary died on November 17th, 1558.

Queen Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister, was a little more than twenty-five years of age. "There never was, perhaps," as Campbell remarks, "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

¹ Leslie, 'De Reb. Gest. Scot.' x.; Strype, iii. 429; Buchanan, xvi.

² Grafton, 1363, 1364; Stowe, 633; Godwin, 334; Duplex, iii. 583, 584; Daniel, viii. 232.

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 were 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."¹

Happily, Elizabeth was a woman of ability, good education, lofty patriotism, high spirit, devotion to her exalted duties, and something more. Her youth had been stormy, and she had often been the unwilling centre of intrigues, which had taught her much concerning both men and women. She never forgot her early lessons, nor did she fail to apply them. They made her independent and self-reliant; and although she was fortunate in having as able advisers and servants as had ever lent aid to an English sovereign, she trusted, throughout her long reign, first of all to herself; and she deserves, in consequence, the first credit for the many glories and triumphs of the Elizabethan age.

The naval affairs of the time are intermixed, more than those of any other period, with affairs not purely naval. During much of the reign, unofficial warfare, not now very easily distinguishable from piracy, was waged by the queen's subjects against foreign powers; and many of the chief leaders in these operations had been, or were to become, officers in the Royal Navy. Again, queen's ships were, on more than one occasion, employed for purposes of private gain, adventure, or discovery, and were wholly or partially fitted out and maintained at private charges. And still, as previously, vessels and seamen of the merchant marine were frequently used for national purposes. Unusual difficulty is, therefore, experienced in drawing a satisfactory line between the naval operations proper of the reign and those operations which were more particularly adventurous, commercial, exploratory, or piratical. It is hoped, however, that assisted by the references in the notes below, the reader will easily find in Chapter XVI. an account of such expeditions as are not here treated of; since it has been deemed most convenient to confine the present chapter mainly to the consideration of the warlike undertakings of the State, and of those naval events which directly affected, or proceeded from, the national policy.

One of Elizabeth's first cares was for the safety of the Narrow Seas. On November 21st, ere she had been queen a week, she

¹ Campbell (ed. 1817), i. 407.

ordered Malyn, the vice-admiral, to collect as large a fleet as possible for the protection of the trade, and for the prevention of unauthorised persons from entering or leaving the kingdom. So strictly was the service performed that it was presently found necessary to relax the orders, and to explain that the queen had no intention of unduly restraining her subjects in the prosecution of their lawful concerns.¹ Lord Clinton, although he had not been conspicuously successful in his operations during the previous reigns, was confirmed in his office as Lord High Admiral.

On April 2nd, 1559, peace was concluded with France at Cateau Cambrésis.² Among the stipulations was one for the restitution of Calais to England at the expiration of eight years, or for the payment then of fifty thousand crowns by way of penalty. Another stipulation was to the effect that the fortresses built and manned by the French upon the Scots border should be evacuated and razed; and it was further agreed that the Dauphin, later Francis II., and the Dauphiness, Mary of Scots, should confirm the treaty and recognise the right of Elizabeth to the crown of England.

But nothing came of these arrangements. Religious considerations had induced Elizabeth, as early as February 27th, 1559,³ to take the Protestant party in Scotland under her protection; and similar considerations induced France to strain every nerve to assist the Roman Catholic party there. Nor would the Dauphin and Dauphiness confirm the treaty. And when the Dauphin, in July, 1559, by the death of his father, was elevated to the throne of France, and, in the character of King of Scotland also, sent large forces thither, open war naturally recommenced.

Early in 1560, Elizabeth concluded the Treaty of Berwick with the Scots Lords of the Congregation, promising to assist them in the expulsion of the French; and, immediately afterwards, she dispatched to the north an army under Earl Grey de Wilton, a fleet under Wynter having already sailed for the Firth of Forth. Wynter attacked the French ships in the roadstead, and took or destroyed them. He then rigidly blockaded Leith; and, had the army of Grey and the Confederates been as active as the navy was, the place would probably have fallen. Wynter had not only to co-operate with the besiegers, but also to guard against the daily

¹ Strype, Ann. i. 6.

² Forbes's Coll. S. P. i.; Buchanan, xvi. xvii.; Holinshed, ii. 1184.

³ Treaty of Berwick. 'Fœdera,' xv. 569.

expected arrival from France of a relieving fleet under the Marquis d'Elbeuf. This fleet, however, was dispersed by a storm, and obliged to return to France; and Francis II., realising the difficulty of conducting operations at so great a distance from his bases, and the probability that, in spite of all his efforts, Leith would fall sooner or later, came to terms.

The Treaty of Edinburgh, signed on July 6th, 1560,¹ procured the evacuation of Scotland by French troops, the razing of the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar, and the payment of a fine for Mary's blazoning of the arms of England with those of Scotland and France.

Mary declined to be a party to this arrangement; but as her husband, Francis II., died on December 5th, 1560, and as France was thenceforward less intimately concerned with the affairs of Scotland, Mary's refusal gained her nothing. Indeed, a full and frank concession of the English demands in 1560 might have spared her the long tragedy which ended at Fotheringay in 1587. Mary returned to Scotland from France in August, 1561. An English squadron, then at sea, is generally supposed to have received orders to intercept her, in order that she might be detained in England until she should ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh; but she was not sighted by it, and she landed without any interference.

It was ever part of Elizabeth's policy to encourage and support the Protestant party on the continent. After the accession of Charles IX. to the throne of France, the long growing tension between the Protestants and Catholics in France reached breaking point; and in 1562,² as a consequence of the massacre of Vassy, religious war broke out there. As the chief strength of the Protestants lay along the north-west coasts of the country, the civil war extended to the Channel, whither each party dispatched numerous privateers. Most of these vessels confused piracy with their privateering, and the trade of neutrals suffered so intolerably that Elizabeth found no difficulty in discovering a pretext for lending material support to the Huguenots.³ They had long begged for her assistance, and had offered to put the port of Le Havre into her hands. In 1562, therefore, she accepted the offer, and in

¹ 'Fœdera,' xv. 593.

² This year John Hawkins made his first voyage to the West Indies. See Chap. XVI.

³ The queen's manifesto is given by Stowe.

October sent over Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, with a squadron conveying a considerable body of troops, to occupy the place.¹

France at once declared all English ships good prize, so long as Elizabeth held Le Havre. The queen replied by declaring all French ships good prize also. In this informal war the English privateers made immense gains at sea.² One Francis Clarke, for example, by means of three vessels which he had fitted out, captured no fewer than eighteen ships, valued at £50,000, within three weeks.³ But the English privateers, like the French ones, soon developed piratical tendencies; it became necessary to restrain their operations by proclamation, and an embassy was sent to France to excuse their practices.⁴ Sir William Woodhouse, with a small squadron, composed of the *Lion*, *Hope*, *Hart*, *Swallow*, and *Hare*, was sent to sea to repress piracy, and at the same time to render such aid as might be possible to the Huguenots; and he seems to have cruised with success, lying at intervals at Portsmouth, during the winter.⁵

But Elizabeth was soon deserted by her *protégés*. On March 12th, 1563, the French Protestant and Catholic leaders concluded peace at Amboise; and, as the English continued to hold Le Havre, formal war between France and England was declared on July 7th, and the re-united parties combined to press with equal energy the siege of the town, under the direction of the Constable Anne de Montmorenci. Warwick held out until the 28th, a fleet of sixty sail, sent to succour him, arriving only in time to carry off his forces. The campaign was put an end to on April 11th, 1564,⁶ by the Treaty of Troyes.⁷ In virtue of this, the French queen-mother agreed to pay 120,000 crowns to England; free trade between the two countries was conceded; and French hostages in English hands were released.

Late in 1566, a little trading expedition, under George Fenner,

¹ Strype, i. 367; Forbes's Coll. S. P. ii.: Burrell's Diary (Murdin), 753, 754; Leonard, ii. 571. Eleven small French vessels were taken in the port.

² Camden, i. 94; Speed, 835; Holinshed, ii. 1196.

³ Stowe, 653.

⁴ Camden, 'Ann.' i. 98.

⁵ S. P. (Haynes), 394; S. P. (Forbes), ii. 171; Stowe, 652; Strype, i. 367; Holinshed, ii. 1197.

⁶ This year John Hawkyins made his second voyage to the West Indies. See Chap. XVI.

⁷ 'Fœdera,' xv. 640.

consisting of three ships and a pinnace, left Plymouth for Guinea and Cape Verde. In May following, off Terceira, one of the English vessels was treacherously attacked by seven Portuguese craft, nearly all of which were of superior force. She gallantly resisted them for two entire days, and finally beat them all off.¹

A new religious war broke out in France in 1667;² and once more, in spite of the treatment which she had previously received from them, Elizabeth rendered assistance to the Protestants, sending them 100,000 crowns in gold and a park of artillery. She also showed favour to the persecuted Protestants of the Spanish Netherlands. Her attitude was even more resented by Spain than by France; and soon other difficulties arose to intensify the ill-feeling which had been sown early in the reign by Elizabeth's refusal to listen to the matrimonial advances of her brother-in-law, Philip.

Early in 1568,³ some Genoese merchants, purposing to establish a bank in the Netherlands, obtained from King Philip a licence to transport thither in Spanish bottoms a large sum in specie. As the vessels entered the Channel, they were chased by some French privateers into Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, where they were well received. At the request of the Spanish ambassador, the specie was carried ashore. But in the meantime, the queen was informed that the Duke of Alva, who was Governor of the Netherlands, intended to seize the money on its arrival, and to use it to the prejudice of the Protestants. She therefore impounded it, promising, however, to return it with interest to the Genoese, should it prove to be indeed intended for their legitimate business, or to hand it over to the King of Spain, should he make good a claim to it.⁴ The real object of the somewhat high-handed proceedings appears to have been to prevent Alva from getting improper possession of the treasure. Both Alva and Philip strongly resented the act. Philip attempted to tamper with certain English statesmen, and to stir up a rebellion in Ireland; and Alva laid hands on all English property in Flanders and granted letters of marque and reprisals.⁵ Elizabeth thereupon permitted reprisals also; but, as before, the privateers soon developed piratical tendencies, and

¹ Hakluyt, ii.

² This year John Hawkyms made his third voyage to the West Indies. *See* Chap. XVI.

³ This year the Russia Company sent agents to Persia.

⁴ Camden, i. 175; Stowe, 662; Turquet, ii. 1432.

⁵ Burleigh's Diary (Murdin), 766-767.

had to be repressed by proclamation.¹ The matter was presently compromised, but it did not fail to leave much bad blood on both sides. Nevertheless, when in 1570 Philip was about to marry his niece, the Archduchess Anne of Austria, Elizabeth very politely sent a squadron under Charles Howard, afterwards Lord Howard of Effingham, to honourably escort the princess from Zeeland to Spain.²

In 1572³ there was a new treaty with France; yet Elizabeth was unable to regard the proceedings of her nearest continental neighbour without the gravest anxiety and suspicion. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day served to increase her misgivings; and, as a fourth religious war, which centred about La Rochelle, had broken out, the sympathies of most Englishmen were in an excited condition, which, even taken alone, was a source of difficulty and of danger to peace. Nor was the Protestant struggle going on only in France. The Prince of Orange had entered the Netherlands at the head of an army recruited in Germany.

Elizabeth was as desirous of avoiding formal war as she was of befriending the Protestant cause. She dispatched help to the Prince of Orange, under Thomas Morgan and Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and, at first less openly, she assisted the Protestants of La Rochelle. The celebrated Captain Polain blockaded that port; but he had only five galleys and three ships, besides small craft; and the success of one of the Protestant commanders named Miran, in running the blockade and throwing provisions into the town, seems to have encouraged Gabriel de Montgomeri, a Protestant leader who was at the time a refugee in England, to attempt an enterprise of a similar kind on a larger scale. He fitted out a fleet of fifty-three vessels, not, of course, without the more or less active co-operation of the English Government; and he had as his second in command Jacques Sore, the best naval commander that Protestant France had then produced. Yet, in spite of these advantages, when, in April, 1573, he appeared off the beleaguered town, he effected nothing; nor, although he persisted in his efforts, did he succeed in breaking down Polain's guard before the conclusion of the arrangement in virtue of which the siege was raised on June 25th.

When the French ambassador in London complained of this

¹ S. P. (Murdin), 257, 274; Meteren, 'Hist. des Pays Bas.' iii.

² Camden, 'Ann.' ii. 220, 221; Hawkyns's 'Observats.' 22.

³ In this year Drake made his first great expedition. See Chap. XVI.

expedition having been suffered to leave the shores of England, and of English merchants having supplied the besieged with provisions, the queen was able to disown personal knowledge of Montgomeri's design. Concerning the other allegation, she very aptly said that merchants were men who followed their gain, wheresoever they hoped to find it; and that since they, being Protestants, were in danger of being butchered in every other port of France, it was no wonder that they carried their goods where they might hope to vend them in safety.

A fifth war of religions raged in France from 1574 to 1576. As usual, Elizabeth, while countenancing the Huguenots, endeavoured to keep on terms of peace with France; and, at the height of the struggle, she sent the Earl of Worcester on a complimentary mission to the French Court. The Protestants of La Rochelle had, as on previous occasions of the kind, taken advantage of the civil strife to fit out privateers, which eventually began to commit piratical acts against vessels of all nations. Some of these cruisers were so rash as to seize a vessel containing part of the Earl's baggage, and in the affray they killed three or four people.¹ This was more than the queen could suffer, even from her *protégés*. The Lord High Admiral, who, in 1572 had been created Earl of Lincoln, was instructed to clear the Narrow Seas of all freebooters, Protestant or Catholic. He appointed the Controller of the Navy, William Holstock, as his vice-admiral, and entrusted him with the command of three fast vessels, having three hundred and sixty men on board. With these, in about six weeks, Mr. Holstock took twenty privateers, with nine hundred men, and retook fifteen merchantmen. The prizes were sent into Sandwich, Dover, and Portsmouth; and in one of them were found three of the persons who had been concerned in the plundering of the Earl of Worcester's baggage. These, after trial, were hanged as pirates.²

In 1575,³ the Prince of Orange and the States General of the Netherlands offered Elizabeth the possession, or, if not, the protectorate of Holland and Zeeland. The queen graciously declined the offer, but promised, if possible, to use her influence with Spain to procure peace for the United Provinces. Had she accepted

¹ Camden, ii. 270, 275; Daniel, viii. 750; Stowe, 674.

² Strype, ii. 171, 172; Holinshed, ii. 1257.

³ In this year John Oxenham made a voyage to the "South Seas." See Chap. XVI.

the responsibility, she would probably have experienced great trouble in controlling her new subjects; for in the following year, 1576, the privateers of Holland and Zeeland, under the pretence that English merchants had been assisting Dunquerque, Spain and Antwerp, did so much damage to English shipping that the repressive services of Mr. Holstock had to be again called for. He proceeded to sea with a small squadron and captured a number of Dutch seamen, two hundred of whom he sent to English prisons. The queen, moreover, sent Sir William Wynter and Mr. Robert Beal,¹ Clerk of the Council, to Zeeland to endeavour to obtain restitution of wrongfully captured goods; but in this they were not successful.²

Elizabeth, nevertheless, did not cease to show numerous kindnesses to the continental Protestants, and especially to those of them who took refuge in England. This policy of hers had the incidental effect of drawing into her realm many excellent artificers and workpeople, whose advent greatly benefited the trade and manufactures of the country and correspondingly weakened those of the places whence they came. Spain deeply resented the injury thus done to her Netherlands dominions; and signs are not wanting that, as early as 1580 or before, the more far-seeing of English statesmen realised that Spain's enmity was of a kind which would not exhaust itself in vapourings, nor indeed in hostile action of the ordinary kind. It was perceived that sooner or later there must come a moment when the great champions of Catholicism and of Protestantism, antagonised not only by differences of religion and by trade rivalry, but also by the savage piratical warfare that had long unofficially subsisted between them in the New World,³ would stake their all, the one for dominion, and the other for liberty and existence.

Yet probably it was not then understood, and assuredly it has not always been since comprehended, how much depended upon the result of the struggle. It was not merely that Spain and England were pitting themselves one against the other; it was not merely that Catholicism challenged Protestantism; it was not merely that the Latin race threatened the Anglo-Saxon one.

¹ Stowe, 681; Holinshed, ii. 1262; Camden, ii. 303, 304.

² In 1576 John Barker made a voyage to the West Indies, and Martin Frobiser started on the search for a N.W. passage. *See* Chap. XVI.

³ Drake began his famous voyage round the world in 1577. *See* Chap. XVI.

Viewed from the present, the long growing and carefully nourished hatreds, which settled their disputes in the English Channel in 1588, were mainly important to the world at large because, indirectly, they involved the fate of America. Had Spain, and not England, been victorious, the American continent might still have developed into a congeries of republican states; but we may be sure that the prevailing republicanism of those states would have been rather of the central than of the northern American type, and we may well doubt whether a republican union, such as was founded under Washington, and kept together under Lincoln, would have been ever possible in the New World.¹

Before publicly putting forth her whole strength against England, Spain more than once tried to injure her enemy by surreptitious blows. In 1580,² for example, Munster was in the throes of civil war, and the opportunity seemed a good one for dispatching from Corunna a little expedition to foment the rebellion against the English power. Italians as well as Spaniards took part in it. They landed at Smerwick, in Dingle Bay, in September; but Arthur, Earl Grey de Wilton, who, as Lord-Lieutenant, had gone to Ireland earlier in the same year with a large body of picked troops, speedily made himself master of a fort which had been built on the coast in the previous year by James Fitzmaurice and a feeble Papal force, and which was occupied by the new invaders, hardly one of whom escaped to tell the story. In his preface to Vol. XII. of the new series of Acts of the Privy Council of England, Mr. J. R. Dasent notes a curious coincidence in connection with this abortive invasion.

"On some unknown day³ in 1580," he says, "the *Pelican*, soon to be re-named the *Golden Hind*,⁴ which had sailed with her consorts from Plymouth in November, 1577, returned alone to England, laden with the plunder of the Spanish settlements in the Pacific, and cast anchor in Plymouth Sound after circumnavigating the globe, thus narrowly escaping, as she crossed the mouth of the Bay, the Spanish squadron which bore the invaders from Corunna to Dingle. As these luckless invaders, who could show no commission from Philip, were treated by Grey, so, no doubt, would the Spaniards have treated Drake, who had no commission from Elizabeth. . . . The Smerwick invasion following so soon after that of James Fitzmaurice no doubt rendered it difficult for the Spanish ambassador to press his complaints against Drake."⁵

¹ In 1578 Martin Frobiser again attempted a N.W. passage. See Chap. XVI.

² In this year Charles Jackman and Arthur Pett sought a N.W. passage. See Chap. XVI.

³ Generally said to have been September 26th.

⁴ She had, in fact, been so re-named in August, 1578.

⁵ In 1582 Edward Fenton set out on his voyage to South America, and in 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out on his expedition to Newfoundland. See Chap. XVI.

On the death of Edward, Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, the office of Lord High Admiral was conferred, on July 8th, upon Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, K.G.¹

After Elizabeth's refusal to become either sovereign or protector of Holland and Zeeland, the United Provinces had made a similar offer to, and had received a similar refusal from, Henry III. of France. In 1585,² being hard pressed by Spain, they renewed the offer of the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The queen declined once more; but this time she agreed to furnish them with five thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, upon condition that after the conclusion of an advantageous peace, the States should pay the cost, and that, in the meantime, as security for the payment, Flushing and Rammekins in Zeeland, and Brielle in Holland should be delivered to her. She also agreed to take the United Provinces under her protection, and she stipulated that if she should see fit to send a fleet to sea, the States should contribute an equal number of ships, to be placed under the command of an English admiral.³

These measures and the increasing boldness of the English in the West Indies might well have provoked Spain to an immediate plunge into active war, but that slow-moving power was not yet ready to deal the great blow which she had in contemplation. She only redoubled her enormous preparations and the strength of her determination. Indeed, England risked much by the Netherlands alliance. And she risked scarcely less by the attitude which she adopted in the same year towards the Huguenots of France. Henri de Condé came as a suppliant to Elizabeth's court. She received him well, gave him 50,000 crowns in money, and lent him ten ships, with which he was able to contribute to the relief of La Rochelle, where Henry of Navarre was besieged. Happily for England, the Spanish cause in the Netherlands was already a lost one, and the star of Henry of Navarre in France was in the ascendant; so that Elizabeth, in both instances, ranged herself with the winning side. But Spain was still strong at sea—the strongest Power in the world. It had already been determined to launch the whole sea power of Spain, of Spain's Italian dependencies, and of Portugal, all under Philip's direction, against the island kingdom. It was now determined to launch it with as little delay as possible.

¹ He was then forty-nine. He had succeeded his father, the first Lord, in 1573.

² This year Sir Richard Greynville made a voyage to Virginia. See Chap. XVI.

³ 'Fœdera,' xv. 793.

The nature of Spanish feeling and policy was shown in the case of the *Primrose*, 150 tons, of London, Foster, master. On May 26th, 1585,¹ the ship, a trader, lay off Bilbao, and was visited by seven Spaniards, including the corregidor, or chief magistrate, of the province. After these people had been hospitably entertained, four of them, including the corregidor, returned to the shore. Presently a boat containing seventy people, with another containing four-and-twenty, was observed approaching the vessel. The people looked like merchants. They betrayed a desire to go on board; but Foster, being suspicious, and having only twenty-seven men with him, refused to admit more than the corregidor, who was of the party, and three or four others; and he made the rest promise to remain in their boats. But, instead of doing so, they all, in a short time produced hidden arms and boarded, the corregidor summoning Foster to yield and causing him to be seized. The men, however, determined to rescue their captain, and, attacking gallantly, killed many of the enemy and drove the rest overboard. Four of them, who were wounded and drowning, were taken up again, one being the corregidor; and they were carried prisoners to England. Asked for explanations of his treacherous conduct, the official produced a commission from the King of Spain for a general embargo upon all English, Netherlands, and German shipping along the coast.² Thenceforward, the two countries were in a state of war, although, for a time, Spain still postponed her grand stroke.

Another case was that of the engagement in the Mediterranean, on July 13th, 1586, between some vessels of the Turkey Company and thirteen Spanish craft. Not content with the produce of the embargo which he had laid on ships in his ports, Philip had ordered his galleys in the Levant to take all English ships which they could meet with, the intention being to utilise for the service of the Armada, then preparing, all craft that might be deemed suitable for the purpose. The Turkey Company, in consequence, took care to send only well-built ships to sea; to arm and man them thoroughly; and to oblige several of them to sail in company. Five left England together in November, 1585, the *Merchant Royal*, the *Toby*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the *William and John*, and the *Susan*. Off

¹ This year Drake led an expedition to the West Indies. See Chap. XVI.

² Hakluyt, ii. P. ii. 112. Doubtless by error, the affair is attributed to May 26th, and Philip's commission of embargo, to May 29th, 1585. The latter was, of course, anterior to the former.

Sicily they separated, each proceeding to her port of destination, and all agreeing to a rendezvous off Zante for the return voyage. When they met again, having learnt that the Spaniards were in search of them, they appointed Edward Williamson, master of the *Merchant Royal*, as their "admiral" or leader, and undertook to obey him. Off Pantelaria, they sighted eleven galleys and two "frigates" (fast sailing vessels), flying the colours of Sicily and Malta, places then in the pay and service of Spain. The "frigates" were sent forward to order the English captains and pursers to repair on board the Spanish admiral, Don Pedro de Leyva. The captains and pursers, as a body, refused; but sent a supercargo, Mr. Rowet, who was very haughtily received, and informed that the English ships must surrender at discretion. Rowet, in the name of all, declined, and had no sooner returned to his ship than the Spanish admiral fired a shot: whereupon a general engagement began. After five hours' hot fight, the enemy's vessels, some of which appeared to have suffered badly, made off; nor were they pursued; for the English, who had lost only two men, had no wish to hazard their ships.¹

Reprisals were, long ere this, of course allowed by the English government. Sir William Monson says:

"I was then (1585-86²) a youth of sixteen years of age, and so inclined to see the world abroad that, without the knowledge of father or mother, I put myself into an action by sea, where there was in company of us two small ships fitted for men-of-war, that authorised us, by commission, to seize upon the subjects of the King of Spain. We departed from the Isle of Wight, to which place we returned with our dear-bought prize. She was a Biscayner, of three hundred tons, well manned, sufficiently furnished, and bravely defended.³ She came from Grand Bay, in Newfoundland, which, at our first arrival upon the coast of Spain we met with, and (she) refusing to yield to us, we suddenly boarded, and by consent of all our men entered her. But, the waves of the sea growing high, we were forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting on board her from eight of the clock in the evening till eight in the morning. The Spaniards betook themselves to their close-fight, and gave two attempts, by trains of powder, to blow up her decks on which we were. But we happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued the fight till seven in the morning, when the Spaniards found they had so many men killed and disabled that they were forced to yield. When we came to take a view of our people, we found few left alive but could show a wound or shot through their clothes in that fight. We were a woeful spectacle, as well as the Spaniards; and I dare say that in the whole time of the war there was not so rare a manner of fight, or so great a slaughter of men on both sides."

It was in 1586 that George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, one of

¹ Hakluyt, ii. P. ii. 285.

² The year of John Davis's departure to search for a N.W. passage. See Chap. XVI.

³ This vessel, which afterwards belonged to Sir Geo. Carew, was re-named *Commander*.

the most distinguished adventurers of an adventurous age, fitted out the first of his numerous privateering expeditions. It consisted of three small ships, the *Red Dragon*, *Bark Clifford*, and *Roc*, and a pinnace, the *Dorothy*, belonging to Raleigh, the whole being under the command of Robert Widrington. In the Channel, the adventurers riddled some Hamburg ships which were alleged to have Spanish goods on board; on the west coast of Africa they came into what appears to have been unnecessary hostile collision with the negroes; off the Rio de la Plata they captured two Portuguese craft, from one of which they learnt of the taking of John Drake of the *Francis*, of Fenton's expedition; at Bahia they seized more Portuguese ships; and, after making other prizes, they returned to England, having abandoned their original design of cruising in the Pacific.¹

In the same year, Raleigh fitted out two little pinnaces, the *Serpent* and the *Mary Sparke*, for a cruise to the coast of Spain and the Azores. After having taken several prizes and started on their return to England, they fell in with four-and-twenty Spanish merchantmen, with which they maintained a running fight for thirty-two hours. Raleigh did not himself accompany this expedition.²

In pursuance of her promise to the Netherlanders, Elizabeth, at the beginning of 1586, sent the Earl of Leicester to Flushing with a fleet of fifty sail, and, in addition to troops, a body of five hundred gentlemen. Leicester, to the great displeasure of his royal mistress, accepted from the States the title of Governor and Captain-General of Holland, Zeeland, and the United Provinces, and was informed by the queen that although she was ready to relieve her distressed neighbours, she never meant to assume any power over them. The earl, in spite of his considerable force and large powers, did no good, and returned at the end of the year in something very like disgrace.

A more important event of 1586, as bearing upon the prospects of England, around which the thickest clouds were gathering, was the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and "stricter amity" with Scotland. The execution in the following year³ of James's mother, Mary of Scots, did not disturb this alliance nor prevent King James from co-operating in the preparations against the Spanish Armada.

¹ Harris, 'Voyages,' ii. 685; Hakluyt, iii. 769.

² Hakluyt, i. P. ii. 121.

³ In 1587 Cavendish departed on his voyage round the world. See Chap. XVI.



ARRIVAL AT FLUSHING OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, 1586

(After the Picture by C. Fromm, at Hampton.)

[To face page 486.]

Philip's preparations were not ignored in England, nor was there any misapprehension concerning their aims and objects. Walsyngham, always well-informed, had private intelligence from Madrid to the effect that the King of Spain had written to the Pope, advising him of the projected invasion of Elizabeth's dominions, and asking for the Papal blessing upon the undertaking. And not only the intentions of the Spaniards, but also the whereabouts and extent of their ever-growing armaments were matters of common knowledge among English naval officers, who, although there was then not even an embryo Naval Intelligence Department, made up in individual zeal, keenness, observation, and intelligence for what they lacked in corporate organisation.

It was therefore determined, early in 1587, to attempt a blow at the Spaniards while they were still in their ports and busy with their uncompleted preparations; and Sir Francis Drake was chosen to lead a naval expedition for the purpose.

The squadron entrusted to him was not a powerful one. Strype says that it included forty sail: Hakluyt and Monson put the number at only thirty. But nearly all these were hired merchantmen, not to be compared, either force for force, or in general efficiency, with regular war ships. Only four large vessels and two small pinnaces seem to have belonged to the Navy Royal. Drake hoisted his flag in the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, of 600 tons, 250 men, and 47 guns. William Borough, a distinguished navigator and hydrographer, but no warrior, either by inclination or experience, was second in command, and sailed in the *Lion*, or, as she was commonly called, the *Golden Lion*, of 500 tons, 250 men, and 38 guns. Captain Henry Bellingham commanded the *Rainbow*, of 500 tons, 250 men, and 54 guns; and Captain Thomas Fenner, a most excellent officer, had command of the *Dreadnought*, of 400 tons, 190 men, and 32 guns. These ships, and the majority of their officers and men, undoubtedly formed the backbone of the expeditionary force. Borough, however, contributed little to the end in view. The temerity of Drake's projects frightened him and, having been put under arrest, he fled home with his vessel, professing to go in fear of his life. In a rambling letter to Burghley,¹ dated from the *White Bear*, off Queenborough, on February 21st following, he pleaded that he had received "great discontent" "through Sir Francis Drake's injurious, ungodly, and extreme dealings, which are

¹ S. P. Dom. ccviii. 77.

unsupportable," and complained that he had been "openly defamed and causelessly condemned;" but as Drake had sentenced him *in contumaciam*, and as the formal document which Borough styled "mine answer touching an objection against me for the coming away of the *Lion*," though enclosed with the letter to Burghley, has not been preserved, it is now impossible to sift all the merits of the case. We know, however, that, thanks to Burghley's good offices, the affair was smoothed over, and that in 1588 Borough commanded the galley *Bonarolia* against the Armada.

Early in April the squadron sailed from Plymouth. On the 16th, when off the mouth of the Mondego, it fell in with two Middelburg traders, and from them learnt that at Cadiz there were enormous supplies of provisions and ammunition, ready to be sent to Lisbon, where the Armada was collecting. Passing Lisbon, therefore, Drake steered for Cadiz, and arrived off the town on April 19th.

He at once drove in, under shelter of the castle, six galleys which made a show of opposing him, and then, boldly entering the bay, sank or took about a hundred vessels, chiefly laden with stores and ammunition. Most serious among the Spanish losses were a galleon of 1200 tons, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and a richly freighted Ragusan merchantman of 1000 tons, mounting 40 brass guns. The whole brilliant operation was performed with insignificant loss in the space of a day and two nights, and the comparative ease with which it was carried to a conclusion cannot have failed to give Drake and his companions an encouraging assurance for the future.

From Cadiz, which he quitted on the 21st, Drake ravaged the coast westward as far as Cape St. Vincent, where he surprised the castle and three neighbouring works. His methods were stern and perhaps a little barbarous. He regarded not only the military forces of Spain, but also Spanish fishermen and their nets, as legitimate objects on which to wreak his vengeance; but he effectually attained the end which he had in view, and most thoroughly intimidated the enemy. So much, indeed, was this the case that when, on arriving off Cascais, at the mouth of the Tagus, he formally invited the Marquis of Santa Cruz to come out and engage him, the distinguished vanquisher of Strozzi neither accepted the challenge nor adopted any measures for stopping his opponent's further depredations. Drake therefore took and plundered or

burnt about a hundred more ships, besides again harrying the coasts.

Huge quantities of military stores were thus destroyed or taken. But there was small gain of rich stuffs, of spices, and of treasure, and the numerous merchant adventurers who had associated themselves with the fortunes of the expedition naturally looked for some other reward than the spectacle of exploding powder-magazines and burnt accumulations of provisions. It was to satisfy them that, after quitting Cascais, Drake, although his ships were falling short of food and water, headed westward for the Azores. On a day in June, off the island of St. Michael, the English squadron fell in with the great carrack, *San Felipe*, homeward bound with a rich cargo from the East Indies. Her foes were too many for her, and she was speedily taken. The booty found in her more than delighted the merchants, yet it was perhaps the least valuable part of her lading; for in her cabin were discovered papers which so convincingly drew attention to the enormous profits of the East India trade, and so clearly described the methods by which that trade had been prosecuted by the Spaniards, that the English adventurers, upon returning home, were able to establish a similar trade upon their own account, and, a very few years later, founded the East India Company—probably, upon the whole, the most successful as well as the most gigantic commercial association of which history provides any record.

It has been said that Drake's descent upon Cadiz had the effect of postponing the sailing of the Spanish Armada from 1587 to 1588. This scarcely appears to be true. But, undoubtedly, Drake's operations greatly confused and complicated the difficulties in Philip's way, and rendered the attempt of 1588 not only much more costly, but also far less formidable than it would otherwise have been. The whole expedition was well planned and well carried out; and at that juncture England could hardly have been better served, the enemy more seriously injured, or the adventuring merchants more signally benefited.¹

The history of the Armada of 1588 is of so much importance, and has to be told in such detail and at so much length, that it has been made the subject of a separate chapter.

¹ Letter of Drake to Burghley, April 27th, 1587, in Strype, iii. 451; Monson's 'Tracts,' 170; Camden, 551; Hakluyt, ii. pt. ii. 121; Risdon's 'Survey of Devon,' iii. 261.

The objects of the Armada were effectually frustrated; but when the immediate danger was overpast, thinking minds began to ask themselves whether, after all, the general policy of national defence would not be furthered rather by attacking the enemy in his own waters, than by merely checking his attacks upon England. The victory over the Armada had been won in English waters, and within sight of the English shores. Should the struggle have been fought out there? Ought it not to have been fought out in Spanish waters, seeing that Queen Elizabeth claimed to be sovereign of the Narrow Seas, and that, granting her claim, her realm had been actually invaded, and that the invasion had been repelled only after it had insulted her territory?

These and similar considerations led to the adoption of a more active policy. The moral value attaching to a vigorously offensive defence obtained recognition; and, while Cumberland, to whom the queen lent the *Golden Lion* for the purpose, was commissioned to undertake a privateering venture to the South Seas,¹ it was determined to vigorously attack Spain at home, ere she should have time to organise a new offensive expedition.

Philip, as has been seen, had added Portugal to his dominions. The popular candidate for the throne of that country, Dom Antonio, was a refugee in England,² and believed that, with a little naval assistance, he could gain a crown. Moreover, Portugal had been the scene of the fitting out of one Armada, and might be the scene of the fitting out of a second, Lisbon being the most convenient Atlantic port in Spanish hands. For more than one reason, therefore, Portugal seemed to be the best point at which to strike.

An expedition was accordingly fitted out in 1589, partly at the queen's expense, but chiefly at the charges of private individuals, among whom Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norreys, with their immediate friends, were the most conspicuous.³ The States of Holland also co-operated. Some pieces of artillery for land service, a number of horses, several Dutch ships, and a considerable body of men either failed to join the fleet ere it sailed, or failed to get across the Bay of Biscay; so that the expedition was in many respects ill-found, and inadequate for the work in hand. It put to

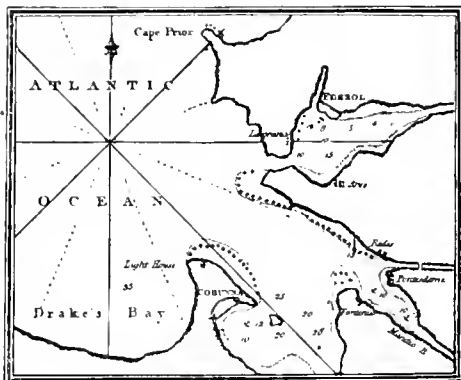
¹ In this expedition, the Earl accomplished very little. Purchas, iv. 1142; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 686.

² Stowe, 752; Camden, iii. 600, 601; Faria y Souza, v. c. 3.

³ Hakluyt, ii. P. ii. 134; Purchas, iv. 914.

sea, however, in April from Plymouth, with eighty, or, as some say, one hundred and forty-six ships,¹ of which six belonged to the Royal Navy,² and with eleven thousand soldiers under Sir John Norreys. Dom Antonio was with the fleet, and the Earl of Essex, in some vessels privately fitted out at his own expense for other objects, joined it off the coast of Portugal.

The first attempt was made upon Corunna, where troops were landed, and the defenders driven into the town. On the following day, the lower town, after an assault by land and by water, was carried, and the governor, Don Juan de Luna, was taken, a great quantity of ammunition and stores being destroyed. The English discipline was, unfortunately, lax, and the men got drunk with the captured wine in the cellars, while the Spaniards annoyed them by burning such of their own ships as lay in harbour, after having first overloaded their guns, which as they burst or went



FERROL AND CORUNNA (THE GROUYNE).

(From a chart published by Joyce Gold, 1818.)

off caused some damage to the invaders. An attack upon the upper town was unsuccessful. Hearing of the approach of a Spanish relieving force, Norreys, on May 6th, advanced with about two-thirds of his troops to meet it, and defeated it with great slaughter, and with very little loss to himself. But when, having burnt the enemy's camp and the neighbouring villages, he returned, the chiefs decided to abandon the siege. On May 8th, therefore, the lower town was set on fire, and the expedition re-embarked.

From Corunna the fleet proceeded to the coast of Portugal, and on May 16, arrived off Peniche, in Estremadura. The troops were landed, and, after the place had surrendered to Dom Antonio, were marched overland towards Lisbon,³ taking Torres Vedras on their

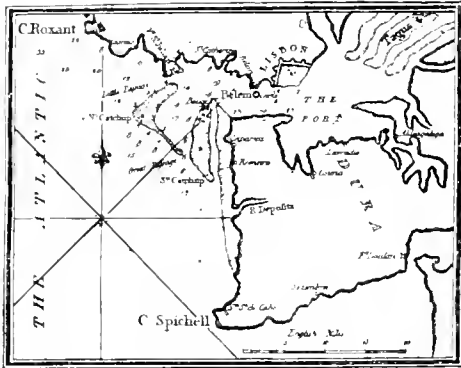
¹ Strype, iii. 538; Speed, 863.

² *Revenge*, Sir Francis Drake; *Dreadnought*, Capt. Thomas Fenner; *Aid*, Capt. William Fenner; *Nonpareil*, Capt. Sackville; *Foresight*, Capt. William Wynter, jun.; *Swiftsure*, Capt. Goring.

³ Monson's 'Nav. Tracts,' 174 (Churchill).

way. As for the fleet, it coasted southwards as far as Cascais, at the mouth of the Tagus.

The army arrived before Lisbon on May 25th, and seized the suburb of Santa Caterina; but the inhabitants betrayed no en-



LISEBON.

(From a chart published by James Gold, 1818.)

thusiasm for Dom Antonio, guns and ammunition for a siege were wanting, and there was a great amount of sickness. A council of war decided upon a retreat, and, after lying unmolested for two days, the force marched to Cascais, which in the meantime had been taken by the fleet.

This expedition did no good to the cause of Dom Antonio, and was in many

ways a failure; yet it greatly injured Spain. On its way south, it had captured many vessels, including fifteen bound for Lisbon with men and provisions destined for the preparation of a new Armada; and at Cascais it took sixty sail, belonging to the Hanse Towns, laden with provisions and stores for the same object.

The army was re-embarked, and the fleet weighed to return home. No sooner was it at sea than it was set upon by about twenty Spanish galleys, which, however, were easily driven off. On the way north, Vigo was attacked and burnt; but nothing further occurred until England was reached.¹ Camden and others aver that a hundred and fifty cannon, and a large booty rewarded the adventurers, but this is doubtful; and there is evidence that the expedition cost a great number of lives,² the amount of sickness in the fleet being most terrible. The captured ships belonging to the Hanse Towns would have been released, after the confiscation of the goods found in them, had not the queen been piqued by the action of an assembly which was convened at Lübeck to consider the matter, and which talked somewhat wildly about measures of revenge. Her majesty, upon this, made prize of all but two,

¹ Stowe, 757; Ferrara, 'Hist. de España,' xv. s. 16; Strype, iv. 8.

² Captain Thomas Fenner, of the *Dreadnought*, was mortally wounded in the attempt on Lisbon.

which she returned that they might inform the authorities of the Hanse Towns of the fate of the rest.

Sir William Monson, commenting on the affair, points out that the landing at Corunna imperilled the main object of the expedition, not only by permitting the men to drink new wine, which seriously affected their health, but also by exposing them to a check which acted as a discouragement. But the real cause of failure was the ill-provided state of the fleet, some of the ships not having four days' victuals when they left Plymouth. Drake was blamed for having lain at Cascais instead of pushing up the Tagus to Lisbon; but it must be remembered that his ships were not in a position to supply the army, and that, had he mounted the river, he would have had to run the gauntlet of three castles, one of which Monson held to be the most impregnable, from seaward, in Europe. Moreover, if he had gone up, he might have been unable to get down again, the place being subject to contrary winds, and a strong current running in the estuary. And finally, there was a squadron of galleys at Lisbon.

During the absence of Drake and Norreys, Cumberland, having returned from his abortive second expedition, fitted out a new one of seven sail, including H.M.S. *Victory*, lent him by the queen, and commanded, under the earl, by Christopher Lister, and the armed vessels *Megg*, Captain William Monson, *Margaret*, and a caravel. Quitting Plymouth on June 18th, 1589, they took several prizes in the chops of the Channel, and were able to relieve some of the home-coming ships of Drake. Off the coast of Spain, they removed a quantity of Portuguese goods from some Hansa merchantmen. Off St. Michael's, in the Azores, they cut out some valuable vessels. At Fayal they did likewise, and, moreover, took the town. Numerous other successes were won, but not without considerable loss. Lister, on the way home in charge of one of the prizes, was drowned, and the rest of the expedition, including two or three English vessels which had joined it at sea, suffered great privations ere it again reached England.¹

Another privateering voyage was made in 1589 by the *Dog*, 70 tons, William Michelson, master. She took several prizes in the Gulf of Mexico; but a number of her people were treacherously

¹ Monson's 'Tracts'; Hakluyt, ii. P. ii. 155; Purchas, iv. 1112; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 686.

killed by the Spanish under a flag of truce, and she had to come home owing to being short-handed.¹

The disappointments of Drake's voyage did not discourage either queen or country. In 1590, Elizabeth patriotically set apart £8970 yearly out of her revenue for the repair of the navy; and ten ships, in two squadrons, under Sir John Hawkyns and Sir Martin Frobiser respectively, were commissioned to cruise off the coast of Spain to intercept the trade from the Indies. Philip heard of these preparations, and fitted out a squadron of twenty ships under Don Alonso de Bazan to cover the home-coming of his rich carracks. But, presently thinking better of the matter, he recalled Don Alonso, and sent a dispatch to the Indies, ordering the treasure ships to postpone their departure. Spain had learnt to depend for much of her prosperity upon the annual arrival of the carracks; and the delay caused much distress and many bankruptcies. But on the other hand, the English squadrons spent seven months in fruitless cruising, without taking so much as a single prize. As they returned, they made an ineffectual attempt upon Fayal, which since its capture by the Earl of Cumberland in 1589 had been re-fortified.

In the same year, 1590, a very gallant action was fought near Gibraltar between ten English merchantmen, homeward bound from the Levant, and twelve Spanish galleys. It occurred on April 24th. In the course of it, two Flaman vessels joined the English; but, seeing the great odds against them, one of them presently struck. For six hours the fight continued, and then the galleys, much disabled, withdrew, the English having lost neither ship nor man.²

Cumberland fitted out a fourth expedition in 1591, consisting of H.M.S. *Garland* and seven armed vessels. He took some prizes; but two of them were subsequently recovered by the Spaniards, Captain William Monson being taken with them and carried prisoner to Peniche. Learning of the Spanish preparations at Corunna, the earl inquired as to them, and sent word to Lord Thomas Howard, and then, his ship being in an unsatisfactory state, returned to England.³

In 1591, also, an effort, somewhat similar to that of 1590, to

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 557.

² *Ib.*, ii. P. ii. 166.

³ Monson's 'Tracts': Purchas, iv. 1145; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 686.

capture the treasure ships was made by a squadron of seven vessels¹ of the Royal Navy, with six victuallers and some pinnaces, under Lord Thomas Howard,² who sailed to Flores, in the Azores, and remained in the neighbourhood for six months. He narrowly escaped being surprised there by Don Alonso de Bazan, who had been sent out with a fleet of fifty-three ships to meet and convoy home the expected carracks. The Earl of Cumberland, as has been mentioned above, had happened to learn of the fitting out of this fleet at Corunna, and had, with much foresight, ordered Mr. Middleton, master of the *Moonshine* pinnace, to discover its force and object, and then, if necessary, to proceed with all speed and warn Lord Thomas. Middleton kept the Spaniards in sight until there was no longer any doubt of their intentions; and thereupon set all sail for Flores, arriving very little ahead of the enemy.³ This was on August 31st.

Howard at once weighed. His second in command, Sir Richard Greynvile, of the *Revenge*, had a number of men ashore, and, according to some accounts, waited for them. Camden, and others, have it that he refused to turn his back upon the enemy, and so allowed himself to be hemmed in between the Spaniards and the island. Some also suppose that he mistook the squadron of Don Alonso for the expected treasure ships, and therefore disobeyed the orders of his commander-in-chief. But, be this as it may, he was presently surrounded and attacked by practically the whole of the best part of the Spanish fleet. Howard, with the remaining six men-of-war, seems to have been engaged for a considerable time with the enemy, but not in such a position as to afford any support to Greynvile. The *Foresight* made a serious effort to assist the *Revenge*, but, owing to the wind, could not get very near her.

The *Revenge* fought against these overwhelming odds for fifteen hours; and Greynvile, no matter whether he was, as has often been asserted, or was not, blameworthy as being rash, stubborn, and

¹ *Defiance*, Lord Thomas Howard; *Revenge*, Sir Richard Greynvile (as vice-admiral); *Nonpareil*, Sir Edward Denny; *Bonaventure*, Captain Robert Crosse; *Lion*, Captain Thomas Fenner; *Foresight*, Captain Thomas Vavasour; *Crane*, Captain Duffield.

² Hakluyt, ii. P. ii. 169; Purchas, iv. 1678. Lord Thomas was second son of the Duke of Norfolk.

³ For accounts of the expedition and fight, see Monson's 'Tracts,' 178, 179 (Churchill); Camden, iii. 637, 638; Raleigh's Report in Hakluyt, ii. 169; Carew's 'Surv. of Cornwall,' 62; Hawkyins's 'Observats.,' 10.

disobedient, immortalised himself by a defence such as has never, either before or since, been witnessed upon the sea.

At one time his ship was simultaneously laid aboard by five large vessels, including the *San Felipe*, of 1500 tons and seventy-eight guns. At no time had she less than two vessels alongside, and in hot and close action. As one Spaniard withdrew disabled, another, with fresh men, cool guns, and new supplies of ammunition, took her place. Fifteen ships engaged her. Of these she sank at least two, including the *Asuncion*. Early in the fight, one of the victuallers, the *George Noble*, of London, at great peril to herself, drew near, and, falling under the lee of the *Revenge*, asked Sir Richard if he had any commands. Greynvile bid her shift for herself, and leave him to his fortune.

The fight had begun at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Soon afterwards Greynvile had been wounded, but he refused, until 11 P.M., to quit the deck, and then, receiving a wound in the body from a musket bullet, went unwillingly below to get it dressed. The surgeon who attended to him was killed at his side, and, for a third time, Greynvile was wounded, on this occasion in the head.

In the small hours, the situation of the devoted ship was deplorable. All her best men lay killed or wounded; she was perfectly unmanageable, and her last barrel of powder had been expended. Greynvile, seeing the futility of further fighting, ordered the *Revenge* to be sunk; but to this the surviving officers would not agree, and terms were at length made with the Spaniards upon the understanding that the lives and liberties of the gallant ship's company should be spared.

When the *Revenge* surrendered, she had six feet of water in her hold, not a mast standing, and but about sixty men, nearly all of whom were wounded, alive, out of a crew which, at the outset, may have numbered two hundred and fifty, if all were on board. But sickness had been rife in the fleet, and no matter what may have been the number of men victualled in the *Revenge* on the day of the action, only about a hundred of them went into the fight fit for duty.

Greynvile, with every mark of admiration and respect, was carried on board the Spanish admiral. Two days later he died. His ship, overtaken five days after the battle by a storm, foundered off St. Michael's with two hundred Spaniards in her, and in the same storm there perished fifteen or sixteen Spanish men-of-war.

Within twenty-four hours of the fight, the home-coming carracks fell in with the fleet of Don Alonso de Bazan, and by it were safely conveyed to Spain.

Lord Thomas Howard's squadron, after maintaining a distant fight until nightfall, got away. On its homeward passage it made several valuable prizes. A little force of victuallers, fitted out in London to carry supplies to it, had sailed on August 17th, but had been dispersed by bad weather, and obliged to put back. Some of the vessels, however, before they reached port, picked up three rich prizes in the Bay, and took one of them into Plymouth.

That year, 1591, saw some other very gallant actions, which, although not strictly naval, must be here recorded. Three English ships and a barque, belonging to Sir George Carey, who was afterwards second Lord Hunsdon, were in the West Indies, engaged apparently in trade, when, off Cape Corrientes, they fell in with six Spanish vessels, four of which were large. The English promptly attacked the three ships, two of which were named *Hopewell* and *Swallow*, engaging one, and the barque, named the *Content*, engaging the other of the two biggest Spaniards. After some fighting, the three English ships, for some reasons not fully explained, drew off, leaving the little *Content* to her fate. For three hours, after she had got away from her original opponent, she fought the two smallest Spanish vessels. She then maintained a running fight with two of the large and one of the small ships, endeavouring meanwhile to get into shallow water by using her sweeps. The Spaniards, when they could no longer follow her with their deeper craft, double-manned the small vessel, and towed and rowed her after the *Content*. The Englishman was being slowly forced between the big ships and the shore, and was in a most precarious position, when a lucky shot from her temporarily disabled one of the larger Spaniards. This accident freed her, and enabled her to make an offing; but no sooner had she done so than she fell in with two fresh Spanish galleys, one of which presently tried to board. But the *Content* drove off her enemies on two occasions, and at last, after a contest which lasted, with intermissions, from 7 A.M. until 11 P.M., made her escape with a loss, strange to say, of but two men wounded, though her hull and rigging were cut to pieces. She had no more than twenty-three officers and men on board, and of these only thirteen took part in the action, the rest being below.¹

¹ Hakluyt, pt. iii. 565. The *Content's* master was Nicholas Liste.

Another gallant affair was the action fought by the *Centurion*, Turkey merchant, Robert Bradshaw, master, with five Spanish galleys, near the Gut of Gibraltar. Three vessels simultaneously tried to board her, but she drove them all off, and, after more than five hours, induced them to leave her. Bradshaw, whose crew consisted of forty-eight men and boys, lost four killed and ten wounded.¹

Attempts against Spanish treasure and Spanish treasure ships remained for many years among the most attractive ventures for English seamen. One of these attempts² was organised in 1592 by Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends, with assistance from the queen's government. Raleigh's original plan seems to have been either to await the home-coming Spanish fleet in the Atlantic or to cross to the Isthmus of Darien and seize the town of Panama, where the Spaniards were accustomed to assemble treasure, prior to shipping it home by way of the East Indies. Sir Walter was at the time in a restless and dissatisfied condition, owing to the queen's favour for him having diminished, and he may have thought it necessary to achieve some new exploit in order to reinstate himself.

Two only of her majesty's ships, the *Garland*, of 700 tons, 300 men, and 45 guns, and the *Foresight*, of 300 tons, 120 men, and 37 guns, participated in this expedition. With them were associated thirteen armed merchant vessels. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the first instance, took chief command, but, as will be seen, returned ere the adventure had fairly begun, and was superseded by Frobiser. Captain Robert Crosse commanded the *Foresight*, and the land forces on board the squadron were under Sir John Burgh,³ although he also exercised some kind of naval direction.

After two or three months' detention by contrary winds, the expedition sailed on May 1st; but on the day following, Sir Martin Frobiser, in the Lord Admiral's pinnace *Disdain*, overtook it, bringing from Elizabeth letters revoking Raleigh's command in favour of Frobiser, and commanding Raleigh to return. Sir Walter seems to have been hurt and disappointed, and to have determined to proceed in defiance of orders; but when, upon reaching the

¹ Hakluyt, ii. pt. ii. 168.

² *Ib.*, ii. pt. ii. p. 194; Mouson's 'Tracts'; Camden's 'Annales'; Oldys's 'Life of Raleigh,' 63-65.

³ Sir John Burgh, a descendant of the famous Hubert de Burgh, was third son of William, fifth Baron de Burgh. He was killed in action on March 7th, 1595, being then in his fifty-third year, and lies buried in Westminster Abbey.

latitude of Cape Finisterre, he learnt that the Spaniards had received intelligence of his preparations, and had, in consequence, decided that none of their ships should leave America that year,¹ he quitted the squadron and went home.

His departure caused much confusion, many of the merchant captains never having undertaken, and being unwilling, to serve under Frobiser. Several, therefore, quitted the squadron, and



SIR MARTIN FROBISER, KT.

(From the *Herologia*.)

cruised on their own account; but before they separated they took, off the coast of Spain, a Biscayan ship of 600 tons, laden with ironwork, and sent her to England. After the parting, Sir John Burgh captured a fly-boat, which, however, cost him a long chase to the southward, and drew him within sight of a considerable Spanish fleet, which was to seaward of him, and which threatened to hem him in with the shore. He nevertheless escaped by the

¹ Judging from the result, this intelligence was false.

exercise of superior seamanship, and rejoined the *Foresight* and one other vessel which had been placed by Frobiser under his command, with orders to cruise to the Azores. Frobiser himself, with three or four ships, remained off the Spanish coast, and his craft being all indifferent sailers, did but little.

Taking several caravels on their passage, Sir John Burgh and Captain Crosse reached Flores, and there fell in with three ships belonging to the Earl of Cumberland's expedition¹ which were in chase of a carrack. The Portuguese crew, despairing of escape, ran this carrack ashore, took out some of her cargo, and set her on fire; but the English, landing a hundred men, extinguished the flames, and saved part of the lading. They also captured the carrack's purser, who was by threats induced to admit that another carrack had been ordered to make the island, and was probably in the neighbourhood.

Sir John Burgh joined his friends in the search for this vessel, and the ships of the two commanders were so disposed northward and southward, on a line about seven leagues westward of Flores, as to cover and observe one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty miles of sea.

Thus the united squadrons lay, from June 29th to August 3rd, when some carracks being sighted, a sharp engagement presently ensued with them. The English were still scattered, and the enemy appears to have concentrated on the ships of Sir John Burgh and of those captains nearest to him. Sir John himself was reduced to an almost sinking condition, and might have been taken had not Captain Robert Crosse, in H.M.S. *Foresight*,² placed himself athwart the threatened vessel's stern, and gallantly borne the brunt of the attack for three hours. This gave time for other English ships to come up. How many carracks were originally engaged does not appear, but it would seem that ere the bulk of the English forces arrived on the scene, all save one of the enemy had withdrawn from the fight. Crosse then carried that remaining one by boarding. She proved to be the *Madre de Dios*, a seven-decked³ ship, measuring one hundred and sixty-five feet from stem to stern, and carrying six hundred men, and a miscellaneous cargo valued, upon its arrival in

¹ This was the fifth of the earl's expeditions. See below.

Some accounts say *Providence*; but Crosse's ship was the *Foresight*.

² Among these seven decks were, of course, included the numerous superimposed short decks, forming the lofty stern-castle or poop.

England, and after the vessel had been partially looted, at £150,000. The *Madre de Dios*, which was of 1600 tons' burthen, was brought to England. Most of the profits of the venture were confiscated by the queen, in spite of the fact that only two of her ships had been concerned, and that of these the smaller alone had had a hand in the taking of the carrack. The adventuring merchants were, in consequence, greatly discontented.

Don Alonso de Bazan, who had been directed by his sovereign to proceed direct to Flores to await the coming of the carracks, had disobeyed his instructions, and had sailed instead, with twenty-three galleons, to St. Michael's, for which he had a consignment of guns, intending to go on to Flores later. When he heard of what had occurred, he pursued the English resolutely enough for a hundred leagues, but failing to catch them, he was, upon his return to Spain, and in spite of his great previous services, broken for his disobedience and negligence.

Cumberland's fifth expedition, which had thus united with Burgh, consisted of five vessels, none of which belonged to the navy. The earl did not accompany it, but gave the command to Captain Norton.

Other expeditions of 1592, were Christopher Newport's privateering voyage, in the course of which Ocoa, and two other towns in what is now Haiti, were sacked, Puerto Caballos, in the Bay of Honduras, was plundered, and several ships were taken or destroyed; and William King's voyage to the Gulf of Mexico. This was not less successful than Newport's venture, though King's operations were confined to the sea. The *Amity*, of London, Thomas White master, on her way home from a voyage to Barbary, fell in with two Spanish vessels, both of which, after a very stubborn fight, he took. They proved to be laden with quicksilver, wine, missals, and indulgences, and were extremely valuable prizes.¹

The year 1593 witnessed the setting out of Richard Hawkyns's expedition to the South Sea.² The following year saw the inception of Lancaster and Venner's expedition to Brazil,³ and of Dudley's voyage to Trinidad.⁴

Few purely naval events occurred in 1593, the year of the Treaty of Melun; but, in the course of it, the Earl of Cumberland went to sea in command of his sixth privateering expedition, with

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 567, 570; ii., pt. ii. 193; Lansdowne MSS. 70, f. 231.

² See Chap. XV!

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*

H.M. ships *Golden Lion* and *Bonaventure*, and seven armed vessels, and with Sir William Monson and Sir Edward Yorke as his seconds. Monson records that his ship, the *Lion*, during this cruise, obliged twelve foreign " hulks " to strike to her, in spite of their refusal to do so until they were forced. The earl, on account of illness, had to return prematurely; but three of his smaller vessels went on to the West Indies, and there did a good deal of damage to the Spaniards.¹

Even prior to the conclusion of the Treaty of Melun, friendship between England and France, to the prejudice of Spain, had become very close and cordial, and Elizabeth had sent Sir John Norreys with three thousand men to co-operate with Henry IV. against the League, and against the Spaniards who were actively supporting the League in the neighbourhood of Brest. Henry, fearing lest Spain might dispatch naval as well as military assistance to his domestic enemies, persuaded Elizabeth, in 1594, to send a fleet to blockade Brest by sea. The League had by that time collapsed, owing to Henry's abjuration of Protestantism in 1593, and Norreys, with his troops, had been withdrawn. But the Duc de Mercœur, who had pretensions to the independent sovereignty of Brittany, and whose only hope lay in Spanish help, was still hostile to Henry, and rather than submit, delivered to his Spanish friends Blavet, now Port Louis, in Morbihan, and winked at, if he did not actually facilitate, their seizure of the peninsula of Camaret, between the Bay of Douarnenez and the roadstead of Brest. The Spaniards began to strongly fortify themselves there; and as their position threatened Brest and Le Conquêt, and bade fair presently to enable them to obtain the mastery of the chief naval station on the Atlantic seaboard of France, Norreys was ordered back to assist Marshal d'Anmont on the land side, and Sir Martin Frobiser, with a squadron, was directed to co-operate from the sea for the expulsion of interlopers who, had they ever securely established themselves in Brest, must have become highly dangerous neighbours for England.

Frobiser's force, according to Monson, included only four of her majesty's ships,² but to these there seem to have been added six, or possibly more, armed merchantmen. The main Spanish work was

¹ Purchas, iv. 1147; Monson's 'Tracts'; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 687.

² *Vanguard*, 500 tons, Sir Martin Frobiser; *Rainbow*, 500 tons, Captain Thomas Fenner; *Dracnought*, 400 tons, Captain Alexander Clifford; and *Quittance*, 200 tons, Captain Savile.

at Crozon, and to the Bay of Crozon Frobiser proceeded in October. Norreys and D'Aumont, in the meantime, reduced Morlaix and Quimper, and on November 1st, arrived before Crozon and opened communications with the squadron. The attack on the fort was at once begun, and prosecuted with great energy; but the defence was not less sturdy, and the loss of life on both sides was great. The final and successful assault was made with the help of Frobiser and the officers and seamen of his squadron. In the course of it, Sir Martin received a ball in the side. The wound was not in itself very serious, but it was rendered so by the inexperience of the surgeons; and although Frobiser brought his squadron back to Plymouth, he survived but a few weeks after he had landed.¹

He was one of the most able seamen of an age which produced an unusual number of distinguished sailors; his courage and resource were remarkable, and he seems to have been in private life an admirable character; but he was blunt in manner, and so exceedingly strict a disciplinarian that he was never popular with his commands.² It is probable, from the fact that no holograph letters of his appear to be extant, that he had been ill-educated, and that he could write little if any more than his name.³

The Earl of Cumberland's seventh expedition left Plymouth on April 6th, 1594. The squadron consisted of the armed ships, *Royal Exchange*, 250 tons, George Cave, master; *Mayflower*, 250 tons, William Anthony, master; *Samson*, Nicholas Downton, master; a caravel and a pinnace. It made for the Azores, and, about ten days after having sighted them, fell in with a large and very richly laden Spanish carrack. The *Royal Exchange*, *Mayflower*, and *Samson* engaged her simultaneously at close quarters, but had to cast off from her, as she presently caught fire, and the flames threatened to involve them also, and actually did them some damage. The carrack finally blew up, very few out of about 1100 souls on board being saved. In the struggle, William Anthony was killed, and George Cave was so badly wounded that he died in consequence after his return to England. The expedition refreshed at Flores, and, on June 29th, met with and engaged another large carrack. She beat them off, yet not without difficulty, and, having

¹ Dying in January, 1595.

² Churchyard's 'Memorable Service of Sir J. Norreys,' 135-141; Fuller's 'Yorkshire Worthies,' 202; Monson's 'Tracts,' 182; Stowe, 808; Camden's 'Annales,' 680.

³ Laughton's *Intro. to Span. Armada Papers*, p. lxxvi.

suffered severely, the English vessels made their way back to England.¹

In the meantime there were apprehensions of renewed Spanish attempts upon a large scale against England. There was some small foundation for the rumours which prevailed, but the report received unmerited attention, especially in Ireland, where local disaffection was always in haste to credit foreign enemies with more than Irish hatred for Elizabeth and her representatives.

These apprehensions led to the fitting out, in the summer of 1594,² of a small English squadron, which, designed to cruise in home waters, effected nothing, and met with no extraordinary adventures; for, although an insignificant Spanish force of four galleys did, in fact, make a descent in July upon Mount's Bay, and burnt Mousehole, Newlyn, and Penzance, the English squadron was not then in the neighbourhood, and the enemy escaped without interruption. The affair was relatively of small importance, and did not cost a single Englishman either his life or his liberty.³ It was, indeed, a mere momentary raid.

Another squadron, designed to act against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies and Central America, was placed in 1595 under the command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkyns, and consisted of six-and-twenty vessels, of which the following, and possibly others, were ships of her majesty:—

Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.
<i>Defiance</i>	500	250	46	Sir Francis Drake.
<i>Garland</i>	700	300	45	Sir John Hawkyns.
<i>Hope</i>	600	250	48	Captain Gilbert Yorke.
<i>Bonaventure</i>	600	250	47	Captain Troughton.
<i>Foresight</i>	300	160	37	Captain Wynter.
<i>Adventure</i>	250	120	26	Captain Thomas Drake.

The land forces embarked were commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville.

This squadron was fitted out upon the express recommendation of Drake and Hawkyns. Both were, no doubt, animated by a sincere and patriotic desire to injure Spain, as well as by the

¹ Purchas, iv. 1147; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 688. See also Hakluyt.

² For Lancaster's and Dudley's voyages of this year, see Chap. XVI.

³ Camden, iii. 697; Carew's 'Survey of Cornwall,' 115.

personal desire of gain and glory; but Hawkyns was probably influenced by yet another motive. His son Richard, in the *Dainty*, had been captured by the Spaniards on June 21st, 1594,¹ and was still detained by them; and the father may have hoped to take some distinguished Spaniard who would form a suitable exchange.²

The original intention was to proceed to Nombre de Dios, land there, and march across the isthmus to Panama, in order to seize a Spanish treasure reported to have been brought thither from Peru. But five days before the squadron sailed, the commanders were advised by the queen that, according to news received from Spain, a treasure ship dismasted had put in for shelter at Puerto Rico; and they were ordered to call at that island on their way, and, if possible, to possess themselves of the disabled vessel and her contents, Puerto Rico being but weakly defended.

The squadron left Plymouth on August 28th, 1595,³ and arrived off Grand Canary on September 27th. Drake and Baskerville were of opinion that the place should be attempted in order that the ships might be victualled. Hawkyns desired to proceed at once; but as the people were importunate, provisions short, and Baskerville confident that he could gain his object in four days, Hawkyns reluctantly consented to an attack being made. It was, as he had anticipated, unsuccessful; and the squadron, no doubt somewhat discouraged by the initial failure, steered for Dominica, where it arrived on October 29th. Time was wasted there and at Guadeloupe in trafficking with the natives, and in building pinnaces; and opportunity was given to the Spaniards, not only to learn all that was intended against them, but also to concert measures of defence. The enemy captured a small English vessel, the *Francis*,⁴ which had straggled from the main body, and by torture forced her master and seamen to disclose the English plans. They then forwarded the intelligence with all haste to Puerto Rico, where the treasure was promptly buried; and they warned both the islands and the main of the impending blow.

Thus, when, on November 12th, Drake and Hawkyns found themselves before San Juan de Puerto Rico, the place was prepared to receive them. As the squadron anchored, it was fired at by the

¹ See Chap. XVI.

² Sir R. Hawkyns's 'Observations on Voyage to the South Seas,' 133.

³ This was also the year of the departure of Sir Walter Raleigh for Guiana (see Chap. XVI.).

⁴ On October 30th.

forts, and Sir Nicholas Clifford, second in command of the troops, was mortally wounded. A still heavier blow to the expedition was the death of Sir John Hawkyns, which occurred on the same day. According to Hakluyt, this great commander had been dispirited by the knowledge that the capture of the *Francis* could not but result in the disclosure of all his plans to the enemy,¹ and had from that moment sickened.

The Spaniards had blocked the mouth of the port by sinking a ship across the centre of the channel, and by fixing booms thence to the forts on shore; and within they had five well-armed and well-manned vessels; but on the evening of November 13th, Baskerville, manning and arming the pinnaces and boats of the squadron to the number of five-and-twenty, forced a way in under a heavy fire from the Spanish guns, and set fire to the five ships. A most obstinate fight was carried on for some time in the harbour. The English, however, were finally repulsed, and, concluding that any further attempt would be equally futile, they re-embarked, and sailed across to the mainland.

On December 1st, they burnt La Hacha, in the modern United States of Columbia, in spite of the willingness of the inhabitants to ransom the place for thirty-four thousand ducats. Other places in the neighbourhood were treated with similar barbarity, and some prisoners and pillage were secured. Santa Marta was taken and burnt on December 19th, but no loot was found there. The Spaniards at Nombre de Dios made some resistance; but that place also fell on December 28th, and with it were captured several vessels, and some silver, gold, jewels, and money.

From Nombre de Dios, a landing party of seven hundred and fifty soldiers, under Sir Thomas Baskerville, started across the isthmus for Panama, but, finding the march very arduous, being galled by fire from unseen foes, and learning that forts obstructed their passage, the troops returned, and, harassed and half-starved, rejoined the squadron on January 2nd, 1596.

The misfortune affected the health of Drake, who fell ill with dysentery. He was, nevertheless, contemplating an attack upon Puerto Bello when, on January 28th, death overtook him.² His

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 583. See also Purchas's 'Pilgrims,' 1133; Monson, 183, attributes Sir John's death to causes which could not have influenced it.

² Monson says that Drake "grew melancholy upon this disappointment, and suddenly, and, I hope, naturally, died." He seems to have suspected a violent death, but upon what grounds is unknown.

body, enclosed in a leaden coffin, found a fitting resting-place in the sea; and the expedition, deprived of both its admirals, set sail for England.

Thus, within a space of less than three months, did a single and only very moderately successful expedition cost England the lives of two of her most notable sea captains.

Hawkins was a man of unusual and cultivated ability, and of exceptional skill as a seaman. Although his early life had been stormy, and his whole career had been adventurous in the highest degree, he remained to a large extent unspoilt to the end, in that he was merciful in action, ready to forgive, and ever a strict observer of his word. Unlike some of his distinguished naval contemporaries, he was cautious, reserved, and slow in making up his mind. The navy, of which he was treasurer for seventeen years, owed, and still owes, much to him; and although he had faults, chief among which may be ranked extreme bluntness of manner, jealousy, and an excessive love of money, he was withal a man of great and remarkable character.¹

Drake possessed at least equal ability, but had little acquired knowledge of many arts save those connected with navigation and war, in which he stood unrivalled. Less cautious and provident than Hawkins, he was also less greedy of gain, and, indeed, appears to have generally set the welfare of his queen and country far above his own private advantage. He had many fine qualities, most of which were expressed in his person, which was that of a healthy, strong, and genial adventurer; and among his defects there seem to have been none much more serious than love of display, occasional quickness of temper, lack of reserve when among his equals, and a habit of boasting.²

This fatal expedition was brought home by Sir Thomas Baskerville and Captain Troughton. A Spanish fleet had been sent from Europe to intercept the squadron, and lay waiting for it near the Isla de Pinos, off Cuba. There were twenty sail of Spaniards in company when the English were sighted; and, the forces on each side being nearly equal, a hot action resulted. After about two

¹ Monson's 'Tracts,' 183, 371; letter by "R. M." in Purchas's 'Pilgrims,' iv. 1185; Camden, 700; Stowe, 807. For a discussion of Hawkins's public character, see Oppenheim, 'Admin. of Royal Navy,' App. C. (p. 392).

² 'Relation of a Voyage to the W. Indies,' 58; Fuller's 'Holy State,' 130; Stowe, 808; Camden, 700; 'English Hero,' 207; Monson's 'Tracts,' 399; Purchas's 'Pilgrims,' vi. 1185; Holinshed, ii. 1567; Hakluyt, iii. 583.

hours' firing, the enemy sheered off, having lost one vessel by fire, and having had several badly mauled; and the English, proceeding, reached England without further adventure in May, 1596.¹

The year 1595 witnessed two other expeditions of some importance. One was the voyage of a little squadron under Amyas Preston and George Somers to the West Indies. It was a privateering venture, and, in the course of it, the island of Porto Santo, near Madeira, was taken and pillaged, and considerable damage was done to the Spaniards on the coast of what is now Venezuela.² The other was the eighth of the Earl of Cumberland's voyages. For the occasion the earl had built the *Scourge of Malice*, 900 tons, at Deptford. His intention was to personally lead the expedition, and, indeed, he actually started with it, but was recalled by the queen. The other ships were the *Alcedo*, Captain William Monson; the *Anthony*, David Jarret, master; and an old "frigate." Cumberland's appointment of Captain Langton to take his place as "admiral" disgusted Monson, who left the other ships, and cruised, but to no effect, on his own account. The remaining vessels made several prizes, but narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a large Spanish fleet.³

It is interesting to note here that the *Scourge of Malice*, a famous ship in her day, was sold, after Cumberland had done with her, to the East India Company, and, re-named the *Dragon*, distinguished herself against the Portuguese in the Eastern seas in the time of James I.

Rumours of a renewed intention on the part of Spain to invade England still persisted. Indeed, Spain had apparently forgotten the catastrophe of the Armada, and, there is little doubt, harboured some fresh designs against Elizabeth, and particularly against her dominions in Ireland. Yet it is more than possible that the great English expedition of 1596 would not have sailed when, and struck as, it did, but for the fact that, owing to French mismanagement and folly in declining proffered English help, the Spaniards succeeded in making themselves masters of Calais.⁴ This stirred England, just in the same way as the probability of a Spanish occupation of Brest had stirred it in 1594. Preparations for an

¹ The year of Keymis's Voyage to Guiana, of Shirley's expedition to the West Indies, and of Parker's cruise to the West Indies, see Chap. XVI.

² Hakluyt, iii. 578.

³ Monson; Purchas, iv. 1148; Harris, 'Voyages,' i. 688.

⁴ Cal. of Hatfield MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.), pt. vi.

expedition against Cadiz were in progress before Calais fell. After the fall of Calais, they were hastened to such good effect that the fleet sailed about six weeks later.¹

The ships of her majesty engaged in this important adventure were—

Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.
<i>Ark Royal</i>	800	400	55	{The Lord High Admiral, Joint-Adm. {Captain Anyas Preston.
<i>Repulse</i>	700	350	50	{Robert, Earl of Essex, Joint-Admiral. {Captain William Monson.
<i>Mere Honour</i>	800	400	41	Lord Thomas Howard, Vice-Admiral.
<i>Warspite</i>	600	300	29	Sir Walter Raleigh, Rear-Admiral.
<i>Lion</i>	500	250	60	Sir Robert Southwell.
<i>Rainbow</i>	500	250	26	Sir Francis Vere. ²
<i>Nonpareil</i>	500	250	56	Sir Robert Dudley. ³
<i>Vanguard</i>	500	250	31	Sir John Wingfield.
<i>Mary Rose</i>	600	250	39	Sir George Carew. ⁴
<i>Dreadnought</i>	400	200	41	Alexander Clifford. ⁵
<i>Swiftsure</i>	400	200	41	Robert Crosse. ⁵
<i>Quittance</i>	200	108	25	Sir George Gifford.
<i>Trenontau</i>	140	70	21	— King.
<i>Cran</i>	200	108	24	

with probably three more, making seventeen in all.⁶ With these, according to Speed, there were associated three vessels belonging to the Lord High Admiral, twenty-four belonging to the States-General, and armed merchantmen and victuallers sufficient to bring up the total number of sail to 150. De Jonge⁷ says that eighteen of the twenty-four Dutch vessels were of from 200 to 400 tons burden, and carried from sixteen to twenty-four guns apiece, with from 100

¹ For the account of the expedition, Monson, Hakluyt, Purchas, Camden, the Appendix to Harris's Collection, Speed, Stow, and MSS. in the Cottonian Library, as well as various State Papers have been consulted.

² Son of Geoffrey de Vere, and grandson of the fifteenth Earl of Oxford. He wrote 'The Commentaries of Sir F. Vere' (published in 1657). Dying in 1608, he was buried at Westminster.

³ Son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, by Douglas Howard, sister of the Lord High Admiral. He married as his third wife a daughter of Sir Robert Southwell. His great nautical work, 'L'Arcano del Mare,' was written while he was serving the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with whom he took refuge upon failing to establish his legitimacy, his father having denied the marriage.

⁴ Created Baron Carew, of Clopton, 1605, and later Earl of Totness; author of 'Hibernia Pacata.' He died Master of the Ordnance, March 27th, 1629.

⁵ Knighted for this service.

⁶ There were originally to be only twelve ships of her majesty, twelve ships of the City, and twenty ships of the Netherlands; but the force was considerably increased. Cal. of Hatfield MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.), pt. vi.

⁷ 'Nederlandsche Zeevesen,' i. 143.

to 130 men. The contingent was under the orders of Jonkheer Jan van Duijvenvoorde, Lord of Warmond and Admiral of Holland; but the English Lord High Admiral was naval commander-in-chief, and for the first time a Dutch fleet obeyed an English flag-officer.¹

On board the fleet there were, in addition to the Dutch, 7360



JAN VAN DUIJVENVOORDE, ADMIRAL OF HOLLAND.

(From the engraving by H. Goltzius, 1579.)

landsmen and 6772 seamen. The troops were under the Lord High Admiral and Essex, as joint generals.²

¹ For the first time, also, the Dutch fleet seems to have carried a regular national flag to sea. A Resolution of the States-General of April 5th, 1596, directed that the arms of the States, a lion and arrows, should be worn on the colours, which were a tricolour of orange, white and blue. The flag was afterwards changed, red being substituted for orange on account of its superior visibility, and the arms being omitted. In Tromp's time, the orange (or red), white and blue flag was known as the Prince's flag, since it represented the colours of the Prince of Orange.

² This arrangement foreshadows the appointment under the Commonwealth of 'Admirals and Generals at Sea,' and, to some extent, the later practice of giving naval officers concurrent commissions in the Marines.

Queen Elizabeth's instructions to Howard of Effingham and Essex¹ may be briefly summarised. The generals were advised that the armament had been originally collected because of the prevalence of reports that Spain was preparing a greater Armada than that of 1588 to invade England, and to aid the Irish rebels. The reports had turned out to be exaggerated. Moreover, the Spanish fleet had been scattered, partly for the pursuit of Drake and partly for the reinforcement of the Indies. But there was still danger that the Irish rebels might be assisted, and that might best be prevented by the capture or destruction of "some good number" of the King of Spain's ships in his ports. The duties of the generals would, therefore, be to discover the strength, whereabouts, and designs of the Spanish navy, and the nature and quantity of stores collected in Spain for purposes of aggression over sea: to destroy any vessels intended for Ireland, the Narrow Seas, or Calais, to generally injure the naval power of Spain, to avoid the unnecessary hazarding of ships and men, to take undefended towns, especially if they should be understood to contain treasure; not to injure non-combatants, and to preserve all booty for her majesty's disposal. The two generals were to be assisted by a council of five, composed of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Conyers Clifford, and Sir George Carew;² and the proceedings of the generals and council were to be from time to time recorded for the queen's information by Anthony Ashley,³ one of the clerks of her Privy Council, who would accompany the fleet for the purpose. If, after the attainment of the main objects of the expedition, the generals should learn of the home-coming of any rich Spanish carracks from the Indies, they might exercise their discretion as to effecting their capture; but the fleet was not to be kept abroad longer than needful.

Before the sailing of the expedition, the queen's attitude towards it, and especially towards Essex, changed; and, almost at the last moment, the two leaders received letters of recall. These were withdrawn only upon the urgent remonstrances of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Francis Vere, and other subordinate officers.

¹ Cotton MSS., Otho E. ix.

² The generals had power to add to this Council.

³ Anthony Ashley, grandfather of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, became Secretary to the Privy Council under James I., was made a baronet in 1622, and died in 1628.

The instructions issued by Howard of Effingham and Essex¹ to the captains of the fleet will be found at length in the previous chapter. Before sailing, the joint generals also published in Spanish, French, Italian, and Dutch a manifesto "to all Christian people," setting forth the causes and objects of the expedition, proclaiming friendship to neutrals, and hostility to Spain and her allies, and requiring all who might have aided Philip in the past to withdraw from him upon pain of being made to suffer for their continued adherence to Elizabeth's enemies.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on June 1st, 1596. With a north-easterly breeze, it quickly made Cape Ortegal; and there, being off the enemy's coast, was organised for instant action. We do not know what was its formation; but Monson says that the *True Love*, the *Lion's Whelp*, and the *Witness*,² the three best sailers in the command, were dispatched ahead to look out for Spanish scouts or advice-boats, and to prevent any such from returning with news of the approaching danger. By way of additional precaution, a course was taken well out of sight of land. Every captain had been already provided with sealed instructions, to be opened only in case of separation from the fleet, or after rounding Cape St. Vincent, directing him to make rendezvous off Cadiz; and he had been ordered, in the event of his capture by the enemy appearing imminent, to sink these instructions.

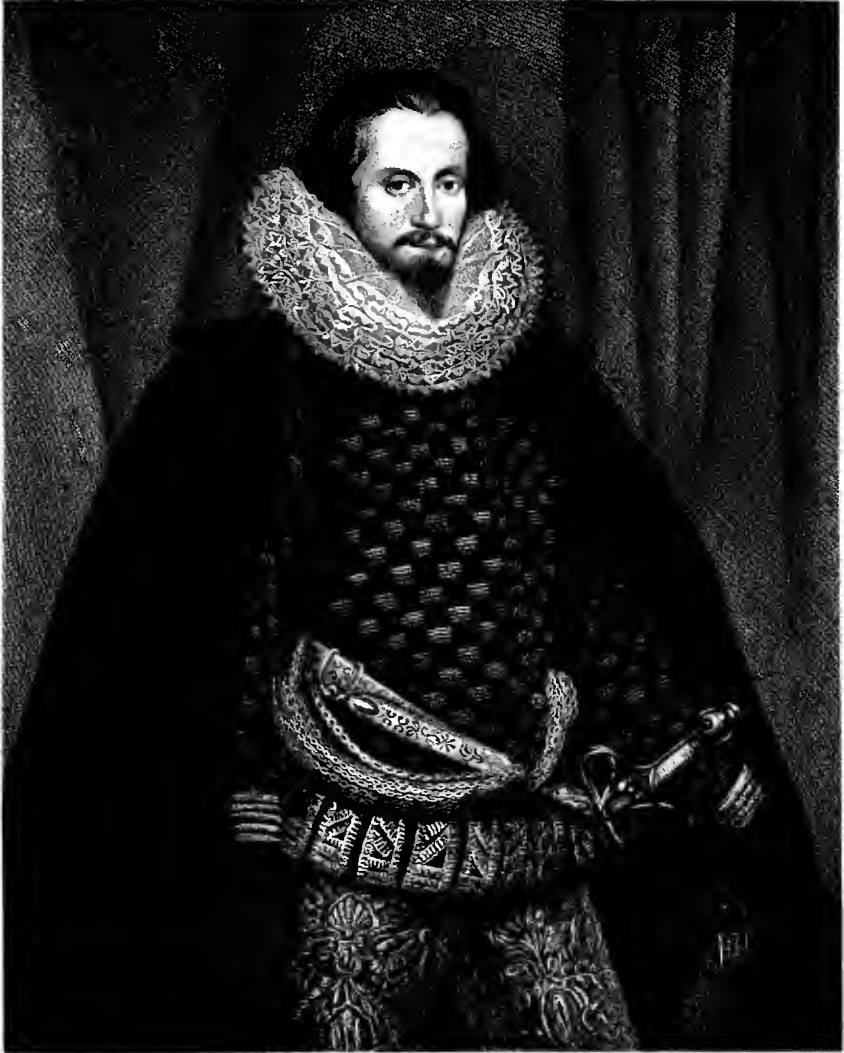
On June 10th, the three advanced ships, two of which were commanded by Richard Leveson³ and Charles, Lord Mountjoy,⁴ respectively, fell in with and took three Hamburg fly-boats, fourteen

¹ It is noteworthy that in all the documents relating to this expedition, Essex is given precedence over Howard, although the latter was Lord High Admiral, and the former was new to naval command. The navy was not yet recognised as the senior service.

² It is probable that these were the three vessels belonging to the Lord High Admiral. A *Lion's Whelp* was bought from him for the navy in 1601. Pipe Off. Accts. 2239.

³ Richard Leveson, of Lilleshall, born 1570, served as volunteer in the *Ark* against the Armada, and was knighted for his service in the Cadiz expedition. He died in 1605, Admiral of the Narrow Seas and Vice-Admiral of England. He had married in 1587 Margaret, a daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham. He lies buried at Wolverhampton.

⁴ Second son of the sixth Lord Mountjoy, born 1563. He had been knighted in 1587, and had succeeded his elder brother in 1594. In 1603 he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and created Earl of Devonshire. He died in 1606. But in some accounts it is said that not Lord Mountjoy, but Sir Christopher Blount was with the advanced squadron.



me engraver

Printed in 1725.

*Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex
from W. J. Dry's Engraving after the original by Williard*

London: Printed and Sold by W. J. Dry, in the Strand, 1725.

days out from Cadiz. From them they learnt that the garrison had no suspicions of the intentions of the English. On June 12th, the *Swan*, a London ship, commanded by Sir Richard Weston, was added to the advanced squadron. She presently came up with and fought a Flaman'd fly-boat, homeward bound from the Straits; but the stranger got away, and was next day making for Lisbon with the intention of alarming the Spaniards, when, within a league of the shore, she was fortunately taken by the *John and Francis*, another London ship, commanded by Sir Marnaduke Darell. Thus everything contributed to keep the Spaniards in ignorance of the English design; and on June 18th, when an Irish craft returning from Cadiz was spoken, the generals had the satisfaction of learning from her that the people of the town were tranquil in their fancied security, that the garrison was small, and that the port was full of vessels richly laden for the Indies.

Owing to some miscalculation on the part of the masters, the fleet arrived off Cadiz a few hours sooner than had been anticipated, early in the morning of June 20th. At a council held previously, it had been determined to land on the peninsula of San Sebastian, the westernmost point of the Isle of Leon, on which Cadiz stands; and the fleet therefore dropped anchor off the peninsula; but, the wind being brisk and the sea high, and four galleys lying in such a position under the land as to be able to intercept in-coming boats, nothing was that day attempted.

After some hours had been spent in communications between the generals, a scheme, which Monson says that he had himself recommended, was resolved upon. The project of first landing was given up, and it was decided to begin operations by boldly entering the harbour and seizing the shipping.

Essex demanded to have the honour of leading the way in; but the Lord High Admiral had been strictly charged by the queen not to suffer the earl to expose himself unnecessarily, and Essex had to appear to submit. That night the order of attack was arranged, the posts of honour being assigned to Lord Thomas Howard,¹ Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, Captain Crosse, and others of less note.

At dawn on June 21st, these officers, having rounded the north end of the island, passed Fort San Felipe and the galleys moored near it, and, in the face of a heavy fire, made for the mass of

¹ Who, as the *Mercy Honour* drew too much water, went on board the *Nonparil*.

Spanish ships within the port.¹ These fell slowly back, but the galleys, which were so stationed as to present their heavy bow



CADIZ HARBOUR.

(From a chart published by Joyce
Gold, 1869.)

the town batteries behind them, very severely galled the advance, and especially inconvenienced Sir Francis Vere in the *Rainbow*. Essex, who witnessed this from the northern side of the entrance to the port, could no longer be restrained, and gallantly threw himself into the fight. Howard of Effingham, at about the same time, entered in a pinnace, being unwilling to risk the *Ark Royal* in such narrow waters. The English pressed forward steadily, driving the Spanish galleons and merchantmen up the harbour past more galleys, which were moored

in Punta Road, and which fought furiously. The Isle of Leon was joined to the mainland by a bridge at Suaco. Upon reaching the neighbourhood of the bridge, the fugitive Spanish vessels fell into great confusion. There was, however, a narrow canal whereby they could reach the open sea on the south side of the island. Entrance to this canal seems to have been obtainable by means of a swing opening near the island end of the bridge.² Into the canal the fleeing ships crowded pell-mell, only to discover that at the seaward end of it was stationed Sir John Wingfeild in the *Vanguard*. A good many, however, succeeded in thus escaping, though Sir John was exceedingly vigilant and arrested several.

In the meantime, very hot fighting between the English and Spanish men-of-war continued in Punta Road, where Howard himself was engaged. But towards noon the action slackened,³ many of the Spanish vessels having by that hour been destroyed by the English fire, or sunk or set fire to by their own people to

¹ Monson says that Raleigh, having entered, anchored out of gunshot of the Spaniards, and urged lack of water as an excuse for not going farther in; and that not until the *Rainbow* had passed him did Raleigh weigh and proceed.

² Monson says that the fleeing ships broke through the bridge itself.

³ It did not wholly cease until 4 P.M.

save them from capture. The Spanish flagship *San Felipe*, a ship of 1500 tons' burden, blew up and, by her explosion, destroyed two or three craft that lay near her. So rapidly did the flames make progress that the Spaniards, having fired their vessels, often had no time to take to their boats, and, throwing themselves into the water, would have perished, had they not been taken up by the English. Numbers, however, were drowned.

Two ships only of any importance were taken, the *San Mateo* and the *San Andres*, galleons of 1200 tons. These were saved by the exertions of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Thomas Gerard,¹ and for several years afterwards they figured in the English navy as the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew*. All the rest, except those which escaped by way of the canal, were sunk, burnt, or driven ashore.

While these events were in progress, the Dutch contingent gallantly attacked and carried Puntal, and Essex soon afterwards landed² eight hundred men a league from the city, with a view to storming it on the land side. But first Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Thomas Gerard were dispatched with a party to Suaco to destroy the entrance to the canal by which the fugitive ships had escaped, and to cut the bridge in order to prevent the arrival of succours from the mainland.

When these measures of precaution had been carried out, Essex advanced upon Cadiz. The town was fortified on the south by means of a wall running across the island, and from this wall the enemy kept up a troublesome fire upon the English. But it is probable that the wall was enfiladed by the guns of the English ships in the port, and that it could not have been held easily. A body of about five hundred Spaniards outside the wall retired precipitately, and was so closely followed up that the attackers almost succeeded in entering with it. Sir Francis Vere, at the head of a small body, was one of the first to reach the gate; and while he was forcing it, another party, led by some young military officers, scaled the wall. In a few moments the English were in the narrow streets. From the flat roofs of the houses the inhabitants aided those of their friends who still struggled below, by flinging

¹ Created Baron Gerard in 1603. He was at the time a colonel of the land forces. He died in 1618. It may be of interest to add that he returned home in the *St. Matthew*.

² The landing-place, according to Monson, was commanded by Puntal Fort, but the garrison promptly abandoned that work. Monson also declares that Essex landed without Howard's privy.

down stones, and by firing occasional shots; but the defenders were gradually driven into the market-place, where, at length, the fight ceased. Such of the garrison as retreated to the castle and the townhouse surrendered the next day, promising 520,000¹ ducats for their lives, and giving forty hostages for the payment of that sum.

The loss of life on the English side was exceedingly small; but Sir John Wingfeild was killed while serving ashore, and Sir Walter Raleigh was wounded.

Immediately after the place had fallen, the generals, by proclamation, ordered that no violence should be offered to unoffending citizens; and that the women, priests, and children should be conveyed across the harbour to Puerto Santa Maria in English vessels. Essex in person superintended the embarkation of the ladies, suffering them to carry off their richest apparel and jewels, and preserving them from all insult.

Raleigh's wound was not serious, and he was at once detached by the Lord High Admiral to proceed with a light squadron to Puerto Reale, to burn such merchantmen as had taken refuge there. The Spaniards offered Howard 2,000,000² ducats if he would stay his hand; but the Lord High Admiral answered that he had come to burn and not to ransom. The short time spent in negotiation, however, enabled the Duke of Medina Sidonia to remove a certain amount of goods from some of the ships ere they were fired.

The loss to Spain was estimated at 20,000,000 ducats. Besides the merchantmen which were destroyed and the two large galleons which were taken, thirteen men-of-war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen miscellaneous vessels were sunk, burnt, or bilged. About twelve hundred pieces of ordnance were also taken or sunk. Nearly sixty naval and military officers, whose names are given at length by Camden, were knighted in consequence of their behaviour upon the occasion; and Howard of Effingham, for the service, was subsequently created Earl of Nottingham.

Having gained the town, the leaders discussed what they should do with it. Essex desired to retain it, and offered to hold it with four hundred men and three months' provisions. Sir Francis Vere and Admiral Duijvenvoorde were also of opinion that it should be

¹ Stow says 620,000.

² Hakluyt and Harris say 2,500,000.

garrisoned and kept; but Howard and all the other senior officers were opposed to the project, and anxious to return to England. The place, therefore, was given over to pillage, its fortifications were razed, and many of its principal buildings, the churches excepted, were burnt.

On July 5th, the fleet weighed again and proceeded to Faro in Algarve, a hundred miles to the westward. The town had been deserted, the inhabitants carrying off nearly all their goods, and little spoil beyond the bishop's library was taken.¹

Essex was not wholly satisfied with what had been done, and suggested sailing to the Azores, and there lying in wait for the home-coming East India carracks. Lord Thomas Howard and Admiral Duijvenvoorde concurred; but all the other officers seem to have been beset by a fear of losing what they had gained, and by a desire to hasten home to enjoy it. Essex thereupon asked that those ships which were short of stores or had many sick on board might be sent to England, together with the land forces, and that he, with two of her majesty's ships and ten other vessels, might be suffered to go to the Azores and look for the carracks. The council would not, however, consent even to this; whereupon Essex insisted upon each member delivering his views in writing, in order that his own attitude might be vindicated.

The sole concession that he succeeded in obtaining was that on the homeward voyage a visit should be paid to Corunna; but neither in Corunna, nor in the neighbouring port of Ferrol, was a single Spanish ship found. Essex, still anxious to effect something more, would have taken Corunna, and attacked such Spanish vessels as were in Santander and San Sebastian. Once more the gallant Duijvenvoorde supported him, and once more the two were overruled.² And so the fleet returned to England,³ with the two galleons, a hundred brass guns, and an immense amount of very valuable miscellaneous booty.

Then followed an amusing and undignified struggle for the plunder, most of the officers protesting that little or none had fallen

¹ This booty fell to Essex, who succeeded in retaining it in spite of Elizabeth's efforts to secure it. He afterwards gave part of it to Sir Thomas Bodley, and so it became the nucleus of the Bodleian Library.

² For Essex's defence of his conduct, see Cotton MSS. Julius, F. vi. 103, fol. 271.

³ Reaching Plymouth on August 8th, 1696. Essex, who convoyed the *St. Andrew*, and a fly-boat laden with ordnance, arrived two days later.

to them, and the queen's commissioners doing their best to secure as much as possible. The queen's anxiety on the subject was probably well reflected in a letter¹ addressed on August 10th from the Council at Greenwich to the joint generals.

In spite of all his efforts to vindicate his conduct, Essex fell into some disfavour at court. Lediard suggests that the uneasiness thus occasioned him may have led him into the extravagant projects which in the end cost him his life. Probably he proved himself at times a difficult colleague of the Lord High Admiral: possibly he often allowed zeal to outrun discretion. But it is abundantly clear that in all he did during the Cadiz expedition he was animated by the best motives, and not by that personal greed which remains a blot upon the record of some of his most noted contemporaries: and the fact that all his proposals for the more complete humiliation of Spain seem to have been supported by Duijvenvoorde,² a seaman of experience, is one which speaks very strongly in favour of his general conduct.

In 1596, Cumberland sent his ninth expedition to sea. He first fitted out the *Scourge of Malice*, obtained the *Dreadnought* from her majesty, and chartered some small craft. With these he sailed, but the *Scourge of Malice* was presently disabled in a storm, and the expedition had to put back. He then fitted out a vessel called the *Ascension*, of 300 tons and thirty-four guns, and dispatched her to cruise under Francis Slingsby. She also was damaged and forced home by a gale, but, sailing again, fought some gallant, though indecisive, actions off Lisbon ere she returned.³

The immediate effect of the Cadiz expedition was to stimulate Spain to a fresh effort. Philip lost no time in assembling at Lisbon as many ships as he could collect from all parts of his extensive dominions and in taking up such suitable foreign vessels as lay in his ports. The fleet thus formed proceeded in the spring of 1597 to Ferrol, and there received on board a considerable body of troops and a great number of fugitives from Ireland. The intention seems to have been to land all these forces in Ireland; but soon after the fleet had quitted Ferrol it fell in with such terrible weather, and suffered so severely,⁴ that it put back, incapable of prosecuting its

¹ Printed at length in Lediard, 336, 337.

² He was knighted for his services on the occasion. Camden, iii. 737, 738.

³ Purchas, iv. 1148.

⁴ Thirty-six sail were reported to have been lost in this storm.

mission. The attempt is said, by contemporary writers, to have been so secretly and so quickly prepared that the news of its disablement and dispersion actually reached England before the news of its sailing.

The failure, costly though it was, did not deter Philip from at once organising a fresh attempt. He was upon the point of liberating some of his resources by concluding a separate peace with France, which had been the ally of Elizabeth since 1593; there still remained a considerable part of his shattered fleet; there were yet other vessels in his Galician ports; and the state of affairs in Ireland appeared, as before, to invite him thither. This time, however, early news of Philip's intentions reached England, and steps were promptly taken for providing employment for the enemy ere he should be in a condition to sail.

A fleet was fitted out with a view, first, to surprise the Spaniards in Corunna and Ferrol, and then to seize Terceira or some other island of the Azores, so as to secure a base from which to watch for the home-coming Spanish treasure ships from the Indies. The expedition, known as the Voyage to the Islands, was entrusted to the supreme command of the Earl of Essex, who had as his vice-admiral Lord Thomas Howard, as his rear-admiral, Sir Walter Raleigh, and, as general of his land forces, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Sir Francis Vere went as camp-marshal or, as would now be said, general of a brigade; Sir George Carew as lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount as first colonel. Among the volunteers were the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and Lords Cromwell,¹ Grey de Wilton,² and Rich.³

Accounts of the expedition have been left by various participants, including Sir Arthur Gorges, Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others whose relations will be found in Purchas's 'Pilgrims,'⁴ Sir William Monson, and several more; yet there is some little doubt as to the exact number of her majesty's ships taking part in it, and as to the names of their commanders at different periods. Careful comparison of the lists

¹ Edward Cromwell, third Baron. He joined in Essex's rebellion, but was pardoned, and lived till 1697.

² Thomas Grey, fifteenth Baron Grey de Wilton. Involved in Raleigh's conspiracy, he died in the Tower in 1614.

³ Robert Rich, third Baron. In 1618 he was created Earl of Warwick, and in the same year died.

⁴ 'Pilgrims,' iv. 1035.

and statements seems to indicate that the naval portion of the fleet was composed and officered as follows:—

Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Military Officers.
<i>Merr Honour</i> ¹	800	400	41	Earl of Essex. Sir Robt. Mansell, Capt.	
<i>Duc Repulse</i> ²	700	350	50	Lord Thos. Howard, V.-A. — Middleton, Capt.	
<i>Warspite</i>	600	300	29	Sir Walter Raleigh, R.-A. Sir Arthur Gorges, Capt.	
<i>Garland</i>	700	300	45	(?)	Henry, Earl of Southampton. ³
<i>Defiance</i>	500	250	46	Sir Amyas Preston, Capt.	Lord Mountjoy.
<i>Mary Rose</i>	600	250	39	John Wynter, Capt.	Sir Fras. Vere.
<i>St. Matthew</i>	1000	500	48	(?)	Sir Geo. Carew. ⁴
<i>St. Andrew</i>	900	400	50	— Throckmorton, Capt.	
<i>Rainbow</i>	500	250	26	Sir Wm. Monson, Capt.	
<i>Bonaventure</i>	600	250	47	Sir Wm. Harvey, Capt.	
<i>Dreadnought</i>	400	200	41	Sir Wm. Brooke, Capt.	
<i>Swiftsure</i>	400	200	41	Sir Gelly Meyrick, ⁵ Capt.	
<i>Antelope</i> ⁶	350	160	38	Sir Thos. Vavasour, Capt.	
<i>Nonpareil</i> ⁷	500	250	56	Sir Rich. Leveson, Capt.	
<i>Foresight</i>	300	160	37	Carew Reynell, ⁸ Capt.	
<i>Tramontana</i>	140	70	21	— Femer, Capt.	
<i>Moon</i>	60	40	9	Edwd. Mitchellburne, Capt.	
<i>Lion</i>	500	250	60	(?)	
<i>Hope</i> ⁹	600	250	48	(?)	

“Some of her Majesty’s small pinnaces” also “attended the fleet.”¹⁰

To the whole force was added a Dutch squadron of ten men-of-war under the command of Admiral van Duijvenvoorde.

The fleet sailed on July 9th, 1597, from Plymouth, but it met

¹ Essex afterwards shifted his flag to the *Duc Repulse*.

² Howard afterwards shifted his flag to the *Lion*, which went out with stores after the main fleet had sailed.

³ Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, seems to have gone as a military volunteer, although in Monson’s and Gorges’s lists he appears as commanding the *Garland*. He was attacked and imprisoned for complicity with Essex, but re-created Earl in 1603, and made a K.G. He died in 1624.

⁴ In Gorges’s and Monson’s lists, Carew figures as commanding the *St. Matthew*. He may have held naval as well as military command.

⁵ Son of Rowland Meyrick, Bp. of Bangor, 1559–63; had been knighted for services at Cadiz. He was executed in 1600 for complicity with Essex.

⁶ Sir John Gilbert, who did not sail, seems to have been originally appointed to the *Antelope*.

⁷ Sir Thos. Vavasour seems to have been originally appointed to the *Nonpareil*.

⁸ Fifth son of Rich. Reynell, of East Ogwell, was knighted in 1599 for services in Ireland, and died in 1624.

⁹ Sir Rich. Leveson seems to have been originally appointed to the *Hope*.

¹⁰ Account of Gorges.

with bad weather, was obliged to put back and repair damages, and did not sail again until August 17th. Monson says that, before the second departure, five thousand troops were disembarked, and only one thousand veterans remained on board. This step was taken with a view to making the provisions and stores last longer than had been originally intended.

In the Bay more bad weather overtook the expedition. The *Merc Honour* sprang a dangerous leak; the *St. Matthew* carried away her mainmast and some yards, and narrowly escaped driving ashore; and the *St. Andrew* for a time lost sight of the fleet. After the gale had moderated, the course was ill-advisedly steered parallel with the coasts of Asturias and Galicia, so that the ships were sighted from the shore, and warning of their approach was conveyed to the enemy in Corunna.

The English and Dutch stood on and off for some time between Cape Ortegál and Cape de San Adrian in hopes of enticing the Spaniards to come out. When it appeared that they would not do so, Essex was desirous of entering Ferrol and Corunna; but the risk to the ships and to the larger objects of the expedition, and the smallness of the available landing party, seem to have led to the abandonment of the project; and, after a council of war had been held, it was decided to proceed to the Azores. Raleigh, in the *Warspite*, which had lost her mainyard, was not present when this decision was arrived at, but rightly conjecturing what would be the result of the council, he steered for the Azores as soon as he had made good his damages, and there rejoined the fleet.

There was an arrangement—of which, however, Raleigh may not have been fully apprised—that, of the three generals, Essex should devote his attention to Fayal, Howard to Graciosa, and Raleigh to a third island; this was not adhered to. Raleigh, while watering, was suddenly ordered to proceed to Fayal, there to join Essex for an attack upon the place. He sailed at once; but at Fayal there were no signs of the commander-in-chief. Seeing that the inhabitants were carrying off their effects, and that the works were being rapidly strengthened, Raleigh would have attacked immediately, but was persuaded to wait for four days ere taking action, and then to land only in case the earl should not in the meantime have arrived and assumed the command. Essex did not arrive within the stipulated period, and, at the expiration of it, Raleigh, being denied permission to send his casks ashore for water, landed about four

miles from the port, drove the Spaniards before him, filled his casks, and seized the town.

Next day Essex entered the harbour. His friends, more than he himself at first, appear to have resented Raleigh's independent action; and the latter was summoned to explain his conduct before a council of war. He showed the necessity of the measure and, persuaded by Howard, made some kind of apology. Gorges, who was Raleigh's captain, suggests that, in spite of this affair, Essex seemed to be satisfied with Sir Walter; but Monson is of opinion that, but for the fact that Raleigh was extremely popular in England and that Essex feared public opinion, the rear-admiral would have been severely punished by his chief. The probability is that the earl originally paid, and would have continued to pay, little attention to the matter had not Raleigh's numerous enemies steadily worked upon the mind of the commander-in-chief. It is certain, however, that in the result, first coldness, and then active hatred arose between the two flag-officers, to the great prejudice of the service.

After the fall of the town, the Spaniards abandoned the only fort remaining in their hands. In it the English found an Englishman and a Dutchman with their throats cut. A few days later the guns of the defences were embarked, the place was burnt, and the united fleet sailed to Graciosa, which submitted. Essex had intended to make this island his headquarters while awaiting the home-coming of the Spanish treasure ships from America; but his pilot, Grove, represented that the harbour was inconvenient for the purpose. Essex, therefore, went to Saint Michael's with the bulk of the fleet,¹ leaving a small squadron, comprising the *Mary Rose*, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Nicholas Parker, to cruise between Graciosa and St. George's, and another, including the *Garland* and the *Rainbow*, under the Earl of Southampton and Sir William Monson, to cruise to the westward.

This was a most unfortunate arrangement, for no sooner had Essex departed, and the two small squadrons left for their cruising ground, than the treasure squadron of forty sail—seven of which had specie on board—arrived, and was warned off by the inhabitants. It bore away for Terceira and reached that island, with the exception

¹ Monson says that Essex quitted Graciosa in consequence of having received reports of Spanish vessels, supposed to be the treasure ships, being in the neighbourhood, and that he himself warned Essex that the Spaniards would go to Angra.

of only three vessels,¹ which, losing sight of their consorts, were ultimately made prizes by Essex. At Terceira the Spaniards took refuge in the well-fortified and garrisoned port of Angra.

Vere, Southampton, and Monson, who had followed, endeavoured to enter the harbour in boats by night and to cut the Spanish cables, so that the vessels might drift to seaward; but the enemy was so alert that the project failed. Word was then sent to the commander-in-chief at St. Michael's of what had happened, with an assurance that the Spaniards should not be permitted to put to sea. In due course Essex, with his whole force, reached the scene of action; but, although at first he was strongly in favour of hazarding an attack, a reconnoissance convinced him and most of the other officers that the idea was impracticable; and presently the English fleet returned to St. Michael's, and anchored before Punta Delgada. That place was judged too strong to attempt, and Raleigh was left to hold it in check, while Essex proceeded to Villa Franca, about six miles distant. The town was easily taken, a considerable amount of booty was captured, and for several days the people from the fleet refreshed themselves on shore.² While Essex was thus engaged, Raleigh, who awaited his return with great impatience, sighted an East India carraek, and a merchantman from Brazil. The commander of the former ran his ship aground under the town, hurriedly removed as much as possible of her cargo, and then burnt her. The Brazil-man was taken, but, being in a leaky condition, was not manned. Her goods were put on board the English vessels, and she was destroyed.

Very little had been done, and none of the main objects of the expedition had been attained; yet it was decided to return to England, and the fleet accordingly quitted St. Michael's on October 9th. Three days afterwards it was dispersed by a violent storm. The same storm dealt even more hardly with the Spanish fleet, which, taking advantage of the presence of the English at the Azores, had put to sea from Ferrol with the object of effecting a landing in Cornwall and seizing some port there. Several of the

¹ A "great ship" belonging to the Governor of Havana, a frigate of the King of Spain, and a frigate belonging to a private person.—Essex's account. The largest was of 400 tons' burden, and very rich. Monson says that Southampton, in addition, sank a pinnace by gunshot.

² The idea had been to march overland and attack Punta Delgada from the rear, but the difficult nature of the country caused the relinquishment of the project.—Monson.

ships were lost, and one, sorely damaged and very short of provisions, was driven into Dartmouth. The English vessels, on the other hand, all reached port in safety.

Essex and Raleigh were each blamed for the failure by the friends and partisans of the other, and in consequence the quarrel between the two leaders became very bitter. They, however, agreed upon, and both signed, a common account of the fortunes of the expedition. This account ended characteristically as follows:—

“And now we have given an account of all our whole carriage till we bare for England. If our coming home scattering be objected, we must plead the violence of storms, against which no fore-directions nor present industry can avail. We must conclude with this: that, as we would have acknowledged that we had done but our duties if we had defeated the Adelantada, taken the Spanish treasure, and conquered the islands of the Azores, so, we having failed of nothing that God gave us means to do, we hope her majesty will think our painful days, careful nights, evil diet, and many hazards deserve not now to be measured by the event. The like honourable and just construction we promise ourselves at the hands of all my Lords. As for others, who have sate warm at home, and discant upon us, we know they wanted strength to perform more, and believe they wanted courage to adventure so much.”

Alluding to the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, Monson says: “We must ascribe this victory only to God, for certainly the enemy’s designs were perilous, and not diverted by our force.” The Spanish design was to seize Falmouth, and to use it as an advanced base for operations against Ireland. England seems to have little realised at the moment the seriousness of the blow which had missed her so narrowly.

A small expedition, which left England in the course of the same year, is of interest, and deserves mention here, on account of its connection with disputes which, in succeeding ages, greatly influenced the relations between Great Britain and France. It was in no sense a naval expedition, but essentially a fishing venture. Nevertheless, like most of the maritime expeditions of the period, it led to some fighting.

Charles Leigh and Abraham van Herwick, merchants of London, fitted out the *Hopewell*, 120 tons, William Crafton, master, and the *Chancewell*, 70 tons, Stephen Bennet, master, to fish in the waters of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, where the French already fished for cod. Charles Leigh himself and Stephen van Herwick, a brother of his partner, went as managers of the voyage; and the two vessels, with a pinnace of seven or eight tons, quitted Gravesend on April 8th, 1597. On May 18th, they were upon the banks of Newfoundland. On May 20th, the *Hopewell*, without Leigh’s

knowledge, fought a French vessel. On June 18th, off Ramea Island, other French ships were encountered, and quarrels arising, were fought with. The English fared ill, and were obliged to retire with the loss of their pinnace and an anchor and cable. Worse still befell on June 23rd, when the *Chancewell*, which had become separated from her consort, was wrecked on Cape Breton Island.



GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, K.G.

(From C. Peart's engraving after the picture formerly in the Bodleian.)

The French pillaged her people, stripping them to their very shirts ; but most of the survivors seemed to have gained the *Hopewell*, which, ere she returned to England, amply avenged the unfortunates by boarding and capturing a French craft of 200 tons, and spoiling her of her fish and oil.¹

The year 1598 witnessed the last and most ambitious of the numerous privateering expeditions of that distinguished maritime adventurer, the Earl of Cumberland. The squadron collected on

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 195.

the occasion comprised no fewer than twenty sail of ships,¹ none of which belonged to the navy, and it formed a force more formidable than had ever been assembled by a subject. It sailed from Plymouth on March 6th, 1598. The first intention of the commander-in-chief appears to have been to proceed to the West Indies; but, learning soon after he had put to sea that certain rich Spanish carracks were about to cross the Atlantic in company with twenty merchantmen bound for Brazil, he lay in wait for a time for the convoy. The Spaniards, however, apprised of his presence off their coasts, kept their ships in port; and the Earl's only captures at the beginning of his voyage were a Hamburger, with a miscellaneous cargo of contraband goods, a Frenchman laden with salt, and two Flamands full of corn.

Convinced that the carracks would not venture out while he was in the neighbourhood, Cumberland steered for the Canaries,

Ships.	COMMANDERS.
<i>Scurge of Malice</i>	{The Earl of Cumberland, "Admiral." John Watts. (later) James Langton.
<i>Merchant Royal</i> ¹	Sir John Berkeley, "Lieut.-General and Vice-Admiral."
<i>Ascension</i> ¹	Robert Flicke "Rear-Admiral."
<i>Samson</i>	{Henry Clifford (died). Christopher Colthurst.
<i>Alcedo</i> ¹	{John Ley. (later) Thomas Coteh.
<i>Consent</i> ¹	Francis Slingsby.
<i>Prosperous</i>	{James Langton. (later) John Watts.
<i>Centurion</i> ¹	{Henry Palmer. (later) William Palmer.
<i>Constance</i> , gallion ¹	Hercules Foljambé.
<i>Affection</i>	— Fleming.
<i>Guiana</i>	{Christopher Colthurst. (later) Gerald Middleton.
<i>Scout</i>	Henry Jolliffe.
<i>Anthony</i> ¹	{Robert Careless (died). Andrew Andrews.
<i>Pegasus</i> ^{1 2}	Edward Goodwin.
<i>Royal Defence</i>	Henry Bromley.
<i>Margaret and John</i>	John Dixon.
<i>Barkley Bay</i>	(? later) John Ley.
Old frigate ³	William Harper.

And two barges^{1 4} for landing troops.

¹ Left with Sir John Berkeley at San Juan de Puerto Rico.

² Lost, returning, on the Goodwin Sands.

³ Lost, returning, off Ushant.

⁴ One barge was sunk at Puerto Rico, the other was wrecked on the Bermudas.

took and plundered the island of Lanzarote, and then pushed across to Dominica, where he landed on May 23rd, and remained till June 1st, keeping, meanwhile, on good terms with the natives. From Dominica he sailed to the Virgin Islands, where he landed, mustered all his men, and announced his intention of attacking Puerto Rico. He arrived off San Juan in that island on June 6th, landed a thousand men, and speedily made himself master of the place, with but small loss, though he was at first repulsed.¹ His intention was to make the town a base for his future operations, but it proved so extremely unhealthy to the troops on shore, of whom more than half died, that he decided to quit it. This he did on August 14th, leaving, however, the better part of his squadron, under Sir John Berkeley, his second-in-command, to arrange for the ransom of the island. Before his departure, the earl captured a caravel from the island of Margarita, off the coast of Venezuela, as she came unsuspectingly into harbour, and a ship from Angola. In the first was pearl worth one thousand ducats, in the second was a cargo of negroes.

Cumberland, with his division, made the best of his way to the Azores, where he hoped to intercept the Spanish Mexico Fleet, or at least some carracks; but he reached Flores only to learn that a few days earlier twenty-nine large Spanish ships had weighed thence. At Flores he was, in course of time, rejoined by Sir John Berkeley, though not until both divisions of the squadron had suffered severely in a storm. The united force sailed again on September 16th, and in the following month reached England without further adventure.² The expedition, which must have been a very costly one, does not seem to have materially increased the earl's estate, but it was of undoubted benefit to England, seeing that it greatly annoyed the Spaniards, prevented that year's sailing of their regular carracks for the Indies, and caused the postponement of the return of the Plate Fleet from America. It would probably have been more successful had the earl taken greater pains to keep secret his objects and his movements.

Two non-naval events of considerable importance occurred during 1598, and, since they intimately affected naval policy, deserve mention here. One was the conclusion by England of a new and

¹ Here were taken a French and a Spanish vessel, which were added to the squadron.

² Purchas, iv. 1150; Monson's Tracts; Harris's Coll. i. 688.

advantageous treaty with the United Provinces of the Netherlands.¹ The other was the death of Elizabeth's life-long enemy, Philip II.² of Spain.

Referring to 1599, Sir William Monson says :—

“I cannot write of anything done this year; for though there was never greater expectation of war, there was never less performance. Whether it was a mistrust one nation had of the other, or policy held on both sides to make peace with sword in hand, a treaty being entertained by consent of each prince, I am not to examine: but sure I am, the preparation was great on both sides, one expecting an invasion from the other. It was, however, generally conceived not to be intended by either.”

The Spaniards had collected ships and galleys at Corunna. The object of the concentration was supposed to be a descent upon England or Ireland in 1599; but, as the event proved, the preparations were made against the Netherlands. In Ireland, Essex was supposed to be hatching schemes of ambition and revenge. Jealous watch, therefore, had to be kept upon at least two quarters; and, to meet the necessities of the moment, a fleet was mobilised with a rapidity previously unexampled. The work of rigging, victualing, and completely fitting out was accomplished in twelve days. Monson assures us that foreigners declared that “the queen was never more dreaded abroad for anything she ever did.” Happily the fleet was not called upon to act, and, after having lain for three weeks or a month in the Downs, was sent peaceably back to its ports; but, both as a demonstration of the perfection to which the organisation of the English navy had attained, and as an exercise in hurried preparation for war, the experiment was well worth the comparatively small sum of money which it cost. In more than one respect it resembled the mobilisation of the Particular Service Squadron in January, 1896. Looking, however, to all the circumstances of the two cases, it must be admitted that the results attained in 1599 were much more remarkable than those attained in 1896. The mobilisation of 1599 seems to have really taken officers, men, and dockyards by surprise. The mobilisation of 1896, on the other hand, had been unofficially prepared for several weeks. Yet the interval between the moment when the formal order went forth from London and the moment when the mobilised ships were fully ready to go anywhere and do anything, was actually as short

¹ ‘Fowler,’ xvi. 341.

² On September, 13th, the anniversary of the birth of his rival Bughley, who had predeceased him on August 15th.

in 1599 as in 1896. The constitution of this memorable Elizabethan fleet is given below.

SHIP.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.
<i>Elizabeth Jonas</i>	900	500	56	Lord Thos. Howard, Admiral.
<i>Ark Royal</i>	800	400	55	Sir Walter Raleigh.
<i>Triumph</i>	1000	500	68	Sir Fulke Greville.
<i>Merc Honour</i>	800	400	41	Sir Henry Palmer.
<i>Repulse</i>	700	350	50	Sir Thos. Vavasour.
<i>Garland</i>	700	300	45	Sir Wm. Harvey.
<i>Defiance</i>	500	250	46	Sir Wm. Monson.
<i>Nonpareil</i>	500	250	56	Sir Robt. Crosse.
<i>Lion</i>	500	250	60	Sir Richd. Leveson.
<i>Rainbow</i>	500	250	26	Sir Alex. Clifford.
<i>Hope</i>	600	250	48	Sir John Gilbert.
<i> Foresight</i>	300	160	37	Sir Thos. Shirley.
<i>Mary Rose</i>	600	250	39	— Fortescue.
<i>Bonaventure</i>	600	250	47	— Troughton.
<i>Crane</i>	200	108	24	— Jones.
<i>Swiftsure</i>	400	200	41	— Bradgate.
<i>Tremontana</i>	140	70	21	— Slingsby.
<i>Advantage</i>	200	102	26	— White. ¹
<i>Quittance</i>	200	108	25	Carew Reynell.

In 1600, commissioners met at Boulogne to treat for peace between England and Spain. They separated in consequence of disputes concerning precedence, and effected nothing. Elizabeth and her ministers, foreseeing the probability of a lame issue of the sort, and altogether distrustful of Spanish sincerity, meanwhile quietly fitted out the *Repulse*, Sir Richard Leveson, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, *Warspite*, Captain Troughton, and *Vanguard*, Captain Somers, as if intending them to cruise against the Dunquerque corsairs on the western coasts. When it was no longer doubtful that the Boulogne negotiations were destined to fail, Sir Richard was suddenly ordered to proceed with his little squadron to the Azores, there to lie in wait for, and endeavour to capture, the home-ward-bound Spanish carracks and the Mexico fleet.

Spain was equally wary. In view of the failure of negotiations she equipped a squadron of eighteen ships, and sent them also to the islands. The two squadrons heard of, but never sighted, one another; nor did Leveson sight the treasure ships. Having exhausted his supplies, he returned to England. The only good effected by this expedition was the casual relief of some distressed home-coming Dutch East-Indiamen.²

¹ "White" in the printed 'Tracts'; but "Hore" (? Gore) in MS. in the Cott. MSS.

² Monson's 'Tracts,' and MS. in Cott. Library.

The year 1601, which, on February 25th, witnessed the execution of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex,¹ saw an attempted invasion of Ireland by a Spanish fleet of forty-eight sail under Don Diego de Borachero. Upon the news of the intended descent reaching England, Leveson was again placed in command of a small squadron and ordered to hasten to the threatened point. The squadron consisted of the *Warspite* (flag); *Garland*, Sir Amyas Preston; *Defiance*, Captain Gore; *Swiftsure*, Captain Somers; and *Crane*, Captain Mainwaring.

In Ireland, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was in rebellion at the head of all the tribes of Ulster. In 1598 he had defeated Bagnall at the Yellow Ford, and had roused Munster; and ever since, without risking a general engagement, he had harassed the English power. The arrival of a strong force of allies from Spain seemed to promise triumph to his cause, provided only that he could join hands with the foreigners.

Leveson was not in time to intercept the Spaniards, the main body of whom effected a landing at Kinsale; but he gallantly entered a bay in which a belated Spanish contingent, under Vice-Admiral Siriaco had anchored, and, after a sharp action, destroyed the whole of that division. Siriaco, who escaped, disguised himself, and returned home in a French ship. The remaining Spaniards, under Don Juan d'Aguila, held Kinsale against Lord Mountjoy, who besieged it, until December 24th, when Tyrone, who attempted to succour the place, was defeated; whereupon the invaders surrendered upon condition of being transported to their own country in English ships.²

Late in the autumn of the same year an adventurous privateering expedition, under William Parker, of Plymouth, left England to cruise against the Spaniards in the West Indies. It consisted of the *Prudence*, 100 tons, 130 men, William Parker, master and "admiral"; the *Pearl*, 60 tons, 60 men, Robert Rawlins, master and "vice-admiral"; a pinnace of 20 tons and 18 men; and two little shallops. Among the gentlemen embarked for operations on shore were Edward Giles, Philip Ward, — Fugars, — Ashley, and — Loriman.

Sailing in November, the little squadron was at the beginning

¹ And which also witnessed Lancaster's voyage to the East Indies, for which see Chap. XVI.

² Monson's 'Tracts,' and MS. in Cott. Library.

unfortunate, losing the pinnacle and all on board, save three, in a squall. Parker steered for the Cape de Verde Islands, and, upon reaching them, threw a hundred men ashore at St. Vincent, captured the island, and pillaged and burnt the town. Thence he stretched across to the American continent, and attacked La Rancheria, in the small island of Cubagua. Although the Governor of Cumana, with a body of troops, was on the spot and gave the invaders a warm reception, the place was taken. Parker allowed the inhabitants to ransom it for five hundred pounds of pearl. Off Cape de la Vela he fell in with and captured a Portuguese ship of 250 tons, bound from Angola and Congo to Cartagena. Her also he accepted a ransom for.

At Cabecas he transferred a hundred and fifty of his men to the shallops and two small pinnaces, and, proceeding to the Bastimentos, engaged negro guides, with whose assistance he entered the harbour of Puerto Bello on the night of February 7th, 1602. It was moonlight; and the English were hailed by the sentries in the castle of St. Philip, a strong work, mounting thirty-five brass guns. They replied in Spanish, and were ordered to anchor. Parker obeyed, but, an hour later, leaving the pinnaces before the castle, he suddenly landed at Triana with the shallops and thirty men, set the place on fire, and entered Puerto Bello ere the people had fairly recovered from their first confusion. In front of the Royal Treasury he found a body of troops and two brass field-pieces drawn up to receive him. An obstinate fight resulted; and, if Fugars and Loriman, who had been left in the pinnaces, had not opportunely landed with a hundred and twenty fresh men, Parker's little force would have been annihilated. The timely assistance soon brought about the fall of the town, in which the victors found 10,000 ducats in specie, belonging to the King of Spain, and a considerable amount of other money, plate, and merchandise. This Parker divided among his men. Two small vessels which lay in the harbour were taken possession of and retained.

Parker's behaviour, judged by the standard of those rough times, was unusually generous. Because the town was well built, he abstained from burning it; and because he was pleased at having taken so important a place with so small a force, he dismissed all his prisoners, including the Governor,¹ without exacting any ransom.

¹ The Governor, Don Pedro Melendez, had fought gallantly, and received eleven wounds.

After remaining for two days he sailed again, and, after an uneventful voyage, reached Plymouth in due course.¹

"The action," says Lediard, "of taking a town of so great strength with so few men bred such an idea of the English valour in some of the Spaniards that the Governor of Cartagena, in particular, swore he would give a mule's loading of silver to have a sight of Captain Parker and his company. And had they been sure he would have parted with what he had upon so easy terms as they of Puerto Bello had done, it is very likely they might have sold him that favour. But his strength being uncertain, as well as his pay, they did not think fit to visit him."

The year 1602, which saw the return of Parker, saw also the setting out of several private voyages which may be briefly mentioned here. Bartholomew Gosnoll,² in a small bark, carried a little party of thirty-two persons to Elizabeth's Island, in 41° 10' N., on the American coast, and would probably have established a permanent colony there had not dissensions arisen and compelled the return of the expedition. William Mace, of Weymouth, employed by Raleigh, who was uneasy as to the fate of the colonists left in Virginia in 1587, pretended to make search for them, but wasted his time, and came home prematurely. Finally, George Weymouth,³ employed by the Russia Company, sailed with two fly-boats, one of 70 and one of 60 tons, from Ratcliff, hoping to discover a north-west passage. But, meeting with much ice and fog, his men refused to proceed, and he was obliged to return after an absence of little more than four months.

There were also two purely naval expeditions of considerable importance. Both were fitted out with the object of preventing Spain from again attempting to interfere with the course of affairs in Ireland.

The first consisted of the following vessels:—

SHIPS.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.
<i>Repulse</i>	700	350	50	Sir Richard Leveson, Admiral.
<i>Garland</i>	700	300	45	Sir William Monson, V.-Admiral.
<i>Defiance</i>	500	250	46	Captain Gore.
<i>Mary Rose</i>	600	250	30	Captain Slingsby.
<i>Warspite</i>	600	300	29	Captain Somers.
<i>Nonpareil</i>	500	250	56	Captain Carew Reynell.
<i>Devonmough</i>	400	200	41	Captain Mainwaring.
<i>Adventure</i>	250	120	26	Captain Trevor.
A caravel	?	?	?	Captain Sawkell.

¹ Purchas's 'Pilgrims,' iv. 1243; Harris's 'Voyages,' i. 747; 'Life of Parker,' in supp. to Prince's 'Worthies of Devon.'

² Harris's 'Voyages,' i. 816; Purchas, iv. 1647; Smith's 'Hist. of Virginia.'

³ Harris's 'Voyages,' i. 587.

The mission of this fleet was the observation of the Spanish coasts, and, generally, the doing of as much damage as possible to the enemy in his own waters. Leveson, with five of the ships, sailed on March 19th, 1602. Monson remained to await the arrival of a Dutch contingent of twelve ships, the co-operation of which had been promised; but news reaching England that the Spanish Plate fleet was at Terceira, his departure was hastened, in spite of the fact that he was still only partially manned and provisioned; and he followed his chief on March 26th.

Leveson, with his division, met the Plate fleet soon after it had quitted Terceira, and engaged it; but having only five ships, while the enemy had eight-and-thirty, he could effect nothing, and was, indeed, fortunate in being able to escape capture. Had the Dutch and Monson's division been present with the flag, the result must have been very different; and the failure may undoubtedly be regarded as distinctly due to Dutch remissness. A rendezvous off Lisbon had been arranged between the two English admirals. Monson proceeded thither, and then, after waiting in vain for his chief for a fortnight, cruised to the north-west. He presently met with three ships which Leveson had dispatched to look out for him, and at almost the same time spoke some French and Scots vessels which informed him that five galleons lay in San Lucar ready to sail for the Indies, and that two other galleons¹ had sailed three days earlier, carrying Don Pedro de Valdes, as governor, to Havana.

Taking the three English ships under his orders, Monson steered for the probable course of the San Lucar galleons, and quickly sighted five sail which he at first took to be them. They proved, however, to be English merchantmen coming out of the Straits. Next day he chased a Spanish Indiaman, but although he took her, she led him so far to leeward that during the following night, the galleons passed him in safety. Soon afterwards the two admirals met.

On June 1st, being close to Lisbon, they took two ships from the Levant, bound for the Tagus. While they were examining them, a caravel signalled that she desired to speak. Leveson approached the stranger, and from her learnt of the recent arrival at Cezimbra of a carrack of 1600 tons, richly laden from the East Indies. She also reported that sixteen galleys lay in the same harbour, three of them Portuguese, and the rest about to sail for the coast of Flanders, to

¹ These were fallen in with one night by the *Warspite*, but escaped her.

cruise under Federigo Spinola against the Dutch ; and she explained that she had been sent to the admiral by the *Nonpareil* and *Dreadnought*, which were at the moment detached.

Leveson at once ordered Monson to rejoin him, and the ships then in company, *i.e.*, the *Warspite*¹ (flag), *Garland*, *Nonpareil*, *Dreadnought*, *Adventure*, and the two captured vessels, proceeded off Cezimbra, and that very night exchanged a few gunshot with the galleys there.

Early in the morning of June 2nd, a council of war was summoned on board the commander-in-chief, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to attack next day.

The place and shipping were most advantageously situated for defensive purposes. The town stands at the head of a bay which affords a good anchorage in northerly winds. Before the town, and close to the waters, was a strong and well-armed fort, and upon a hill behind the town was a fortified convent commanding the whole. Immediately under the fort lay the great carrack. Behind a neck of rock on the west side of the bay lay the eleven galleys, so disposed with their sterns foremost, that with their bow guns, of which each had five, they could cover the advancing English, while they were themselves protected by the rock, so long as the enemy remained out of gunshot of the fort and the carrack. In addition the place was full of troops.

On June 3rd, a breeze springing up at about 10 A.M., the admiral weighed, fired a warning gun, and hoisted his flag at the maintop. The vice-admiral hoisted his at the foretop. It had been arranged that Leveson should lead in and anchor as near as possible to the carrack, and that the other vessels following should fight under sail, striking as opportunity might offer and occasion suggest ; but this plan was not followed out. Leveson led in as stipulated, but Monson, who entered last, instead of fighting under sail, luffed up as close to the shore as he could, dropped his anchor, and hotly engaged town, fort, carrack and galleys all at once, fighting both broadsides simultaneously, while Leveson, owing to the mismanagement of his master, drifted altogether out of the roadstead, and his ship was unable to enter it again until next day. Leveson in person, however, missed very little of the action, for he shifted his flag to

¹ The *Repulse*, being leaky, had been sent home, and Leveson had shifted his flag to the *Warspite*. As her master proved incompetent, he later shifted it to the *Dreadnought*.

the *Dreadnought*. In the course of the afternoon he went on board the *Garland*, and publicly embracing Monson, assured him that he had won his chief's heart for ever.

Monson was so placed as to be able to enfilade the galleys, which soon fell into disorder, many of the slaves leaving them and swimming ashore. At 2 P.M. the *Dreadnought* anchored near him, but the fight went on steadily until 5 P.M., at about which time Monson, who perceived that the two prizes, which had been ordered to run on board the carrack and burn her, were not doing their duty, went to them and made preparations for himself leading them on that service. Leveson, however, had begun to hope that the carrack might be taken, and, following Monson to the prizes, carried him back with him to the *Dreadnought* to concert measures to that end.

In the result, the English ships were directed to cease firing, and one Captain Sewell, an English prisoner who, in the course of the fight, had escaped from the town, was sent to the carrack to offer terms, and to represent that, the galleys being beaten and the English in possession of the roadstead, further resistance would merely provoke the victors.

The captain of the carrack, Don Diego Lobo, sent representatives on board the *Dreadnought* to treat, but it appearing that the people in the carrack were not all disposed to surrender, Monson expedited negotiations by going in his own boat and personally arranging matters with Don Diego, who, after some discussion, surrendered his ship.¹ She was worth a million ducats. Of the galleys two² were taken and burnt, and all the rest would have shared the same fate had the English had at their disposal boats wherewith to board them. The loss on the side of the victors was but six killed and about as many wounded.

On June 4th, the fleet sailed on its return to England. On the way it fell in with a packet bearing dispatches to the effect that a new English squadron was in readiness to reinforce the one already out, and that the Dutch squadron³ was at length on its way south. Upon receipt of this news it was decided that Leveson should continue his voyage, and that Monson should return to the Spanish

¹ Her name was *São Valentino*. She belonged to the vice-royalty of Portugal, and had lately come from the Indies, wintering by the way at Mozambique.

² The *Trinidad* and *Ocession*.

³ The Dutch squadron passed the fleet unseen in the course of the following night.

coast to assume command of the reinforcing fleet upon its arrival on the station. The *Garland* being in need of a refit, Monson shifted his flag to the *Nonpareil*, which was in better condition than the other ships, and in her he parted company and went south again. Very severe weather, however, overtook him, and after it had continued for ten days, he was prevailed on by his people to put the ship before the wind and run for Plymouth. He reached that port in safety, found that the captured carrack had arrived before him, and learnt that the squadron which he had gone back to take charge of had not yet left England.¹

It should be added here that the nine galleys which had escaped destruction at Cezimbra subsequently left that port under Federigo Spinola to carry out the object of their original commission, and cruise on the coast of Flanders against the Dutch. On September 23rd, while passing through the strait of Dover, they fell in with a squadron which, under Sir Robert Mansell, was there stationed to intercept them. The English attacked with such success that, of the nine galleys, only the one commanded by Spinola himself got away to Dunquerque, all the others being sunk or driven ashore on the Flanders coast.²

No sooner had Monson reached Plymouth than he was sent for by the queen, and entrusted with the command of another squadron, destined to watch the coast of Spain, and especially the harbours of Corunna and Ferrol. As before, the safety of Ireland was the chief object of the government. If Monson could satisfy himself that the Spaniards were not threatening Ireland, he might join the Dutch squadron at a given rendezvous, and act on the Spanish coast according to his discretion; but his first care was to be for Ireland.

He sailed from Plymouth on August 31st, 1602, with the following force (*see next page*).

Bad weather attended the squadron, which, however, remained off Corunna until Monson had ascertained that the Spanish ships which had been collected there, and which had been suspected to be intended for Ireland, had gone southward to Lisbon, there to join the force under Don Diego de Borachero. Monson also went south, earning by means of the caravel, which he sent inshore for intelli-

¹ Monson's 'Tracts,' and MS. in the Cott. Library; Colliber's 'Columna Rostrata'; Camden.

This is the account of Colliber and others. Camden says that Spinola sailed with six galleys, and lost two sunk and one taken in a conflict with an Anglo-Dutch force in the Channel. With the other three he escaped to Sluis.

gence, of the presence on the coast of a Spanish fleet of twenty-four sail; and capturing two French merchant vessels, which he liberated upon receiving from them a pledge that they would return home direct instead of proceeding to Lisbon, their port of destination.

SHIPS.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.
<i>Swiftsure</i> . . .	400	200	41	Sir William Monson, Admiral.
<i>Mary Rose</i> . . .	600	250	39	Captain Trevor.
<i>Dreadnought</i> . . .	400	200	41	Captain Cawfield.
<i>Adventure</i> . . .	250	120	26	Captain Norris.
<i>Answer</i> . . .	200	108	21	Captain Bradgate.
<i>Quittance</i> . . .	200	108	25	Captain Browne.
<i>Lion's Whelp</i> ¹ . . .	..	..	..	Captain May.
<i>Paragon</i> ² . . .	..	..	..	Captain Jason.
A small caravel . . .	..	..	..	Captain Hooper.

In the course of a chase, Monson, in the *Swiftsure*, with the *Dreadnought* in company, was led into Cezimbra, the scene of his exploits earlier in the year. He exchanged shots with the fort, which protected the chase, and while in the roadstead, captured a caravel, which came in unsuspectingly, and which, volunteering information concerning the state of affairs at Lisbon, was allowed to depart again. But he could hear nothing of the Dutch squadron.

Proceeding off Lisbon, which was the appointed rendezvous, he sighted a light on the night of September 26th, and believing it to come from some richly laden vessel bound for the Tagus, chased it. He had with him at the moment,³ besides his flagship, only the *Adventure* and the *Lion's Whelp*. To his astonishment he presently found himself in the midst of the Spanish fleet. The enemy recognised the *Adventure*, and opened fire on her, wounding some of her men; but had darkness lasted a few hours longer, the English would have got away without much fighting. Daylight, however, discovered the *Swiftsure*, *Adventure*, and *Lion's Whelp* only a short distance ahead of the Spanish fleet, and the latter gave chase.

Three of the Spaniards, being better sailers than the rest, soon gained upon the English, and threatened the *Lion's Whelp*; but Monson lay to to await the three, and after a time had the satisfaction of seeing them recalled by their admiral, who stood in with the shore.

¹ Bought from the Lord High Admiral, 1601. Pipe Office Accounts, 2239.

² A merchantman.

³ The other ships had parted company in a storm four nights earlier.

The early autumn was occupied in watching, but in vain, for the home-coming San Domingo convoy. On October 21st, Monson, in the *Swiftsure*, chased a galleon under the castle of Cape St. Vincent, and gallantly attempted to run alongside and carry her by boarding. He was prevented from doing this by the cowardice or ineptitude of the man at the helm, who bore up at the critical moment; and in the result he found himself exposed to a very heavy fire which, in his own words, "rent his ship so that a team of oxen might have crept through her under the half-deck, and one shot killed seven men." During the fight a Spanish squadron looked on from the westward, and several English men-of-war from the eastward, neither caring to intervene for fear of being hit by friends as well as by foes. Monson, during the night, extricated his ship, and after an ineffectual attempt to reach Tereceira, returned to England, dropping anchor in Plymouth Sound on November 24th. The other ships came home independently.

The *Dreadnought* and *Mary Rose*, both very sickly, had returned before the admiral. The *Adventure* arrived an hour after him, reporting that she had fallen in with the home-coming Brazilian fleet, and had been badly mauled by it, but had taken nothing. The *Paragon* had captured a rich prize laden with sugar and spices. As for the *Quittance*, she had pluckily engaged two Dunquerqueurs, and had borne herself very well with them, but had unhappily lost her captain, Browne, in the action.¹

This was the last naval expedition of the reign of Elizabeth. That great queen died on March 24th, 1603.

¹ Monson's 'Tracts,' and MS. in Cott. Library.





Charles Howard
 Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham, &c.
 Lord High Admiral
 was slain at sea after the capture of the
 Spanish treasure ships, the *San Juan* and
 the *San Pedro*, in 1717.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.¹

Origin of the "Most Happy Armada"—Death of Santa Cruz—Incompetence of the new leader—Philip's instructions—The strategical plan—Its ambiguity—Philip's secret instructions—Co-operation with Parma—Changes in the scheme—Sidonia's general orders—The Armada leaves Lisbon—Philip's view of England—England's view of Philip—English preparations—Desire of the English leaders to strike at the Armada while still on the coast of Spain—Difficulties concerning stores and victuals—Anxiety of Howard—News of the enemy—The government forbids the fleet to cruise in distant waters—Howard puts to sea—Disposition of the fleet—Dutch co-operation—The Armada leaves Corunna—It encounters a storm—English and Spanish armaments—The Armada sighted—Howard leaves Plymouth—The action of July 21st—Capture of Don Pedro de Valdes—Capture of the *San Salvador*—The action of July 23rd—The action of July 25th—The Armada off Calais—The fireships—The action off Gravelines—Flight of the Armada—The English pursue—Seymour and Wynter detached—The Spanish losses.



THE history of the Spanish Armada,² regarded from the naval, and not from the political point of view, begins with the year 1583, when the Spanish admiral, Santa Cruz, intoxicated by the success which he had recently gained off Terceira, proposed to Philip to employ his victorious arms against England.³ At considerable length he explained what preparations would be necessary; and he endeavoured, by anticipation, to combat some of his master's possible objections to the scheme. "H," he wrote, "we fall to considering the difficulties of the task, nothing will be done."⁴

¹ The reproductions from Pinc's engravings of the tapestry hangings in the old House of Lords (with which this chapter is illustrated) possess a special historical interest. The tapestries were made, after designs by C. Vroom, for Howard of Effingham himself, probably to some extent under his direction. James I. bought them, and gave them to the House of Lords; and they perished in the fire of 1831.

² "La Felicísima Armada" (the Most Happy Armada), was its official description. The origin of the description, "The Invincible Armada," is a little obscure; but Captain C. F. Duro has adopted it as the title of his book 'La Armada Invencible,' (Madrid, 1884), numerous documents printed in which are cited below.

³ An invasion of England had, indeed, been proposed by Alva as early as 1569.

⁴ Duro, i. p. 242.

But, at that early date, nothing was attempted. Santa Cruz did not, however, rest satisfied with making his original proposals. In January, 1586, he again wrote to the king. "For a long time," he began, "your majesty has cherished an idea of undertaking something against England."¹ He then stated the arguments in favour of an expedition. Queen Elizabeth had fitted out vessels to carry war and rapine into Philip's seas, islands, and Indies. The veteran seaman was frank and honourable enough to pay his tribute of admiration to the heretical sovereign. "Looking at the matter," he wrote, "merely from the statesman's standpoint, one must admit that she has adopted a courageous policy, and one which, while it has won her glory, has enriched and inspirited her subjects." Seeing that the Turks and the French were otherwise occupied, the admiral recommended his sovereign to assume the offensive.

This energetic communication did not fail to produce some effect. At the desire of the king, Santa Cruz sent him, in the following March, a very detailed list of the vessels, men, ammunition, and stores which would have to be provided if the necessary fleet and army were to undertake an eight months' campaign. He also estimated the cost. His proposed Armada was powerful indeed. It consisted of 556 vessels, including 150 large-ships of war, with a total burthen of 77,250 tons; and the fleet was to carry no fewer than 94,222 men.²

Santa Cruz died in February, 1588, but, ere that, Philip had finally made up his mind to delay no longer.³ A fleet was to join Parma for the purpose; and, as its leader, Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, was selected.⁴ The choice was an extremely bad one. Medina Sidonia hesitatingly accepted the command,⁵ after having protested his absolute inexperience at sea and in war. He had only been enough at sea to discover that he was liable to sea-sickness.⁶ But his scruples were overcome, and Philip wrote thanking him for having accepted the post.

On March 22nd,⁷ the commander-in-chief received his instructions from the king. There was to be no further postponement. The

¹ Duro, doc. 2, p. 243.

² *Ib.*, doc. 7.

³ *Ib.*, doc. 53, p. 414.

⁴ Ranke, p. 314, suggests that one of the reasons may have been that the duke had distinguished himself at the defence of Cadiz.

⁵ Duro, doc. 60.

⁶ *Ib.*, doc. 53, p. 415.

⁷ Duro, doc. 94. The date, according to the N.S. then used in Spain, should be April 1st: but as the O.S. was used in England, all dates in this chapter are given in the English form.

English were not to be allowed to perfect their preparations. Victory being the gift of God, Medina Sidonia was to see to it that crime should not disgrace the Armada,¹ and especially that there should be no blasphemy on board the ships. If committed, blasphemy was to be severely punished, lest all, for suffering so great an iniquity, should incur divine vengeance.

Then the strategical plan was unfolded. "When you have received my orders," ran the instructions, "you will put to sea with the whole Armada, and proceed direct for the English Channel, up which you will sail as far as the point of Margate, there opening communication with the Duke of Parma, and ensuring him a passage across."² While still on his voyage, Medina Sidonia was to keep up a correspondence with Parma; and, to facilitate this, the king promised to forward a cryptographic code. In view of the possibility of the ships being dispersed by bad weather, places of rendezvous were appointed. The coasts of France and Flanders, on account of their shallows, were to be carefully avoided.³ On the other hand, the English coast was to be closely followed. An English fleet might create a diversion; but Medina Sidonia was, nevertheless, to continue his voyage, and not to seek an encounter with the enemy afloat. If, however, Drake should pursue closely, he was to be attacked.⁴ He was also to be attacked if he were fallen in with near the mouth of the Channel. For Philip was of opinion that only part of the English fleet would be with Drake. In case the Armada should sight the enemy off the point of Margate, "even if Drake's and the Admiral's squadrons were found to be united," the Spaniards would still be in superior force; and, neglecting neither the weather gauge nor any other possible advantage, might attack and hope for victory.

The king issued no special directions as to the order of battle. That was to be formed as circumstances might dictate. He reminded the admiral, however, that the English, on account of their superiority in artillery, would seek to fight at long range. The Spaniards, therefore, should endeavour to get to close quarters. The English, it was also said, mounted their guns so that they could

¹ Duro, doc. 94, p. 6.

² *Ib.*, doc. 94, p. 7. Parma was in the Netherlands.

³ The old belief in England was that the Spaniards had been instructed to hug the French coast.

⁴ Duro, doc. 94, p. 9. Philip seems to have specially feared Drake, who in the previous year had "sing'd the King of Spain's beard."

shoot low.¹ Philip, moreover, impressed upon his admiral that he must engage the enemy only if it should become apparent that Parma's passage across could not be ensured without an action. For Medina Sidonia was to spare his Spaniards as much as possible, with a view to assisting Parma with six thousand men, in case there should be no battle, or with fewer, in case losses should be incurred.² This exhortation to avoid an unnecessary action must have been rather embarrassing to the commander-in-chief, since Philip had elsewhere directed him to fight if Drake pursued, or were fallen in with near the mouth of the Channel.

If Parma landed in England,³ Medina Sidonia was to station his fleet at the mouth of the Thames, and to guard that river. He would then be able to keep open and safe the communications with Flanders, and to co-operate in the most efficacious manner.

According to the instructions, Medina Sidonia was only to act independently of Parma, in the event of an action having to be fought at sea, which action was nevertheless described as being "after all the chief thing."⁴ Above all, he was to remain on the English coast until the business should be brought to a satisfactory termination.

These instructions are vague and ambiguous.⁵ They leave one in doubt as to what Philip really had in mind.⁶ The orders admit of the following interpretation.

Margate Road was to be the immediate destination of the Armada. There, for the first time, touch was to be gained with Parma, as soon as possible after the arrival of Medina Sidonia.⁷ Philip says nothing definite as to Medina Sidonia convoying Parma, but directs him to ensure the latter's passage across. This order is so indeterminate that one may conjecture that after his arrival off Margate, the admiral might act according to circumstances. The king, perhaps, expected that Medina Sidonia would manage to drive the enemy from the Channel as the result of a battle fought off Margate before the fleet anchored in the Road. In that case, Parma might cross without assistance. But, if the enemy still remained

¹ Duro, doc. 94, p. 10.

² *Ib.*, doc. 94, pp. 10, 11. See also Froude, 334.

³ *Ib.*, doc. 94, p. 11.

⁴ *Ib.*, doc. 94, pp. 10, 11.

Yet Duro, doc. i. p. 48, comments: "No cabe nada más meditado, claro y preciso que esta instrucción."

⁵ It is true that Philip had delivered to the two dukes certain plans which have not been preserved. These may possibly have been more precise. Duro, doc. 94, p. 7.

⁷ Duro, doc. 95.

in the neighbourhood, then it would be the duty of Medina Sidonia with part, or the whole, of the Armada, to convoy Parma. This interpretation is the more probable, seeing that Philip, in his instructions, ordered his admiral, after Parma's landing, to guard and keep open the passage between Flanders and the mouth of the Thames.

At first sight, it seems illogical to protect Parma's passage from Flanders from a base at the mouth of the Thames. But it must be remembered that on the coast of Flanders there were no ports suitable for the Armada, whereas at the mouth of the Thames, and in the Downs, there were good anchorages, where storms might be ridden out, and where favourable opportunities might be awaited.

Medina Sidonia's business, then, was to ensure Parma's passage to Margate; to there reinforce his army with, in the most favourable event, six thousand men;¹ and thenceforward to co-operate with him in the mouth of the Thames. The admiral's mission was subsidiary to that of Parma, but might nevertheless be a very important and honourable one, especially in the case of a great action being fought at sea. It is clear that Philip entirely failed to comprehend the only principles in accordance with which successful invasions of insular States with respectable navies can be carried out. Had he understood them, he must have ordered the projected invasion to wait upon the fighting of a decisive action with the English fleet, instead of exhorting his admiral to avoid a battle. We may, therefore, take it that his characterisation of an action at sea as "after all, the chief thing," was mere consolatory flattery, designed to compensate Medina Sidonia, in some measure, for having been vouchsafed no more than what was intended to be a secondary part in the drama.

The secret instructions² confirm the supposition that, after Medina Sidonia's arrival off Margate, Parma was to pass over with his fighting force. But if, they continue, God should fail to permit the hoped-for issue and should prevent Parma from crossing, thus rendering impracticable the desired co-operation, then, still remaining in correspondence with Parma, the admiral should endeavour to make himself master of the Isle of Wight. This would give the Spaniards a secure harbour whence they might pursue the various

¹ Parma greatly counted upon these men, and called them "el niervo principal" of his force. Compare Motley, ii. 441.

² Duro, doc. 95. Written March 22nd.

undertakings rendered possible by their possession of that important position.

With these secret instructions, the king sent a sealed letter¹ which Medina Sidonia was to hand to Parma, either after the latter had landed in England, or after he had abandoned all hope of being able to do so. By this missive, Parma was empowered, in case neither England nor Spain should have gained a decisive victory, to treat for peace. The king prescribed three main conditions, viz. (1) Free exercise of the Catholic faith in England, and the repeal of the sentence of exile upon those already expelled from the country on account of holding that faith; (2) Surrender of the places held in the Netherlands by the English, and especially of Flushing; (3) Compensation for the great injuries inflicted on Spanish possessions and subjects. From this it is apparent that some time before the sailing of the Armada, Philip admitted the possibility of the failure, whole or part, of the expedition.

The instructions, secret as well as public, were drawn up on March 22nd. The confusion and ambiguity noted in them may be noted also in the supplementary instructions which were subsequently added to them. The Armada did not leave Corunna until July 12th, so that there was plenty of time for the reconsideration of the plans put forward in March.

On May 18th, Medina Sidonia wrote to the king a letter² in which he discussed the project. His views then expressed agree with Philip's instructions, in so far as they indicate that the admiral considered it as settled that he was not to seek the enemy previous to the moment of Parma's junction with him. He does not, however, mention the place of junction. And the letter opens up some entirely new questions. In common with his most experienced officers, Medina Sidonia considered that it would be risky to hand over many of his troops to Parma so long as the enemy's fleet had not been rendered harmless.³ His idea was rather to unite with Parma, and then to seek and destroy the English fleet, before attempting a landing. If he should succeed in doing this, he would give Parma as many men as the latter might ask for. The land attack would thereby be rendered the more secure and certain. This pre-supposed, of course, a junction between Medina Sidonia and Parma previous to the discovery and disabling of the enemy.

¹ Duro, doc. 96.

² *Ib.*, doc. 113, p. 101.

³ In a word, he recognised the gravity of neglecting a "potent" fleet.

It is nowhere expressly said that it would be for Parma's transports to wait off the English coast, somewhere near Margate, until the English fleet should be beaten. Yet that seems to have been Medina Sidonia's meaning. At all events, Parma was to have no share worth mentioning in the victory which it was purposed to gain after the junction had been effected. Parma's contingent was not regarded as likely to very considerably strengthen the fighting power of the Armada at sea. The letter further indicates that Philip had proposed that, after the junction had been effected, the English fleet should, if possible, be blockaded in some port, and then harassed simultaneously by land and by sea.

After the departure from Lisbon, Medina Sidonia wrote to Parma¹ that the Armada was on its way, and that the people were in good spirits and burning for a fight, "if the enemy would wait for them." Still, apparently bearing in mind the original instructions, he said that the king had ordered him to proceed directly to Parma's assistance. He laid stress upon the fact that he had only to clear the way, attacking if the enemy annoyed him. But he was not to follow the English fleet far, if it gave way. In this letter, the scheme of junction with Parma was touched upon with the same perplexing vagueness as on previous occasions. Medina Sidonia begged Parma, immediately upon receiving the dispatch, to set sail in order to meet the Armada, and at the same time to send a messenger to the fleet, to inform the admiral how far Parma's preparations had advanced, and where the junction was to take place. Supposing Margate to have still been the destination of both forces, Medina Sidonia evidently contemplated the possibility of a junction previous to his arrival off that town.

Recalde's opinion of the plan is noteworthy. Recalde was vice-admiral² of the entire fleet; and it would be his duty to exert himself to the utmost in the battle. His remarks are to be found in a letter³ which, on July 1st, shortly before the final departure of the fleet from Spain, he addressed to the king.

The object of the fleet was, according to the little which Recalde had been able to learn,⁴ to fight the enemy at close quarters and

¹ Duro, doc. 118.

² *I.e.* "almirante," or second in command. The commander-in-chief was styled Captain-General. Duro, doc. 110.

³ Duro, doc. 140.

⁴ Recalde's expression to this effect indicates how ill-informed even the highest officers were as to the methods to be pursued.

disperse him, if he accepted action, as Recalde felt sure he would. But it has already been shown that Philip preferred that Parma's passage should be managed without a battle. If there should be no fight, continued Recalde, the fleet was to proceed to the Downs,¹ and thence reach out a helping hand to the forces at Dunquerque. The next measure was to be the taking of such precautions as would enable Parma's army to safely reach England, landing at the place which Parma should designate as being the most suitable for the purpose.

If we may trust Recalde's impressions, the orders then in force prescribed neither that the junction should be effected off Margate, nor that Medina Sidonia and Parma, after their junction, should proceed thither. Indeed, he himself offered suggestions as the most suitable place, declaring that it should be one as little as possible removed, either northward or southward, from the mouth of the Thames. Margate would, of course, be such a place; but, if Margate had already been specified to him as the point selected, Recalde would scarcely have written as he did. Parma's passage would, he thought, probably occupy several days, for cavalry was to be sent over: and as all could not cross at once, the transports would have to make at least two trips. After Parma had crossed successfully, it would be necessary, according to Recalde, to seek a port in England for Medina Sidonia's fleet. He suggested several, and expressed the opinion that even if the Spaniards beat the English fleet, the latter would hardly be reduced to so impotent a condition as not to be able to again appear at sea in fighting trim.

As has thus been indicated, the details of the original plan were not adhered to. The plan seems, in fact, to have been modified little by little until not Margate, but the coast of Flanders became the immediate destination of the Armada. For, on July 20th, the day before the first action with the English, Medina Sidonia² wanted to remain off the Isle of Wight until Parma's preparations should be so far advanced as to admit of a junction being effected as soon as the Armada should arrive at some place in the neighbourhood of Dunquerque. It is clear that the admiral then no longer thought of proceeding first of all to Margate Road. Had he

¹ "Las Dunas." But the expression might mean The Dunes, or the banks on the Netherlands' coast.

² Duro, doc. 160.

contemplated such a step, Margate would have been as convenient a place of waiting as the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight.¹ The junction was not to be needlessly postponed, the coast of Flanders being a dangerous one, and the Armada having to fear that many of its ships might be driven ashore in case of heavy weather arising. For this reason Parma was requested to join immediately upon Medina Sidonia's arrival on the coast, and not to cause the fleet a moment's delay. But again the exact place of junction was not specified.

Valdes, however, wrote² that, on July 20th, Dunquerque was the point of destination. On July 21st, after the first battle, Medina Sidonia's idea³ was to continue his passage without halt, until he should learn from Parma what to do, and where to wait for him. If Margate was still the goal, it is evident that Medina Sidonia understood that the junction was to be effected before his arrival off that place. The coast of Flanders, then, in spite of the dangers of its shoals, may be accepted as the locality for the intended meeting. Moreover, on July 26th, Medina Sidonia, as Valdes had done previously, indicated Dunquerque as the point. Parma was to join the Armada as soon as it came in sight of Dunquerque.⁴

But when the Spanish admiral drew near Calais, he was informed by the pilots that, owing to the currents, it would be risky to proceed farther on his intended course. He therefore altered his plan. The new scheme was that Parma should join off Calais.⁵ After the junction had been effected, the combined fleet was to seek some secure harbour, in default of which the large ships of the Armada would certainly drive ashore. Nor is it clear that there was any longer an idea of making Margate the common point of destination. On the contrary, Medina Sidonia seems to have again turned his mind to the Isle of Wight, and to have proposed to Parma to seize the requisite secure harbour in that neighbourhood.⁶

In spite of all this vagueness, alteration, and ambiguity, one

¹ Duro, doc. 95, pp. 14, 15. The duke is therein strictly forbidden to attempt anything against the Isle of Wight before first proceeding to Margate.

² S. P. Dom. ccxv. 36.

³ Expressed in a letter to Parma of July 21st. Froude's Transcripts in B. M.

⁴ Duro, doc. 165, p. 238; doc. 168, p. 259.

⁵ *Ib.*, doc. 165, p. 238; and Medina Sidonia to Parma, July 27th, in Froude's Transcripts.

⁶ *Ib.*, doc. 183.

perceives that the leading idea of the expedition was that if the English fleet should follow Medina Sidonia, it was to be dispersed, so that, the Channel being cleared, Parma could cross it. If the English fleet should not appear, or if it should appear and be decisively defeated, the minor details of subsequent operations would present no difficulties, provided that a secure harbour or anchorage could be found for the Armada, and that Parma should have favourable weather for his passage. The actions fought before the arrival of the Armada off Calais imperilled the carrying out of the leading idea. It is not astonishing that the scheme of minor details, vague as it was even before the first action, became afterwards hopelessly confused.

So much for the general plan of operations. The preparations in Spain may now be returned to. And, first of all, Medina Sidonia's general orders to his fleet¹ demand attention. They laid stress upon the religious aspect of the expedition. The people were to understand that they were participating in a crusade. Their behaviour must be worthy of their holy aims.

All, high and low, must realise, above all things, that the king undertook the expedition mainly for the service of God, and for the leading back to the bosom of the Church of souls subjected to the enemies of the Holy Catholic faith. Lest they should forget these aims, the people, before proceeding on board, were to humbly confess, and to receive the Sacrament. No one in the fleet, on pain of severe punishment, was to "idly make use of the name of our Lord, or of our Lady, or of the Saints." Even less sinful exclamations were to be punished, apparently by stoppage of the offender's ration of wine. As men swear most lightly while at play, certain games were to be forbidden, and others were to be played as little as possible. In no case was play by night to be permitted.

During the entire duration of the expedition, and for a month afterwards, all contentious questions, challenges, and so on, were, upon pain of death, to be referred to Medina Sidonia. This rule applied to all, great as well as small. Loose women were not to be suffered on board the ships.² Every morning at sunrise,

¹ Duro, doc. 99.

² But there were some women with the Armada. A lady and children were with Oquendo's second in command: Duro, doc. 171, p. 281; and "la urca de las mujeres" is mentioned: Duro, doc. 137, p. 164.

in accordance with the Spanish custom, the ships' boys were to call out the morning salutation at the foot of the mainmast. On the approach of night they were to recite the Ave Maria, and, on certain days, the Salve and Litany. As symbolising the Catholic faith and Spanish dominion,¹ banners bearing the figure of Christ, the figure of the Virgin, and the arms of Philip, were to be carried by the fleet.

At last the Armada was in a condition to sail. It put to sea from Lisbon on the morning of May 20th, 1588,² and on June 9th, Medina Sidonia, with part of it, entered Corunna. The rest of the fleet was to have entered the same port on the following day, but was scattered, and to some extent damaged, by a violent storm. Medina Sidonia was at once disheartened, and advised Philip, seeing that the ships were separated, many of the people sick, provisions bad and scarce, and officers and men unfit for their work, to make an honourable treaty with the English.³

The commander-in-chief of the Armada, in a word, wished to give up his undertaking before he had left Spain or caught sight of the enemy. And, indeed, he had reasons for not feeling entirely satisfied. He mentioned the absence of many of his ships; and that the crews had complained of the victuals. Yet he showed clearly enough, by his attitude on that occasion, how unsuitable he was for the leadership of men.

It is remarkable that Philip, thus informed by Medina Sidonia himself of the character of that officer, did not appoint a stronger man to supersede him. Philip, however, kept his admiral, while he wholly neglected his admiral's advice. He directed Medina Sidonia to await the arrival in port of his heaviest ships, and expressed a hope that they would be ready for sea on July 2nd.⁴

In the course of a short time, almost all the missing vessels safely reached Corunna and other Spanish ports. Some of them had been driven nearly as far as the Scilly Isles.⁵ Haste was made over the repairs of the damaged ships, and in the furnishing of

¹ Duro, doc. 109, p. 82.

² *Ib.* doc. 115, p. 106; doc. 118, p. 113. May 30th, N.S.

³ "Medios honrosos."

⁴ *Ib.*, doc. 134.

⁵ Where they sighted and chased several English traders about June 13th: S. P. Dom. ccli. 47, 48; Duro, docs. 135, 137, 140.

proper victuals. In the meantime the religious aspect of the expedition was kept prominently in view by the erection on an island in the harbour of tents and altars, where the people once more confessed, and received the Sacrament.

Philip's motives, viewed from our present standpoint, are sufficiently apparent. He was animated by personal pique, for his matrimonial advances had been repulsed by Elizabeth, and he knew that he was detested in England. He had patriotic reasons for his action; for his huge empire oversea had suffered sorely from the depredations of the wild spirits of England, and his subjects in the Low Countries were being abetted in their struggle for freedom by English help and sympathy. And he had the religious incentive; for, himself a zealot of the most extreme type, he could have regarded no mission as more glorious or more worthy of a Christian sovereign than the bringing back of England to the fold of the Roman Church.

Yet, in the eyes of the England of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Philip, naturally enough, found no justification whatsoever. If he had been repelled by England and her queen, his gloomy and fanatic character had richly merited the rebuff. If he had suffered in his possessions oversea, the attitude of his representatives there had invited, nay, even compelled, hostile English action. If his Netherlands subjects were in arms against him, Spanish tyranny and oppression were merely meeting with their inevitable reward. And, if he stood for the Roman Catholic faith, Elizabeth stood as conspicuously for a faith which, though new, was already much dearer to the majority in England. Even the English Roman Catholics were not, with very rare exceptions, won over by Philip's assumption of the Crusader's cross. They were not religiously free, it is true, in those days; yet they knew well that, upon the whole, they were little worse off under Elizabeth than they would have been under Philip. In England, liberty had shown its head, and could not but grow and flourish. Already toleration was slowly extending. And the inspirations of a new and lusty youth had seized upon all Englishmen and rendered them proud of their nationality, no matter whether they agreed or disagreed with the Reformation. So it was that many English Roman Catholics gallantly fought for England in that crisis, with arms as well as with diplomacy; and that few, indeed, cared to range themselves, even passively, against her.

After the Armada had failed, an official English account¹ of the proceedings against it was drawn up, and has been preserved. It will be much quoted from later, since it possesses the signal merit, from the naval point of view, of having been prepared under Howard's direction. But it is also interesting because it contains, in the form of a curious preamble, a statement of what was certainly the generally accepted English case against Spanish ambition and duplicity.

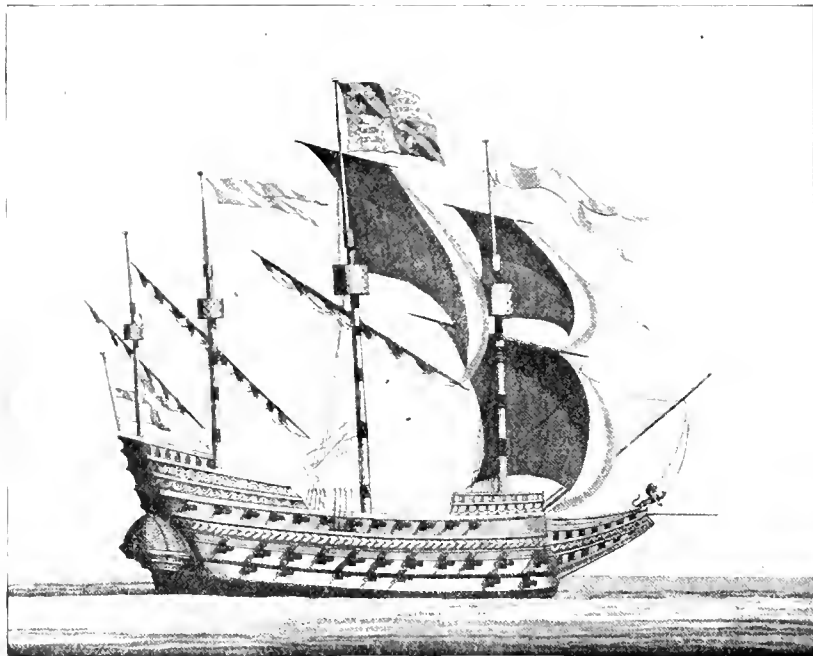
"Whereas," it runs, "the Queen's most excellent Majesty had of late years sundry and most certain intelligences of the great warlike preparation both for sea and land which the King of Spain of late years made from all parts, not only of the mightiest and most puissant ships and vessels that he could prepare, as well from foreign places as in his own dominions, and by arresting of the ships of other countries that came into his dominions, but also of all kind of munition and victuals, and of captains, soldiers and mariners, and of all other provisions for a mighty army by seas, to come out of Spain and Portugal; for the more strength whereof it was notorious to the world how he had drawn into Spain and Portugal his principal and most experimented captains and old soldiers out of Naples, Sicilia, Lombardy, and other parts of Italy, yea, and from sundry remote places of the Indies; the preparation whereof, with the numbers of ships, men, victuals, ordnance and all kind of munition, was made patent to the world by sundry books printed and published both in Spain, Portugal, and in many other countries of Christendom, carrying the titles of the 'Happy Armada of the King of Spain,' and, in some, specially expressed to be against England: And, in like sort, where[as] her Majesty had the like knowledge of the mighty and puissant forces of horses and footmen, sufficient to make many armies, prepared in the Low Countries under the conduct of the Duke of Parma, the King's Lieutenant-General, and of multitude of ships, bilanders, boats and other vessels fit for the transporting and landing of the said forces, armies from the coast of Flanders, with a general publication to the world that all these so mighty forces, both by sea and land, were intended to the invasion of her Majesty's realms, and, as was pretended, to have made therewith a full conquest: Yet for that, in this time of their preparation, the King of Spain, by his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Parma, caused certain offers to be made to her Majesty for a communication of a peace betwixt their Majesties; howsoever, by the common judgment of the world, the same was done but to abuse her Majesty and to win time whilst his preparations might be made complete; her Majesty, nevertheless, like a most godly and Christian prince, did not refuse to give ear to so Christian an offer, for which purpose she sent certain noblemen² of her Privy Council into Flanders to treat with certain Commissioners, who continued there without any good success by reason of the unreasonable delays of the King's Commissioners;³ yea, they continued there until the Navy of Spain was overcome and forced to fly."

¹ Cotton MS. Julius F. x. ff. 111-17. The credit of showing that this document has an official character, and, moreover, that it represents the views and conclusions of Howard himself, is due to Professor Laughton, R.N. See 'State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada,' ii. 388 (App. II.)

² The English Commissioners were Henry, Earl of Derby; William, Lord Cobham; Sir James à Crofts; and Doctors Valentine Dale and John Rogers.

³ The demands and offers of the Commissioners are set forth in Cott. MS. Julius, F. vi. 23, f. 51 b.

The impression, therefore, in England was to the effect that Philip was bent not so much upon the settlement of grievances, if he had any, as upon the subjugation of the country; and the prevalence of this impression cannot but have had an important



AN ENGLISH SHIP OF WAR, 1588.

(After the *Tapestries in the old House of Lords.*)

influence upon the attitude of an independent and self-reliant people.

While, therefore, Spain prepared for the spring, England made ready to receive the shock without flinching.

Early in the year¹ the Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, had warned Walsyngham² that it would be dangerous then to weaken the English fleet. He was of opinion that Parma at Dunquerque, was hatching something against Scotland, and complained that English prestige had diminished. He wrote that the enemy was aware that the English were like bears tied to stakes, and that the dogs might worry them with impunity. On

¹ February 1st: S. P. Dom. cviii. 46. From on board the *White Bear*.

² Howard had been specially commissioned on December 21st, 1587, to command against the Spaniards: S. P. Dom. cxi. 41.

the same day Hawkyns appealed to Walsyngham¹ for bold and decisive action.

"Having of long time seen," he wrote, "the malicious practices of the papists combined generally throughout Christendom to alter the government of this reahn and to bring it to papistry, and consequently to servitude, I have a good will from time to time to do and set forward something as I could have credit to impeach their purpose. But it hath prevailed little, for that there was never any substantial ground laid to be followed effectually. . . . If we stand at this point in a manueering and at a stay, we consume, and our Commonwealt doth utterly decay. . . . We have to choose either a dishonourable and uncertain peace, or to put on virtuous and valiant minds, to make a way through with such a settled war as may bring forth and command a quiet peace." He went on to recommend, "that there be always six principal good ships of her Majesty's upon the coast of Spain, victualled for four months, and accompanied with some six small vessels, which shall haunt the coast of Spain and the islands, and be a sufficient company to distress anything that goeth through the seas. And when these must return, there would be other six good ships, likewise accompanied, to keep the place. . . . For these six ships we shall not break the strength of the navy; for we shall have a sufficient company always at home to front any violence that can be any-way offered unto us. . . . And therefore I comelude that with God's blessing and a lawful open war, the Lord shall bring us a most honourable and quiet peace, to the glory of His Church, and to the honour of her Majesty and this reahn of England."

On February 29th, Howard learnt that the Armada was about to sail from Spain. He had recovered from his dejection, and, writing to Burghley,² said :

"If I may have the four great ships come to me in time, and 20 good hoys, but with 20 men apiece, which is but a small charge, and each of them but with two iron pieces, I doubt not but to make her Majesty a good account of anything that shall be done by the Spanish forces, and I will make him wish his galleys at home again. . . . I protest before God, and as my soul shall answer for it, that I think there were never in any place in the world worthier ships than these are, for so many. And as few as we are, if the King of Spain's forces be not hundreds, we will make good sport with them. And I pray you tell her Majesty from me that her money was well given for the *Ark Raleigh*,³ for I think her the odd ship in the world for all conditions; and truly I think there can no great ship make me change and go out of her. We can see no sail, great nor small, but how far soever they be off, we fetch them and speak with them."

And Sir William Wynter, writing on February 28th, to the Principal Officers of the Navy⁴ after the winter had tried the fleet, spoke with equal enthusiasm of the vessels.

"Our ships," he said, "do show themselves like gallants here. I assure you, it will do a man's heart good to behold them; and would to God the Prince of Parma were

¹ S. P. Dom. ccviii. 47. From on board the *Bonaventure*.

² S. P. Dom. ccviii. 87. From on board the *Ark*.

³ Bought from Sir W. Raleigh for £5000. The sum was in 1592 deducted from his debt to the Crown.

⁴ S. P. Dom. ccviii. 85. From on board the *Vanguard* in the Downs.

upon the seas with all his forces, and we in the view of them. Then I doubt not but that you would hear that we would make his enterprise very unpleasant to him. But with sorrow I speak it, I am afraid that they will keep me from the baths of Bath by their long detraction, where I meant to have been to seek health by the beginning of May next."

Drake was another of those who advised and longed for an energetic offensive. Writing on March 30th to the Council,¹ he said:—

"If her Majesty and your Lordship thinks that the King of Spain meaneth any invasion in England, then doubtless his force is and will be great in Spain; and thereon he will make his groundwork or foundation, whereby the Prince of Parma may have the better entrance, which, in mine own judgment, is most to be feared. But if there may be such a stay or stop made by any means of this fleet in Spain, that they may not come through the seas as conquerors—which, I assure myself, they think to do—then shall the Prince of Parma have such a check thereby as were meet."

But he added that the ships had not enough powder on board for more than a day's, or a day and a half's fighting, and that more ought to be sent to them; "for it importeth but the loss of all." Nor did he underrate the importance of increasing the active navy. To the queen, on April 13th, he wrote:—²

"If your Majesty will give present order for our proceeding to the sea, and send to the strengthening of this fleet here four more of your Majesty's good ships, and those 16 sail of ships with their pinnaces which are preparing in London, then shall your Majesty stand assured, with God's assistance, that if the fleet come out of Lisbon, as long as we have victual to live withal upon that coast, they shall be fought with. . . . God increase your most excellent Majesty's forces both by sea and land daily: for this I surely think, there was never any force so strong as there is now ready or making ready against your Majesty."

Drake continued to press his opinion³ that the Spaniards should be met and fought off their own shores. On April 28th he again wrote to the queen: "These great preparations of the Spaniard may be speedily prevented as much as in your Majesty lieth, by sending your forces to encounter them somewhat far off, and more near their own coasts."

But the Channel was to be the scene of England's defence. This, however, was not the desire of the naval commanders. Writing to Burghley⁴ on May 23rd, the Lord High Admiral related what had so far been done.

"Upon Tuesday last," he says, "being the 21st of this instant, the wind serving exceedingly well, I cut sail at the Downs, assigning unto my Lord Henry Seymour

¹ S. P. Dom. ccix. 40. From Plymouth.

³ *Ib.*, ccix. 112.

² *Ib.*, ccix. 89. From Plymouth.

⁴ *Ib.*, ccix. 28. From Plymouth.

those ships appointed to stay with him on the Narrow Seas; and so parting companies the same morning athwart of Dover, and with a pleasant gale all the way long, came and arrived this day, being the 23rd, about eight of the clock in the morning, at this port of Plymouth, whence Sir Francis Drake came forth with sixty sail very well appointed to meet with me; and so, casting about, he put with me into the haven again, where I mean to stay there two days to water our fleet, and afterwards, God willing, to take the opportunity of the first wind serving for the coast of Spain, with intention to lie on and off betwixt England and that coast to watch the coming of the Spanish forces."

When, on May 28th, Howard again wrote to Burghley¹ the fleet was, contrary to the commander-in-chief's expectations, still at Plymouth.

"I have received a letter," he said, "from my man Burnell,² whom I left to come after us with the ten ships with victuals. I perceive by his letter that the ships, and also the victuals, be nothing in that readiness that I looked they should be in, nor as Mr. Quarles³ did promise me: for he did ensure me that within seven or eight days at the farthest they should be dispatched after my departure from the Court, which was the 14th of this month. Burnell's letter unto me beareth date of the 20th, and signifieth unto me that Mr. Quarles and Mr. Peter told him that it would not be ready to depart in 12 or 14 days after; and besides that the ships were in no readiness that should bring it, and that there would be no mariners gotten for them. . . . We have here now but 18 days' victual, and there is none to be gotten in all this country; and what that is to go withal to sea, your Lordship may judge."

He had already learnt that the Armada was to have sailed with the first fair wind; and, realising the danger of delay, expressed his intention of sailing, short of stores though he was, "for go we will, though we starve"; seeing that he did not know whether the Spaniards were bound for England, Ireland, or Scotland. "I believe surely," he added, "if the wind hold here but six days, they will knock at our door. If they do so, the fault is not ours; for I hope we have lost not one hour nor minute of time, nor will suffer any after to be lost." And in a second letter⁴ of the same day he said: "There is here the gallantest company of captains, soldiers, and mariners that I think ever was seen in England. It were pity they should lack meat, when they are so desirous to spend their lives in her Majesty's service."

Walsingham on June 9th, at the queen's direction, wrote⁵ to Howard, desiring him not to cruise, as he had intended, so far to

¹ S. P. Dom. cex. 35.

² Francis Burnell, of Acton Burnell. He was then captain of the *Mary Rose*, and later joined the *Ark*. From one branch of his family are descended the Italian Actons, and Lord Acton; from another, Captain John Coke Burnell (1883), R.N.

³ James Quarles was Baeshe's successor in the Victualling Department.

⁴ S. P. Dom. cex. 36.

⁵ *Ib.*, cexi. 8.

the southward as Bayona,¹ since the Spaniards, by taking a westerly course, might circumvent him and "shoot over to this realm" during his absence. Howard received this command on June 14th, and was much embarrassed by it, Drake, Hawkyns, Frobiser, and, in fact, all the most experienced captains, being in favour of endeavouring to meet the Spaniards as near as possible to their own coasts, where, it was then the admiral's conviction, they intended to remain while the English wore themselves out and expended their supplies.² Howard remonstrated vigorously.

"If," he said, "we had been on their coast, they durst not have put off, to have left us on their backs: and when they shall come with the south-westerly wind, which must serve them if they go for Ireland or Scotland, though we be as high as Cape Clear, yet shall we not be able to go to them as long as the wind shall be westerly. And if we lie so high, then may the Spanish fleet bear with the coast of France, to come for the Isle of Wight: which for my part, I think, if they come to England, they will attempt. Then are we clean out of the way of any service against them. But I must and will obey; and am glad there be such there as are able to judge what is fitter for us to do than we here."

On June 19th, Howard was still waiting at Plymouth for supplies.³ Nor had they reached him by June 22nd,⁴ when he wrote:—

"If they come not, our extremity will be very great, for our victuals ended the 15th of this month: and if that Mr. Darell⁵ had not very carefully provided us of 14 days' victuals, and again with four or five days' more, which now he hath provided, we had been in some great extremity. . . . Men have fallen sick, and by thousands fain to be discharged, and others pressed in their stead."

At about that time the Lord High Admiral naturally became exceedingly anxious, and on June 22nd, being still at Plymouth, he wrote to Walsyngham:⁶

"I am very sorry that her Majesty will not thoroughly awake in this perilous and most dangerous time. . . . I put out on Wednesday to the sea in hopes to have met with some of our victuallers, but on Friday we were put in again with a southerly wind. I hope now shortly we shall hear of our victuals, for the wind doth now serve them. I pray God all be well with them, for if any chance should come to them we should be in most miserable case. For the love of God let the Narrow Seas be well strengthened, and the ships victualled for some good time."

¹ "The isles of Bayona." Bayona is near the south point of Galicia, and numerous islands lie off the coast to the northward of it.

² S. P. Dom. cexi. 18. From on board the *Ark* in Plymouth Sound. S. P. Dom. cexi. 26 (June 15th), also from the *Ark* in Plymouth Sound.

³ *Ib.*, cexi. 37. Howard to Walsyngham.

⁴ *Ib.*, cexi. 45. Howard to the Council.

⁵ Marmaduke Darell, victualling agent for the navy. He was knighted in 1603.

⁶ S. P. Dom. cexi. 46.

He was, no doubt, the more anxious in consequence of having heard, although he could hardly credit, that a squadron of nine great ships had been sighted on June 13th between Ushant and the Scilly Isles by an English trading bark, and that other vessels had been chased, and even fired at, by the enemy.¹

But at length a month's victuals arrived. Writing to the queen² on Sunday, June 23rd, Howard said: "On Saturday, late at night, they came to us. They were no sooner come, although it were night, but we went all to work to get in our victuals, which I hope shall be done in 24 hours, for no man shall sleep nor eat till it be dispatched; so that, God willing, we will be under sail to-morrow morning, being Monday, and the 24th of this present." On the same day he wrote to Walsingham,³ at 12 p.m., "God willing, I will set sail within this three hours," and expressed his belief that the Armada was bound to the coast of France to pick up an army under the Duke of Guise.

The fact that English traders had been sighted, chased, and fired at by Spanish ships at the mouth of the Channel on June 13th, and two or three following days, was, as has been seen, scarcely credited at first by Howard. But the report undoubtedly created in time a very general impression, among himself and his subordinates, that the whole Armada was then close to England. We know now that the report was correct, but that the Spanish vessels were merely a few which, by the tempest of June 9th, had been driven from off Corunna, and that most of them returned thither before the final sailing of the Armada on July 12th. For some time after June 13th there was no further definite news of the whereabouts of the enemy; and it was therefore generally concluded that the Spaniards had, for some unknown reason, put back. Upon that assumption, Drake⁴ and Thomas Fenner⁵ strongly counselled that the English fleet should proceed in a body to the coast of Spain.

The advice, however, did not find favour. The dispositions which were actually made are set forth in a letter, addressed by Howard to Walsingham,⁶ on July 6th. The commander-in-chief had put to sea, probably on June 24th, for a cruise in the Channel, and had been subsequently informed by a dispatch from Walsyng-

¹ S. P. Dom. cexi. 47, 48. These were some of the vessels which had been dispersed by the storm of June 9th.

² *Ib.* cexi. 50. From on board the *Ark*, at Plymouth.

³ *Ib.*, cexi. 51.

⁴ *Ib.*, cexii. 9. July 4th.

⁵ *Ib.*, cexii. 10. July 14th.

⁶ *Ib.*, cexii. 18.

ham that there was no danger of France assisting the Spaniards. After describing how he had looked for Spanish ships off the Scillies, and failed to find them, he wrote: "I have divided myself here into three parts, and yet we lie within sight one of another, so as, if any of us do discover the Spanish fleet, we give notice thereof presently the one to the other, and thereupon repair and assemble together. I myself do lie in the middle of the Channel, with the greatest force. Sir Francis Drake¹ hath 20 ships and four or five pinnaces, which lie towards Ushant; and Mr. Hawkyns,² with as many more, lieth towards Scilly." If the Armada were destined for England, he did not doubt of falling in with it; if it were aimed at Scotland, he would follow it through the Narrow Seas. He did not believe that it was bound for Ireland. At the same period Lord Henry Seymour, with his flag in the *Rainbow*, commanded a detached force in the Downs, to watch Flushing, Dunquerque, and the Straits of Dover; and two Netherlands fleets were under orders to co-operate.³

On July 12th, the very day when the Armada quitted Corunna, Seymour wrote to Walsyngham,⁴ and, after recounting how the summer weather on his station had been unusually bad, and admitting that the gales were often favourable for the Spaniards, should they choose to come into the Channel, added: "Yet shall they be as greatly damaged by the raging seas as by their enemies. And to heap on braveries for conquering little England, that hath always been renowned, and now most famous by the great discovered strength, as well by sea as by land, the same also united with thousands [of] resolute civil minds—how can the same enter into my conceit they should any ways prevail?" Thus there was

¹ Vice-Admiral.

² Rear-Admiral. For many generations afterwards it was customary to write of otherwise untitled flag-officers in this way.

³ A Netherlands contingent, of about 30 vessels, was under the supreme command of Justinus van Nassau, Lieutenant-Admiral of Zeeland, a natural son of Prince William I. The other flag-officers of this squadron were Jan van Wassenaer, Lord of Warmond, Pieter van der Does, and Joos de Moor. This force watched the ports, and especially Dunquerque. Another Netherlands squadron, under Jan Gerbrandszoon, cruised off the northern coasts of the United Provinces. A squadron under Captain Cornelius Lonck van Roozendaal seems to have been intended to join Howard's fleet; but did not do so.—Jonge: 'Het Nederlandsche Zeewezen,' i. 136, 137. Justinus van Nassau, with 40 sail, visited Dover in the middle of August. Seymour wrote to Walsyngham, on August 17th: "I find the man very wise, subtle, and cunning, and therefore do trust him." S. P. Dom. ccxv. 24.

⁴ S. P. Dom. ccxii. 34.

an admirable spirit in his division. On July 13th, Howard wrote to Walsyngham¹ that he had four pinnaces looking out on the Spanish coast, and then, echoing Seymour, continued: "I know not what weather you have had there, but there was never any such summer seen here on the sea. God of His mercy keep us from sickness, for we fear that more than any hurt the Spaniards will do."

In the meantime, Howard, having found no Spaniards in the Channel, had cruised farther to the southward from July 8th to July 10th, and then, fearing lest the enemy might pass him unsighted, had put about, and returned to Plymouth on July 12th, to re-water and refresh his ships.² He seems to have been a little puzzled, for he wrote thence to Walsyngham,³ on July 17th: "I make all the haste I can possible out. . . . Seeing the advertisements⁴ be no surer, I mean to keep the three great ships with me yet awhile, to see what will come of it. Some four or five ships have discharged their men; for the sickness in some is very great, so that we are fain to discharge some ships to have their men to furnish the others." But, though perplexed and worried, he was in good spirits, and full of confidence. And, indeed, all in the fleet were in like mood. Thomas Femer, for example, wrote to Walsyngham⁵ on July 17th: "There never happened the like opportunity to beat down the Spanish pride, if it be effectually followed."

The movements and fortunes of the Spaniards must now, for a time, be followed.

The weather at Corunna had for some days been stormy, when, on the evening of July 11th, it began to improve.⁶ Medina Sidonia thereupon ordered his captains to lie at single anchor only; and at midnight, the firing of a gun from the flagship served as a signal to the fleet to weigh. At daylight, a second gunshot from the *San Martin* directed the ships to make all sail. The light southwest breeze was not sufficient to fill the canvas, and between daybreak and 2 P.M. on July 12th, the Armada did not make three miles' progress, and, at the latter hour, had not rounded Cape Priorino. It then fell quite calm; but after a short time the wind got up again a little, and the coast was slowly left behind.

¹ S. P. Dom. cexii. 42.

² Cotton MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117.

³ S. P. Dom. cexii. 60.

⁴ *I.e.* reports concerning the enemy.

⁵ S. P. Dom. cexii. 62. From on board the *Noupareil*. ⁶ Duro, doc. 151.

All went well until July 17th, when the Armada encountered a violent storm.¹ The Spanish seamen declared that, at a corresponding time of year, they had never witnessed such a heavy sea as was soon aroused. The 18th was clear and sunny, with light winds. Forty ships were found to be missing; and Medina Sidonia sent forward a dispatch-vessel in the direction of the Lizard, in order to look for them. The gale, however, had done little damage to the vessels which were still in company. A detailed list of the entire Armada, as of the fleet opposed to it, will be found in an appendix at the close of this chapter.

At Lisbon² the Spanish fleet had consisted of 130 sail,³ made up of 65 galleons; 25 *arcas* or hulks, of from 300 to 700 tons; 19 *pataches* or dispatch-vessels, of from 70 to 100 tons; 13 zabras; 4 galleasses;⁴ and 4 galleys; with 2431 guns, and an aggregate burthen of 57,868 tons, and carrying officers, seamen, and troops to the number of 30,656,⁵ besides volunteers, servants, priests, and other civilians. The supplies for this huge expedition included 110,000 quintals⁶ of biscuit, 11,117 mayors⁷ of wine, 6000 quintals of pork, 3000 quintals of cheese, 6000 quintals of fish, 4000 quintals of rice, 6000 fanegas⁸ of beans and peas, 10,000 arrobas⁹ of oil, 21,000 arrobas of vinegar, and 11,000 pipes of water. There were stores of sheet lead and leather for the repair of shot-holes; 21 field-pieces, with 40 mules to draw them, and 3500 shot for them: and, as extra ordnance supplies, 7000 arquebusses, 1000 muskets, 10,000 pikes, 1000 spears, 6000 half-pikes, with spades, axes, shovels, baskets, etc., etc., for work ashore.¹⁰

Nine days after the departure from Corunna, that is, on July 20th, the Armada was but nine craft short of its Lisbon strength; and of the missing vessels, two had never got as far as Corunna; so that the dispersion occasioned by the gale of the 17th may have been quickly repaired, although the Armada, since leaving Lisbon, had possibly been reinforced, and, probably, had not been rejoined by all the ships separated from it outside Corunna on the night of

¹ Duro, docs. 159, 168.

² On April 29th: Duro, doc. 110.

³ In addition to twenty small caravels and feluccas: Duro, docs. 109, 110.

⁴ Galleasses were very large galleys.

⁵ This, the paper strength, no doubt exceeded the real force: Duro, doc. 113. The estimated strength at Corunna was only 22,500 all told.

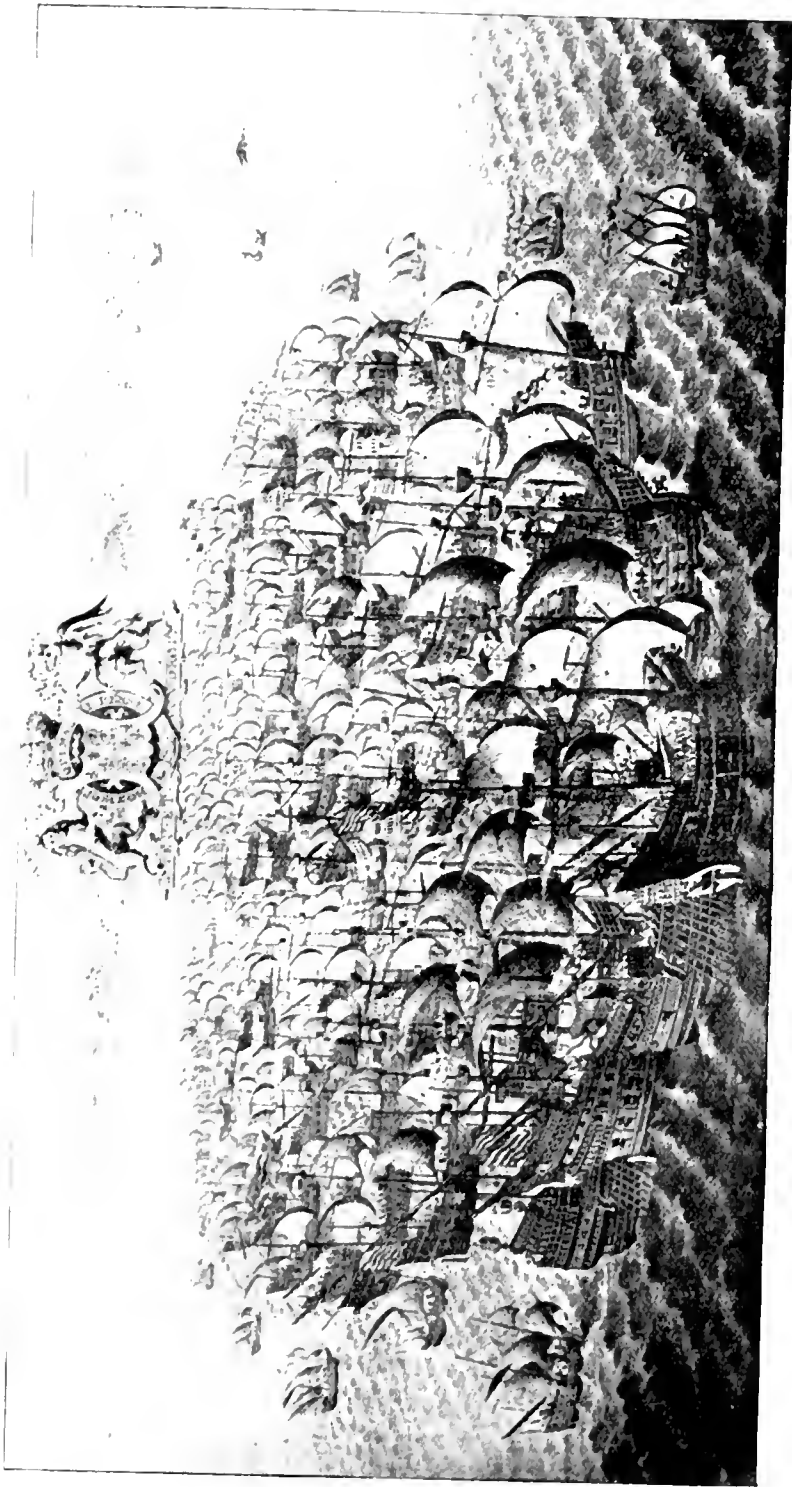
⁶ 1 quintal is 101·4 lbs.

⁷ 1 mayor is 56·2 gals.

⁸ 1 fanega is 1·5 bushels.

⁹ 1 arroba is 3·5 gals.

¹⁰ Duro, doc. 109.



JULY 1588. THE ARMADA, OFF THE LIZARD, PROCEEDING UP CHANNEL.
(From Don's 'Tapestry Homages of the House of Lords'.)

June 9th. Of 62 ships "of the first class," 59, averaging 726 tons and 26 guns, were still with the fleet.

Captain Duro,¹ and Professor Laughton² following him, seem to be of opinion that, upon the whole, the Spanish vessels were much more lightly armed than their enemies. Dr. W. F. Tilton is somewhat opposed to this conclusion. Of the guns, Professor Laughton says: "As a rule they were small—four, six, or nine pounders: they were comparatively few, and they were very badly worked." Dr. Tilton³ imagines that he can trace the origin of this assertion to the fact that, on July 26th, the day after the fight off the Isle of Wight, Medina Sidonia sent to Parma a request for shot of four, six, and ten pounds. A list, dated May 4th,⁴ shows that the Spanish fleet had 1497 bronze guns⁵ of all calibres, including many "cannon," *i.e.*, ships' guns of the largest size then employed. Besides them there were 934 iron pieces of all sorts. "For these 2431 weapons," says Dr. Tilton, "there were only 123,790 shot supplied—an average of about 50 shot per gun. It is almost certain that for the lighter pieces the supply was larger than for the greater; but, supposing that the allowance was the same for all, the quicker running short of the small shot becomes only the more natural"; and Medina Sidonia's request ought not to be tortured into an implication that he had very few guns bigger than nine or ten-pounders. Dr. Tilton, moreover, points out that Professor Laughton bases at least part of his conclusions upon a statement of force drawn up on July 9th (N.S.), 1587,⁶ and that he appears to ignore that, as late as March 4th, 1588, Philip ordered the armament of the Armada to be strengthened.⁷

It is, however, probable that the thirty-four ships of the English Royal Navy, which were engaged, had a slight superiority of armament over any thirty-four vessels belonging to the Armada; and it is quite certain, not only that the Spanish gunnery was very inferior, but also that the Spanish practice of making portholes so small as barely to admit the muzzles of the guns mounted behind them, prevented many guns, which might otherwise have rendered excellent service, from being effectively employed. On the other hand,

¹ Duro, p. 76.

² Introd. to 'S. P. relating of the Span. Armada,' xlv.

³ 'Die Katastrophe der Spanischen Armada': Freiburg, i. B., 1894.

⁴ Duro, doc. 110, p. 83.

⁵ Nearly all the larger guns of the time were bronze or brass.

⁶ Duro, doc. 39, p. 390.

⁷ *Ib.*, doc. 66.

there is plenty of testimony that, besides their thirty-four best ships, the Spaniards possessed many vessels which must be regarded as having serious fighting importance; while the testimony is equally strong that, beyond the thirty-four vessels belonging to the queen, Howard commanded very few that could serve a much better purpose than, as Wynter put it, "to make a show."¹ The superior handiness of the English ships, and the superior seamanship of the English officers and men, are undoubted. The largest Spanish ships were but little bigger than the largest English; and their relatively greater height above the water, although it gave their crews an advantage when boarding or repelling boarding was attempted, was a source of weakness which ought not to be lost sight of. Their excessively lofty poops and forecastles rendered them very leewardly, and caused them to present magnificent targets to the English gunners.

On July 19th, the Armada, with a favourable wind from the westward, pursued its course.² On that day the dispatch-vessel, which had been sent in the direction of the Lizard to search for the missing vessels, rejoined the fleet with the intelligence that they were ahead, under Don Pedro de Valdes, and that he was keeping them together and awaiting the main body.

By the English this detached portion of the Spanish fleet was sighted off the Lizard. The discoverer of them was Captain Thomas Flemyng, of the *Golden Hind*, a vessel which had been apparently placed on scouting duty by Howard himself. Flemyng was not, as has often been asserted, a pirate, but an honest man, and a connection of the Hawkyns family. He reported, or at least conveyed the impression, that he had seen as many as fifty ships in company, and he reached Plymouth on the 19th.

On the afternoon of that day almost the whole of the Armada was once more with the flag,³ the four galleys and one other vessel only being missing; and the invaders, as a whole, had their first sight⁴ of the English coast. Upon an announcement to this effect being made to him, Medina Sidonia hoisted at the fore a flag bearing a crucifix and the figures of Our Lady and St. Mary Magdalene; and fired three guns as a signal for general prayer

¹ S. P. Dom. cexiv. 7. Wynter to Walsyngham, August 1st, 1588, from the *Vanguard*.

² Duro, docs. 165, 159.

³ *Ib.*, doc. 165.

⁴ At 4 P.M.: Duro, doc. 159.



[To face page 562.]

JULY 26th, 1588. THE ARMADA, OFF PÓVOA, PURSUED BY THE ENGLISH FLEET.
(From Póvoa's Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords.)

and thanksgiving.¹ On the morning of the 20th, the coast was seen to be studded with signal fires.² That day a council of war was held, and it was decided to make for the entrance of Plymouth Sound, and, if circumstances favoured, to endeavour to attack the English fleet at its anchorage.³ But the English were not to be caught napping.

As soon as Flemýng had reported, although the wind was very



THE BEACONS IN KENT,
AS ARRANGED IN ANTICIPATION OF THE SPANISH DESCENT, 1588.
(From *Lombard's Perambulation of Kent.*)

scant, Howard⁴ warped out of harbour;⁵ but on Saturday, July 20th, he found himself impeded by a south-west breeze.

“About three of the clock in the afternoon,” he writes, [we] “descried the Spanish fleet, and did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning” (July 21st) “we had recovered, descriing their fleet to consist of 120 sail,” whereof there are four

¹ Duro, doc. 159.

² *Ib.*, doc. 165. The arrangement of the beacons in Kent is shown in the map. There was a similar arrangement in each of the other southern counties.

³ *Ib.*, doc. 185. It is difficult to understand how the instructions justified any such scheme.

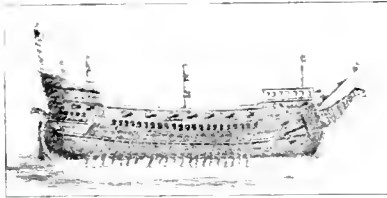
⁴ S. P. Dom. cexii. 80. To Walsyngham, July 21st.

⁵ With fifty-four sail. Cott. MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117. About forty sail did not get out until later.

⁶ John Popham, writing to Walsyngham from Wellington on July 22nd, says one hundred and sixty-two sail: S. P. Dom. cexiii. 1.

galleasses, and many ships of great burthen. At nine of the clock we gave them fight, which continued until one. In this fight we made some of them to bear room¹ to stop their leaks; notwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in among them, their fleet being so strong.² . . . The captains in her Majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men. . . . For the love of God and our country let us have with some speed some great shot sent us of all bigness[es]: for this service will continue long: and some powder with it."

Drake,³ by Howard's orders, at once wrote to Seymour and Wynter, who were detached to the eastward, to apprise them of what had occurred, and to warn them to be in readiness for the enemy when he should reach their neighbourhood. Writing on the 22nd,⁴ apparently to the Earl of Sussex, Howard urgently asked for reinforcements, and added in a postscript: "The ships you send shall find me east-north-east, following the Spanish fleet. Since



A SHIP OF THE ARMADA, 1588.

(From the House of Lords' Tapestry.)

the making up of my letter there is a galleass⁵ of the enemy's taken with 450 men in her; and yesterday I spoiled one of their greatest ships,⁶ that they were fain to forsake her."

An account of this first action of July 21st, is thus given in "A Relation of Proceedings,"⁷ the document already mentioned as having been drawn up under Howard's direction:—⁸

"The next morning, being Sunday, the 21st of July, 1588, all the English ships that were then come out of Plymouth had recovered the wind of the Spaniards two leagues to the westward of Eddystone; and about 9 of the clock in the morning the Lord Admiral sent his pinnace, named the *Disdain*, to give the Duke of Medina defiance,⁹ and afterwards in the *Ark* bare up with the admiral of the Spaniards wherein the duke was supposed to be, and fought with her until she was rescued by

¹ *I.e.* bear away.

² The English fleet was, of course, on this and several following days, without Lord Henry Seymour's division.

³ S. P. Dom. cxxii. 82.

⁴ Cott. MS. Otho. E. ix. 185*b*.

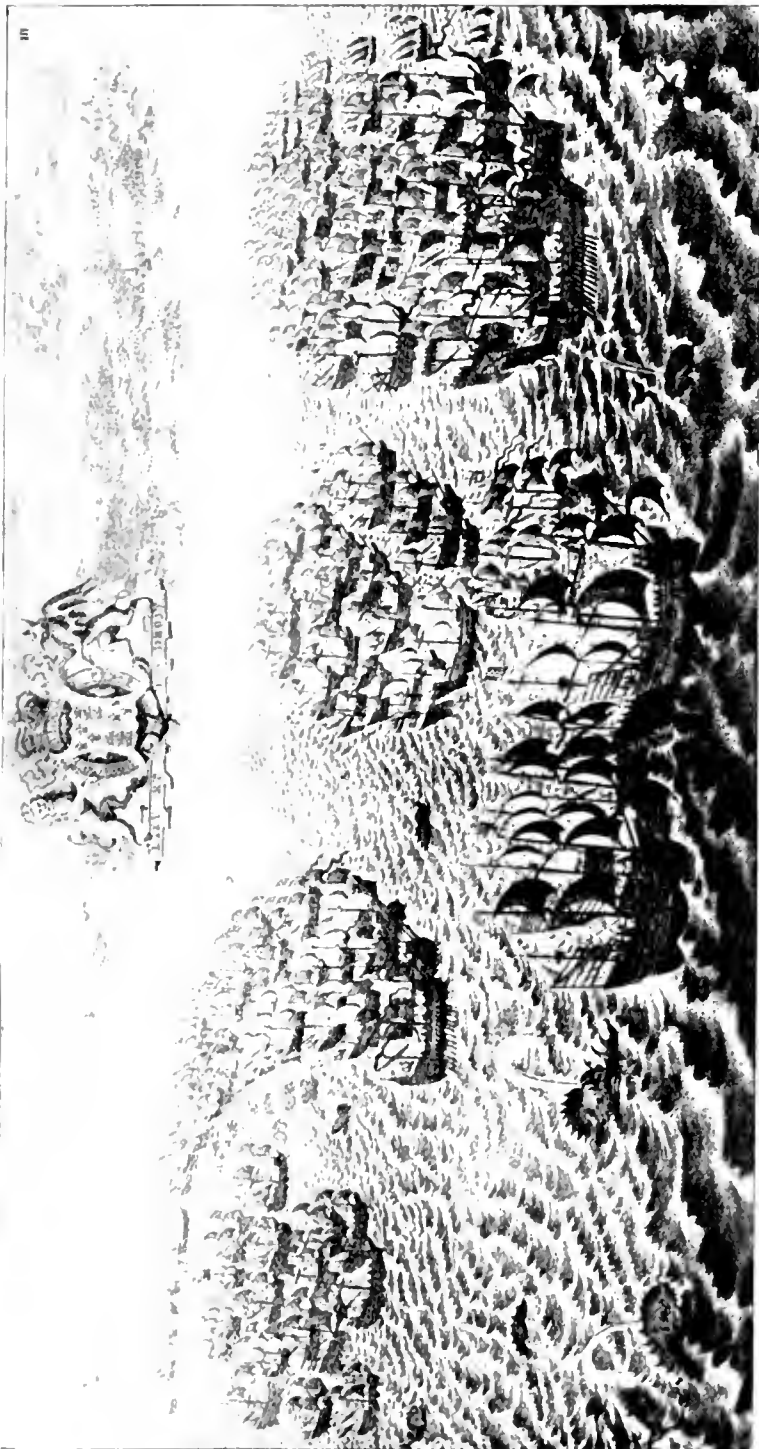
⁵ That of Don Pedro de Valdes, the *N. S. del Rosario*, elsewhere called a galleon and a gallega.

⁶ The *San Salvador*, of the squadron of Guipúzcoa.

⁷ Cotton MS. Julius F. x. 111–117.

⁸ See Professor Laughton's note in Append. II to 'Papers relating to the Def. of the Sp. Armada,' ii. 388.

⁹ Bp. Culeton, in his 'Thankful Remembrance,' says: "To denounce the Battell by shooting off some Peeeces"; but wrongly gives the name of the pinnace as *Defiance*.



JULY 24, 1588. THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT WITH THE SPANISH ARMADA: AND THE SUBSEQUENT CHASE. (To face page 584.)

(From Don's Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords.)

divers ships of the Spanish army. In the meantime Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkyns, and Sir Martin Frobiser fought with the galleon of Portugal, wherein John Martinez de Recalde, vice-admiral, was supposed to be. The fight was so well maintained for the time that the enemy was constrained to give way and to bear up room to the eastward, in which bearing up, a great galleon,¹ wherein Don Pedro de Valdes was captain, became foul of another ship, which spoiled and bare overboard his foremast and bowsprit, whereby he could not keep company with their fleet, but being with great dishonour left behind by the duke, fell into our hands."² There was also, at that instant, a great Biscayan,³ of 800 tons or thereabouts, that, by firing of a barrel of gunpowder, had her decks blown up, her stern blown out, and her steerage spoiled. This ship was for this night carried amongst the fleet by the galleasses.

"This fight continued not above two hours; for the lord admiral, considering there were forty sail of his fleet as yet to come from Plymouth, thought good to stay their coming before he would hazard the rest too far, and therefore set out a flag of council, where his lordship's considerate advice was much liked of, and order delivered unto each captain how to pursue the fleet of Spain; and so, dismissing each man to go aboard his own ship, his lordship appointed Sir Francis Drake to set the watch that night.

"That night the Spanish fleet bare alongst by the Start, and the next day, in the morning,⁴ they were as far to leeward as the Berry. Our own fleet, being disappointed of their light, by reason that Sir Francis Drake left the watch to pursue certain hulks which were descried very late in the evening, lingered behind, not knowing whom to follow; only his lordship, with the *Bear* and the *Mary Rose* in his company, somewhat in his stern, pursued the enemy all night within culverin shot; his own fleet being as far behind as, the next morning, the nearest might scarce be seen half-mast high, and very many out of sight, which with a good sail recovered not his lordship the next day before it was very late in the evening. This day Sir Francis Drake, with the *Revenge*, the *Roebuck*, and a small bark or two⁵ in his company, took Don Pedro de Valdes, which⁶ was spoiled of his mast the day before; and having taken out Don Pedro⁷ and certain other gentlemen, sent away the same ship and company to Dartmouth, under the conduction of the *Roebuck*, and himself bare with the lord admiral, and recovered his lordship that night, being Monday.⁸

"This Monday, being the 22nd of July, 1588, the Spaniards abandoned the ship⁹ that the day before was spoiled by fire, to the which his lordship sent the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir John Hawkyns, Knight, who together, in a small skiff of the *Victory's*, went aboard her, where they saw a very pitiful sight—the deck of the ship fallen down, the steerage broken, the stern blown out, and about fifty poor creatures

¹ The *N. S. del Rosario*.

² On July 22nd. See below.

³ The *Sau Salvador*, of Guipúzcoa, really of 958 tons.

⁴ That day Howard wrote urgently for more ships, even if they were victualled only for two days.

⁵ The *Margaret and John* of London, John Fisher, master, played an important part in the capture, having engaged Valdes's ship long before Drake fell in with her. S. P. Dom. ccxiii. 89.

⁶ Valdes's ship was the *N. S. del Rosario*.

⁷ Don Pedro de Valdes made the rest of the campaign in the Channel as Drake's guest.

⁸ Howard's immediate object was not so much to decisively defeat the Spaniards as to prevent them from landing. Cott. MSS. Otho. E. ix. 185b. He was still without Lord Henry Seymour.

⁹ The *Sau Salvador*.

burnt with powder in most miserable sort. The stink in the ship was so unsavoury and the sight within board so ugly, that the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir John Hawkyns shortly departed and came unto the Lord High Admiral to inform his lordship in what case she was found; whereupon his lordship took present order that a small bark named the *Bark Flemmyng*,¹ wherein was Captain Thomas Flemmyng, should conduct her to some port in England which he could best recover, which was performed, and the said ship brought into Weymouth the next day."

The Spanish accounts of what happened after the two fleets had for the first time sighted one another, throw but little further light upon the events of the 21st and 22nd.

On the night of July 20th, the Armada lay to,² while Medina Sidonia sent Don Juan Gil, who knew English, to reconnoitre the land, and to ascertain how things went there.³ At about the same time, an English craft from seaward approached the Armada to reconnoitre it,⁴ and was chased off in the direction of the land by Captain Ojeda, who, however, had to retire before he could come up with the Englishman. Towards 1 A.M. on the same night, Don Juan Gil returned, bringing with him four English fishermen whom he had seized in their boat. They were taken on board the flagship, but communicated nothing of importance. At 2 A.M.⁵ the moon appeared, and by its light the Spaniards perceived that the English were working to windward of them.

At daybreak on the 21st the wind blew from W.N.W.,⁶ and the Armada was a little to the westward of Plymouth. To the westward of them the Spaniards saw the English, to the number of about sixty sail,⁷ besides eleven more, including three large ones, which were under the land. These last had not then the advantage of the wind, and bore about N.E. from the Armada; but they presently gained the wind and⁸ joined the main body of the English fleet. While this manœuvre was being performed, the manœuvring division exchanged shots with the nearest Spanish vessel.

Percieving the English fleet to be united to windward, the Spaniards prepared for action, and Medina Sidonia hoisted the royal standard at the fore, the pre-arranged signal for battle. The

¹ The *Golden Hind*, here named after her owner.

² Duro, doc. 185; S. P. Dom. ccxv. 36.

³ Duro, doc. 165, 168, 185.

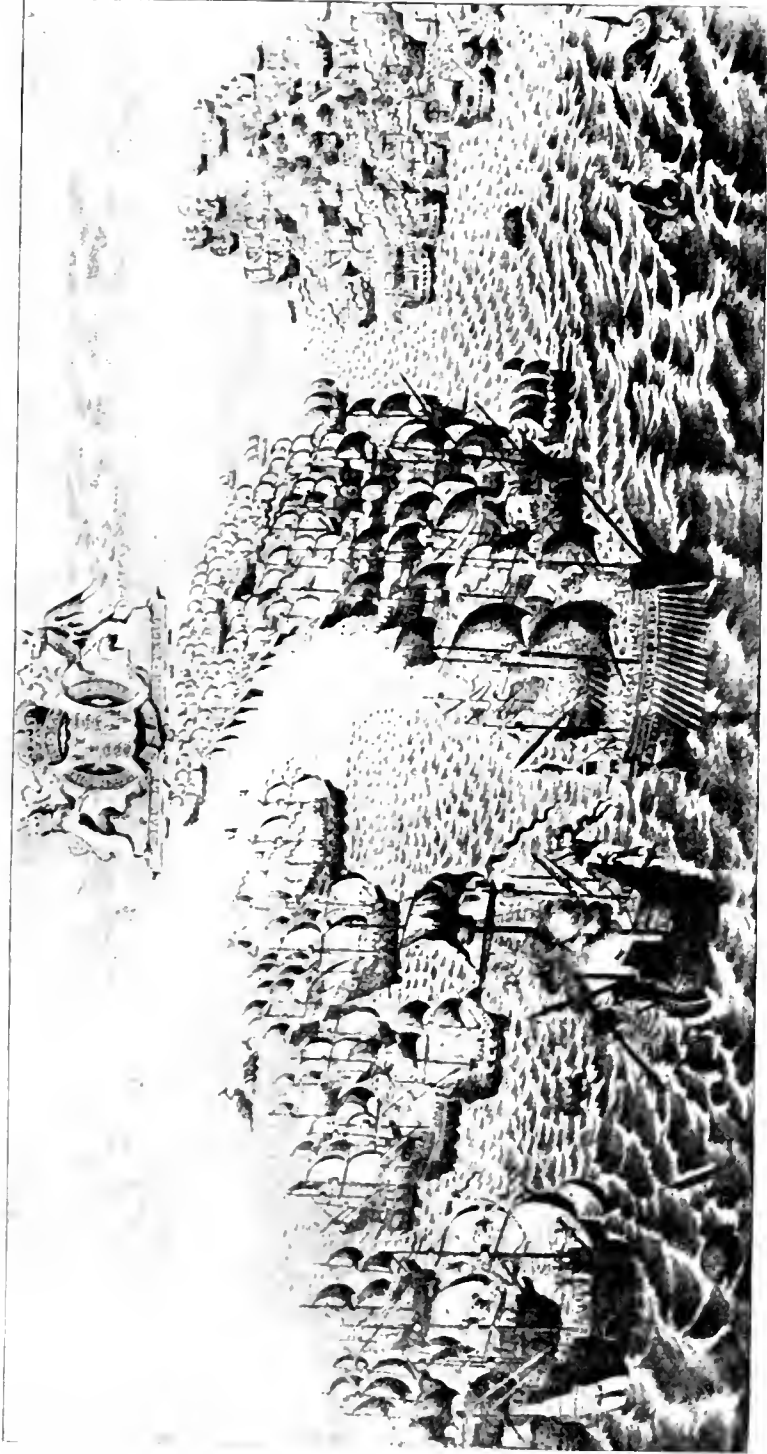
⁴ *Ib.*, docs. 168, 185.

⁵ P. C. Calderon's account.

⁶ Duro, doc. 165, p. 230. Calderon says W.

⁷ *Ib.*, docs. 168-170; and Calderon. Some of the documents given by Duro say 80.

⁸ *Ib.*, docs. 185, p. 165. They seem to have worked round to seaward of the Spaniards, as shown in Adams's chart.



[To face page 366.]

JULY 22nd, 1588. CAPTURE OF THE SAN SALVADOR.
(From Puck's Tipstony Hangings of the House of Lords.)

Armada was organised in three squadrons.¹ The van was under Don Alonso de Leyva, the main body under Medina Sidonia himself, and the rear under Juan Martínez de Recalde; but it would appear that, in his course up Channel, Medina Sidonia had Leyva's squadron on his left, and Recalde's squadron on his right; and that the terms van and rear applied rather to the relative ranks of the commanders of the squadrons than to the positions of the squadrons in the fleet. The Armada, there is little doubt, went at this time before the wind in the form of a huge crescent, of which the main body constituted the centre and foremost portion, and the van and rear the wings.²

The English³ contented themselves with a long-range fire upon the Spanish port (Leyva's) squadron, and, pressing across the rear of the crescent, hotly engaged Recalde,⁴ who, continues Medina Sidonia in the report⁵ sent home by the hands of Don Baltasar de Zuñiga,—

"stood fast and abode the assault of the enemy, although he saw that he was being left unsupported, [most of] the [other] ships of his rearguard taking refuge⁶ in the main body of the Armada. The enemy assailed with heavy gunfire, but did not close, and his vessel suffered much in her rigging, her forestay being cut, and her foremast having two large shot in it.⁷ In the rear [of the squadron], supporting Recalde, were the *Gran-Girón*, with Don Diego Pimentel, and Don Diego Enriquez, of Peru. The commander-in-chief's flagship struck her foretopsail and let fly the sheets; and, coming to the wind, waited⁸ for the rear squadron in order to convoy it into the main body of the fleet. Seeing this, the enemy drew off, and the Duke collected his force; but was unable to do more, because the enemy always had the wind, and the enemy's ships were so fast and handy that there was nothing which could not be done with them. That day, in the evening, Don Pedro de Valdes ran foul of the ship *Santa Catalina*, of his division, losing his bowsprit and foresails, and withdrew into the main body of the fleet to repair damages. The Armada manœuvred until 4 p.m., to recover the wind of the enemy. At that hour, on board [the flagship] of the vice-admiral of Oquendo's division, some powder-barrels took fire, and her two decks and poop were blown up. In her was the paymaster-general of the Armada,⁹ with part of the king's treasure. The duke, seeing the vessel remaining behind, headed the flagship for her, and fired a gun as a signal that the fleet should do the same. He also ordered boats to

¹ Duro, doc. 168. See also doc. 165, p. 230, and doc. 185, p. 376.

² See an interesting note in Tilton, pp. 50–52.

³ Calderon says that they were in very fine order.

⁴ The ships which engaged Recalde were chiefly those of Drake.

⁵ Duro, doc. 165.

⁶ Both Calderon and Vanegas admit that some captains behaved disgracefully.

⁷ Calderon says that other Spanish ships were damaged also.

Duro, doc. 185, p. 377 (account of Captain Alonso Vanegas), says that three English ships attacked the commander-in-chief. Vanegas praises the manner in which the English guns were served.

⁹ Juan de Huerta: Duro, docs. 110, 171; or Juan de Huerta: Duro, doc. 185.

be sent to her assistance. The fire was put out, and the enemy's fleet, which had been standing towards the ship,¹ stayed its course when it saw that the commander-in-chief approached her. The vessel, therefore, was protected, and carried into the main body of the Armada.

"In the course of this casting about, the foremast of Don Pedro's ship² broke off near the deck, and fell upon the mainyard. The duke turned to help her and to give her a hawser; but, in spite of all efforts, wind and sea rendered this impossible, and she was left unmanageable. This was in consequence of Diego Flores³ having told the admiral that, as it was night, if he shortened sail, the Armada, being far ahead, would not see him; that by morning more than half the fleet would inevitably be missing; and that, looking to the proximity of the foe, the Armada must not be imperilled,—for it was certain that, if sail were shortened, the expedition would be brought to nothing. On the strength of this opinion, the duke directed Captain Ojeda to remain with four pinnaces near Don Pedro's flagship. He also ordered the second flagship⁴ of Don Pedro's squadron, the flagship⁵ of Diego Flores, and a galleass, to be ready to tow her and take off her people; but nothing of the sort was found practicable, owing to the heavy sea, the darkness, and the state of the weather.⁶ As for the duke, proceeding on his course, he rejoined the fleet, and took pains to draw it together for whatsoever might happen on the day following.

"On Monday, July 22nd, the duke ordered Don Alonso de Leyva to carry over his van to the rear, and so make one squadron of van and rear: and directed the combined divisions, with three galleasses,⁷ and the galleons *San Mateo*, *San Luis*, *Florencia* and *Santiago*—being in all forty-three of the best vessels of the Armada—to turn upon the enemy, so as to avoid all hindrance of the junction with the Duke of Parma. As the duke, with the rest of the Armada, formed the van, the whole fleet was now divided into but two squadrons, Don Alonso de Leyva having command of the rear, and the duke himself taking charge of the van.

"The latter summoned all the sergeants-major, and ordered them to go in a pinnace and pass through the fleet in a prescribed order; and directed each of them in writing to put every ship in his assigned station, and, without delay, to hang the captain of any ship which should leave her station and not keep order. . . . At eleven this same day the captain of the *Amirante*⁸ of Oquendo advised the duke that his ship was in a sinking condition: and the duke ordered the king's treasure and her people to be removed, and the vessel scuttled. On the same day, in the evening, the duke dispatched the ensign-bearer, Juan Gil, in a pinnace, to the Duke of Parma, to advise him of the position of the Armada."

Such was the first battle¹⁰ of the campaign. Howard gained a success, but not an important one. He had, however, made

¹ "At about 2 p.m.": Duro, doc. 185, and Calderon. But it must have been later.

² Which collided with two other vessels. She was the *N. S. del Rosario*.

³ He was Medina Sidonia's official adviser as to seamanship.

⁴ The *San Francisco*.

⁵ The *San Cristóbal*.

⁶ Valdes, writing to the king, said nothing of any efforts to aid him. Calderon and Vaingas say that when a boat was sent to him, he refused to quit his ship. Valdes does not even mention this.

⁷ The fourth was in the van.

⁸ This was no mere threat. Duro, doc. 184, p. 340.

⁹ *I. e.* flagship of the second in command of Oquendo's division. She was the *San Salvador*; and if her scuttling was ever attempted, it was unsuccessful.

¹⁰ It was visible from Plymouth. S. P. Dom. ccxii. 81.



JULY 22nd. 1588. CAPTURE OF DON PEDRO DE VALDES BY THE REVENGE, ROBERTCE, AND CONSORTS
(From Paul's Tapestries painted in the House of Lords.)

important discoveries. He had found by experience that his ships were faster and handier, and that his gunnery was much better, than the Spaniards'; and he had seen some of the Spanish captains disgrace themselves by their abandonment of Recalde. The day was, upon the whole, a very encouraging one for England, and it was correspondingly discouraging for Spain, although neither in his report, nor in his letter to Parma, does Medina Sidonia hint at anything of the kind. Others did not conceal the truth. "The desertion of the ship which had blown up," wrote Vanegas, "and the loss of Don Pedro de Valdes, shook the spirits of the people. From that time forward there was no real heart in them."¹ "These misfortunes," wrote another Spaniard,² "presaged our failure. The evil omen depressed the whole Armada."

The Spaniards continued on their course up Channel.

"The night of Monday, July 22nd," says 'A Relation of Proceedings,'³ "fell very calm, and the four galleasses⁴ singled themselves out from their fleet, whereupon some doubt was had lest in the night they might have distressed some of our small ships which were short of our fleet, but their courage failed them,⁵ for they attempted nothing.

"The next morning, being Tuesday, the 23rd of July, 1588, the wind sprang up at north-east, and then the Spaniards had the wind of the English army, which stood in to the north-westward, towards the shore. So did the Spaniards also. But that course was not good for the English army to recover the wind [of the Spaniards,⁶ and therefore they cast about to the eastwards, whereupon the Spaniards bare room, offering [to] board our ships. Upon which coming room there grew a great fight.⁷ The English ships stood fast and abode their coming, and the enemy seeing us to abide them, and divers of our ships to stay for them, as the *Ark*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *Victory*, etc., and divers other ships, they were content to fall astern of the *Nonpareil*, which was the stemmost ship.

"In the meantime, the *Triumph*, with five ships, viz., the *Merchant Royal*,⁸ the *Centurion*,⁹ the *Margaret and John*,⁹ the *Mary Rose*,¹⁰ and the *Golden Lion*,⁹ were so far to leeward and separated from our fleet, that the galleasses took courage and bare room with them, and assaulted them sharply. But they were very well resisted by those ships for the space of an hour and a half. At length certain of her majesty's ships bare with them, and then the galleasses forsook them. The wind then shifted to the south-eastward, and so to S.S.W., at what time a troop of her majesty's ships and sundry merchants assailed the Spanish fleet so sharply to the westward that they were

¹ Duro, doc. 185.

² *Ib.*, doc. 171.

³ Cotton MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117.

⁴ In Duro, doc. 185, is the story of this little scheme and its failure.

⁵ Vanegas also says this. Duro, doc. 185, p. 382. Others attribute the failure to the wind.

⁶ Probably because of the nearness of the shore.

⁷ This action was fought off Portland.

⁸ Merchantman under Drake's command.

⁹ Ships equipped by the City of London.

¹⁰ Francis Burnell's victualler, not H.M.S. of the name.

all forced to give way and to bear room: which his lordship perceiving, together with the distress that the *Triumph* and the five merchant ships in her company were in, called unto certain of her majesty's ships then near at hand and charged them straitly to follow him, and to set freshly upon the Spaniards, and to go within musket-shot of the enemy before they should discharge any one piece of ordnance, thereby to succour the *Triumph*: which was very well performed by the *Ark*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *Galleon of Leicester*,¹ the *Golden Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Swallow*; for so they went in order into the fight. Which the Duke of Medina perceiving, came out with sixteen of his best galleons to impeach his lordship and to stop him of assisting of the *Triumph*. At which assault, after wonderful sharp conflict, the Spaniards were forced to give way, and to flock together like sheep. In this conflict one William Coxe, captain of a small pinnace of Sir William Wynter's, named the *Delight*, showed himself most valiant in the face of his enemies at the hottest of the encounter, [who] afterwards lost his life with a great shot. Towards the evening some four or five ships of the Spanish fleet edged out of the south-westwards, where some other of our ships met them, amongst which [the] *Majflower*, of London, discharged some pieces at them very valiantly, which ship and company at sundry other times behaved themselves stoutly.

"This fight was very nobly continued² from morning until evening, the lord admiral being always [in] the hottest of the encounter: and it may well be said that for the time there was never seen a more terrible value of great shot, nor more hot fight than this was; for although the musketeers and harquebusiers of crock³ were then infinite, yet could they not be discerned nor heard, for that the great ordnance came so thick that a man would have judged it to have been a hot skirmish of small shot, being all the fight long within half musket-shot of the enemy.

"This great fight being ended, the next day, being Wednesday, the 24th of July, 1588, there was little done, for that in the fights on Sunday and Tuesday much of our munition had been spent; and therefore the lord admiral sent direct barks and pinnaces unto the shore for a new supply of such provisions.

"This day the lord admiral divided his fleet⁴ into four squadrons, whereof he appointed the first to attend himself; the second his lordship committed to the charge of Sir Francis Drake; the third to Sir John Hawkyns, and the fourth to Sir Martin Frobiser. This afternoon his lordship gave order that, in the night, six merchant ships out of every squadron should set upon the Spanish fleet in sundry places, at one instant in the night time, to keep the enemy waking; but all that night fell out to be so calm that nothing could be done."

Medina Sidonia's relation⁵ of events of the two days is as follows:—

"On Tuesday, July 23rd, the day broke fine, and the enemy's fleet, being to leeward, was standing in towards the land, endeavouring to the best of its ability to recover the wind. The duke also tacked towards the land in order to keep the wind, the galleasses going with him in the van, and the rest of the fleet following. The

¹ With the exception of this vessel, which was a merchantman of Drake's squadron, all the relieving ships belonged to the Royal Navy.

² Vanegas, Calderon and Manrique agree in saying that Medina Sidonia's ship fired one hundred and fifty rounds. She had several shot-holes in her hull below water.

³ Some of the arquebusses of the time were fired from a rest called a crock or crook.

⁴ Miranda that day counted one hundred and twenty English sail. Duro, doc. 169, p. 268. See, too, Duro, doc. 168, p. 258.

⁵ Duro, doc. 165.



JULY 23rd, 1588. THE ARMADA RE-ENGAGED; AND THE CHASE CONTINUED
(From *Pine's 'Triumphs of the House of Lords.'*)



enemy seeing our admiral standing towards the land, and that he could not in this manner regain the wind, cast about to seaward; whereupon those of our ships that had the wind of the enemy bore away for him and attacked him. Captain Bertendona¹ very gallantly engaged the English admiral's ship, and would have boarded her, but as he neared her she bore away and stood to seaward. In this action there also participated the *San Marcos*, *San Luis*, *San Mateo*, *Rato*, Oquendo's flagship, the *Santa Ana*, *San Felipe*, *San Juan de Sicilia*, in which was Don Diego Tellez Enriquez, who had been in action with the foe since the morning, the galleons *Florencia*, *Santiago*, *San Juan* of Diego Flores's squadron, in which was Don Diego Enriquez, son of the Viceroy of Peru, and the *Valueera*,² of the Levant squadron, in which was the camp-master Don Alonso de Luzon. The galleasses of the vanguard being carried by the current almost within culverin shot, the duke sent them directions that by oar and sail they should endeavour to close with the enemy, to which end he also headed his flagship towards him. The galleasses threatened the ships of their rear, which were engaged with some of our vessels that had closed with and were seeking to board them. These were the galleons *Florencia*, in which was Gaspar de Sosa;³ the flagship of Oquendo; the *Bagoña*,⁴ in which was Garibay; the *Valueera*, in which was Don Alonso de Luzon; and the galleon *Juan Bautista*, in which were Don Juan Maldonado and Don Luis de Maella; but all to little purpose, for the enemy, seeing that we endeavoured to come to arm's length, bore away, avoiding our attack, thanks to the lightness of his vessels; and afterwards the English returned with tide and wind in their favour, and engaged Juan Martinez de Recalde, who was in the rear. Don Alonso de Leyva went to his aid, the admiral's flagship⁵ being still in the hottest of the fight, occupied in supporting those vessels which were in action, at a distance from both fleets, with the English rear. Captain Mardín [de Juan]⁶ was ordered away in a boat to direct those ships which were nearest to him to afford assistance to Juan Martinez de Recalde, which they did; upon which the enemy relinquished Juan Martinez, and made for the flagship, which was on her way to reinforce the ships above spoken of; and the commander-in-chief, seeing the enemy's flagship in the van, turned towards her and lowered topsails. And the enemy's flagship and all the fleet passed him, firing at him ship by ship, while he, on his side, fired his guns very well and quickly, so that half the enemy's fleet did not draw near, but fired at him from a distance. When the fury of the action had worn itself out, there came to the support of the commander-in-chief Juan Martinez de Recalde, Don Alonso de Leyva, the Marquis of Peñafiel, who was in the *San Marcos*, and Oquendo; whereupon the foe bore away and stood out to sea, their admiral shortening sail, having, as it seemed to us, sustained some damage, and re-assembling those of his vessels which had been engaged with our van. In this action, which endured for more than three hours, the galleon *Florencia* was one of the foremost vessels, and was in close fight with the enemy.

"On Wednesday, July 24th, Juan Martinez de Recalde once more took command of the rear,⁷ Don Alonso de Leyva remaining with him, and they dividing between them the forty or more ships belonging to it. The enemy approached our rear and attacked

¹ Of the *Regazona*, flagship of the Levant contingent.

² *Trinidad Valueera*.

³ Commanding a body of three thousand Portuguese troops.

⁴ *N. S. de Bagoña*, of the squadron of Diego Flores.

⁵ The *San Martín*.

⁶ One of the duke's staff in the *San Martín*.

⁷ Laughton thinks that at about this time he shifted from his original flagship, the *Santa Ana*, which as early as the 21st had been badly damaged, to the *San Juan*. II. 360, n.

the admiral.¹ The galleasses fired their stern guns, as also did Juan Martinez and Don Alonso de Leyva and the other ships of the squadron, without quitting station. Thus the enemy drew off without any success, the galleasses having damaged their admiral's rigging,² and brought down his main-yard."

The fight off Portland was even more indecisive than the fight off Plymouth. Neither side lost a ship, neither side gained any tactical or strategical advantage. But Medina Sidonia had been betrayed into contravening his instructions by seeking an action.

"The next morning," continues 'A Relation of Proceedings,'³ "being the 25th of July, 1588, there was a great galleon⁴ of the Spaniards short of her company to the southwards. They of Sir John Hawkyns his squadron, being next, towed and recovered so near that the boats were beaten off with musket shot: whereupon three of the galleasses and an armado⁵ issued out of the Spanish fleet, with whom the lord admiral, in the *Ark*, and the Lord Thomas Howard, in the *Golden Lion*, fought a long time, and much damaged them, that one of them was fain to be carried away upon the careen;⁶ and another, by a shot from the *Ark*, lost her lantern, which came swimming by; and the third his nose. There was many good shots made by the *Ark* and *Lion* at the galleasses in the sight of both armies, which looked on and could not approach, it being calm, for the *Ark* and the *Lion* did tow to the galleasses with their long boats. At length it began to blow a little gale, and the Spanish fleet edged up to succour their galleasses, and so rescued them and the galleon, after which time the galleasses were never seen in fight any more,⁷ so bad was their entertainment in this encounter. Then the fleets, drawing near one to another, began some fight, but it continued not long, saving that the *Nonparvél* and the *Mary Rose* struck their topsails, and lay awhile by the whole fleet of Spain very bravely, during which time the *Triumph*, to the northward of the Spanish fleet, was so far to leeward⁸ as, doubting that some of the Spanish army might weather her, she towed off with the help of sundry boats, and so recovered the wind.⁹ The *Bear* and the *Elizabeth Jonas*, perceiving her distress, bare with her for her rescue, and put themselves, through their hardiness, into like perils, but made their parties good notwithstanding, until they had recovered the wind; and so that day's fight ended, which was a very sharp fight for the time.¹⁰

¹ Apparently Recalde.

² Duro, docs. 166, 168, 185; Manrique to Philip. But there seems to be no English mention of this, or of the loss of the main-yard.

³ Cott. MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117.

⁴ Recalde's flagship, the *Santa Ana*. She had been severely mauled on the 21st and 23rd. Recalde probably shifted his flag from her on the 24th. After the rough handling which she received on the 25th, she parted company from the Armada during the night, and drifted to La Hogue, whence she went to Le Havre, where at length she became a complete wreck.

⁵ An "armado," *i.e.* a galleon or large ship belonging to an armada, of which armado is an English corruption.

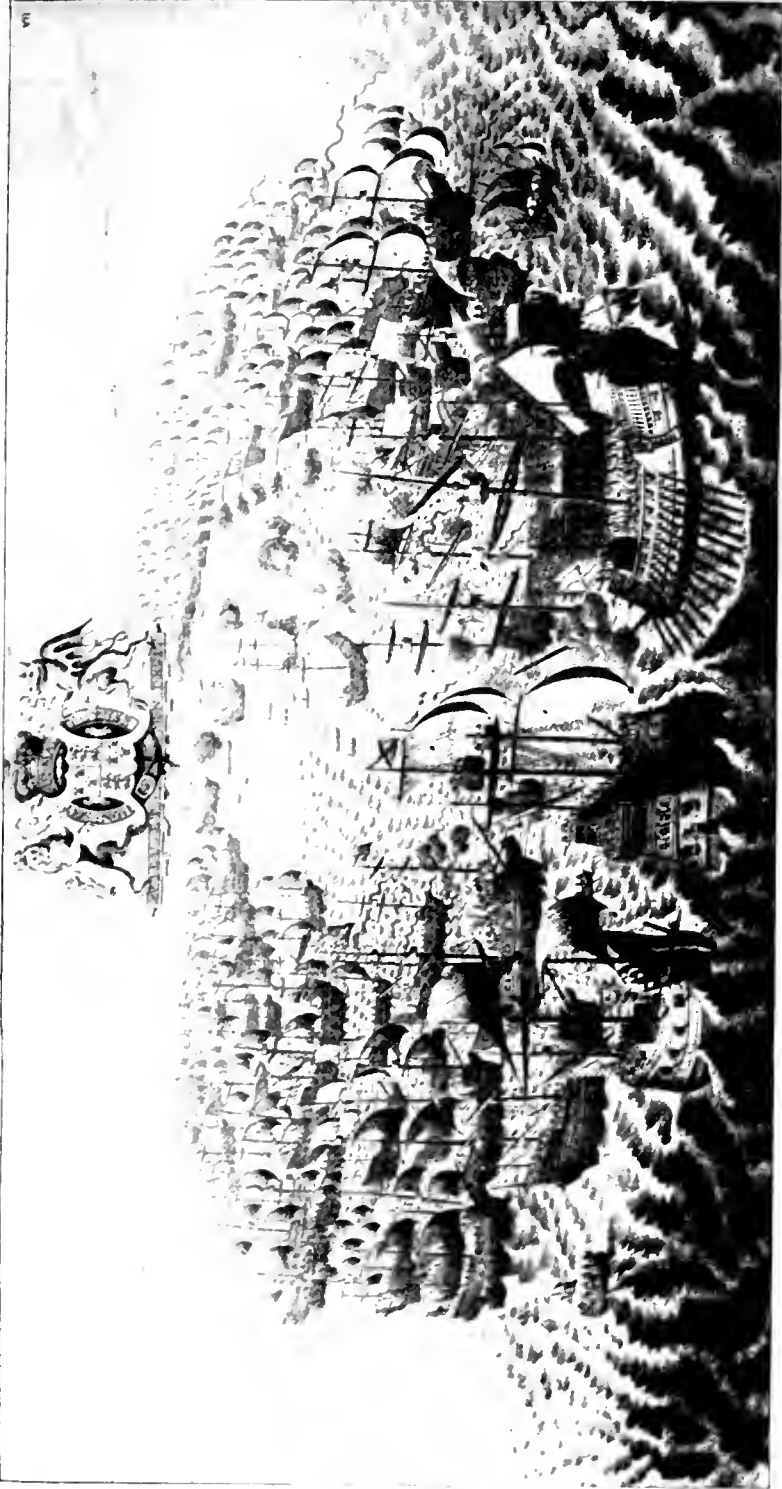
⁶ *I.e.* heeled over, probably in order to raise her shot holes above the water.

⁷ Yet Medina Sidonia considered that the galleasses that day did very well.

⁸ The wind, nowhere expressly given, must have been S. or S.S.W.

⁹ Vaneegas says that the way in which the *Triumph* was handled was much admired by the Spaniards. Duro, doc. 185, p. 386.

¹⁰ It took place off the Isle of Wight, and, according to Miranda, lasted for about four hours. Duro, doc. 171, p. 268.



[To face page 572.]

JULY 25th, 1588. ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ARMADA OFF THE ISLE OF WIGHT

(From *Dieppe's* 'Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords'.)

"Now, forasmuch as our powder and shot was well wasted, the lord admiral thought it was not good in policy to assail them any more until their coming near unto Dover, where he should find the army¹ which he had left under the conduction of the Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Wynter, knight, ready to join with his lordship, whereby our fleet should be much strengthened; and, in the meantime, better store of ammunition might be provided from the shore.

"On Friday, being the 26th of July, 1588, his lordship, as well in reward of their good services in these former fights, as also for the encouragement of the rest, called the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Sir Roger Townshend, Sir Martin Frobiser, and Sir John Hawkyns,² and gave them all the order of knighthood aboard the *Jek*. All this day, and Saturday, being the 27th of July, the Spaniards went always before the English army like sheep, during which time the justices of peace near the sea-coast, the Earl of Sussex, Sir George Carey, and the captains of the forts and castles along the coast, sent us men, powder, shot, victuals and ships to aid and assist us."

The Spanish version of the same events, as given in Medina Sidonia's relation,³ runs:—

"On Thursday [July 25th], the Feast of St. Dominic, the *Santa Ana* and a Portuguese galleon⁴ were somewhat astern, and the enemy attacked them with great fury. The galleasses, the vessel of Don Alonso de Leyva, and other ships went to their assistance; and the galleasses did so well that they succeeded in rescuing them, although surrounded by many of the enemy. While this fight was in progress in the rear, the enemy's admiral, with other large ships, attacked our flagship, approaching nearer than on the first day, and firing their large lower-deck guns.⁵ They severed the flagship's mainstay and killed some soldiers. To the help of the flagship came the *San Luis* (in which was the camp-master Don Augustin Mexia, who checked the enemy), Juan Martinez de Recalde, and the *San Juan* of Diego Flores's squadron, in which was Don Diego Enriquez, together with Oquenda. These ranged themselves for the protection of the flagship, though they were prevented by the currents from keeping together; and other ships did the same. Thereupon the enemy retired. His admiral,⁶ being much damaged, drove a little to leeward of our fleet. Our flagship cast a boat towards her, as did Juan Martinez de Recalde, the *San Juan de Sicilia*, the flagship of the galleons of Castille, the *Gran Grin*, and all the other ships of our Armada; while the enemy's ships recovered the wind, and guarded their flagship, which was so mauled in the action that she struck her standard and fired guns as signals of distress, and was at length towed by eleven of the enemy's long boats. Our flagship, and the second in command, and the rest of the ships gained on her so much that the enemy drew close about her to support her, it appearing certain that we would that day succeed in boarding her, that being the only way to victory.⁷ But at that moment the wind freshened in favour of the enemy's admiral, and she began to slip away from us,⁸

¹ *I.e.* armament.

Sir George Beeston was also knighted that day. Drake was already a knight.

² Duro, doc. 165.

⁴ Calderon also mentions a second vessel, though the English accounts say nothing about her.

⁵ It may be that the weather had previously prevented them from using these, the lower-deck ports of those days being but little raised above the water.

⁶ Clearly not the *Jek*, flagship of Howard, but the *Triumph*, flagship of Sir Martin Frobiser, commanding the fourth squadron.

⁷ 'Solo el remedio de la victoria.' H. 237.

⁸ Calderon says that she sailed so fast that two ships of the Armada in pursuit of her, seemed to him to be, comparatively speaking, anchored.

and to leave the boats which had been towing her; and thereupon the enemy's fleet, which had previously fallen a little to leeward, recovered the wind. The duke, seeing that in the intended attack the advantage would no longer be with us, and that we were near the Isle of Wight, fired a gun and proceeded on his course, the rest of the Armada following in very good order, and the enemy remaining far astern.

"The same day the duke dispatched Captain Pedro de Leon to Dunquerque, to the Duke of Parma, to advise him not only of the place where the duke was, but also of his success, as also that it was desirable that he should come out and join the fleet with as little delay as possible. The duke gave the charge of the squadron of Don Pedro de Valdes to Don Diego Enriquez, son of the viceroy, since he had noted him to be able and careful in matters belonging to the sea.

"Friday, the 26th, broke calm, with the fleets in sight of one another.¹ The duke dispatched a pinnace to the Duke of Parma, with Domingo Ochoa as pilot, to obtain from him 4-lb., 6-lb., and 10-lb. shot, because much of his munition had been expended in the successive fights; and begging him also to send as soon as possible forty fly-boats to join the Armada, so that with them we might close with the enemy, our ships being very heavy in comparison with those of the enemy, and it being impossible, in consequence, to get at close quarters with them. The pilot was also to inform the duke that it would be well for him to be ready to come out and join the Armada on the day when it should arrive in sight of Dunquerque. Thither the Duke of Medina Sidonia was proceeding cautiously, fearing lest Parma might not be there, seeing that Don Rodrigo Tello had not returned, nor had any other messenger come thence. At sunset the wind got up, and the Armada pursued a course toward Calais.

"On Saturday, the 27th, at daybreak, the two fleets were very near one another, but did not fire. The Armada had a fair wind, and the rear was close up and in excellent order. At ten o'clock we sighted that part of the coast of France near to Boulogne; and proceeding towards Calais, we arrived off that place at four o'clock in the afternoon."

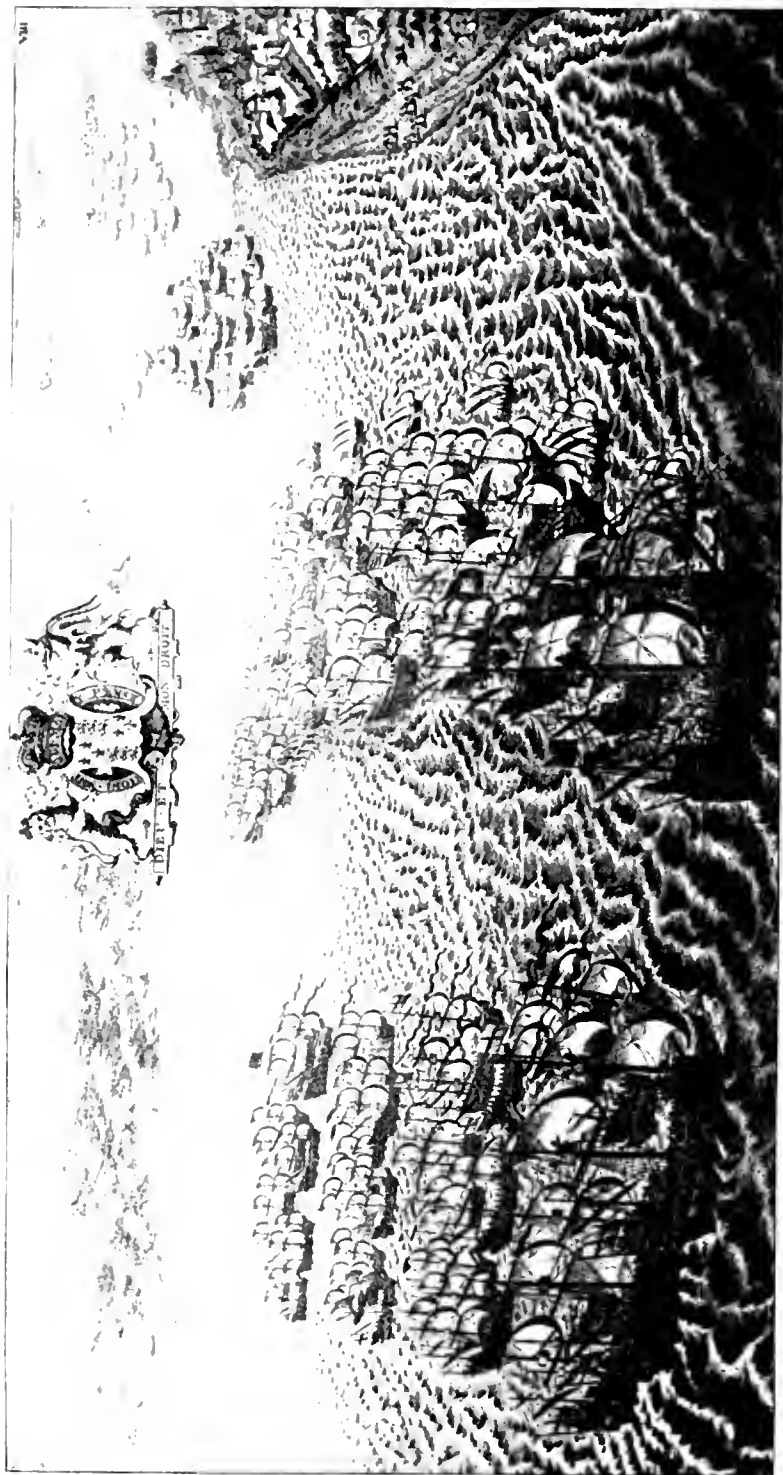
For the third time the fight was indecisive; but, as before, the balance of advantage turned in favour of the English. The *Santa Ana* was obliged to leave the Armada, which she never again rejoined; and, by the admission of a Spanish eye-witness,² the English inflicted more damage than they received.

Plymouth, Portland, and the Isle of Wight had previously been considered in England as likely places³ for an attempted landing by the Spaniards. It is curious that the first three battles of the campaign took place off those spots; but the fact seems to be a mere chain of coincidences, and nothing more. Medina Sidonia certainly had no thought of landing, and made no attempt to land, at either Plymouth or Portland; and although he had thought at one time of seizing the Isle of Wight, and, at another, of remaining near it until Parma should be ready to join him, he had before July 25th, surrendered both those ideas. That the fight of July 25th ever became heavy, and to some extent general, is far

¹ Several Spanish ships which drifted from the main body of the Armada had to be towed back to it by means of their boats. Duro, doc. 185.

² Duro, doc. 171.

³ S. P. D. clix. 49.



JULY 27th. 1382. THE ARMADA CHAS'D TOWARDS CALAIS.
(From Ponce's Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords.)

more probably due to the fact that it was St. Dominic's Day, and that Medina Sidonia had specially devoted himself to that saint,¹ in whose honour the Armada had from early morning been dressed with flags.

The official English story in 'A Relation of Proceedings,'² is continued as follows:—

"On Saturday [July 27th], in the evening,³ the Spanish fleet came near unto Calais on the coast of Picardy, and there suddenly came to an anchor over against, betwixt Calais and Calais Cliffs; and our English fleet anchored short of them, within culverin shot of the enemy.

"The Spaniards sent notice of their arrival presently unto the Duke of Parma, but, because there should be no time detracted to permit their forces to join, the lord admiral, the 28th of July, 1588, about midnight, caused eight ships⁴ to be fired and let drive amongst the Spanish fleet; whereupon they were forced to slip or cut cables at half and to set sail. By reason of which fire the chief galleass⁵ came foul of another ship's cable and brake her rudder, by means whereof he was forced the next day to row ashore near the haven's mouth and town of Calais; whereupon the lord admiral sent his long boat, under the charge of Anyas Preston,⁶ gentleman, his lieutenant, and with him Mr. Thomas Gerard⁷ and Mr. [William] Harvey,⁸ together with other gentlemen, his lordship's followers and servants, who took her⁹ and had the spoil of her. There entered into her above one hundred Englishmen. And for that she was aground and sewed¹⁰ two foot, and could not be gotten off, they left her to Monsr. Gourdan, Captain of Calais, where she lieth sunk.¹¹

"Now that the Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Wynter were joined with us, our fleet was near about one hundred and forty sail,¹² of ships, barks and pinnaces, etc. During the time that this galleass was in taking by the lord admiral,¹³ Sir Francis

¹ Duro, doc. 171, p. 281.

² Cott. MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117.

³ Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Wynter joined the commander-in-chief that evening off Calais at about 8 P.M. S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 7; ccxiv. 2.

⁴ While Howard was discussing this scheme with Wynter, the *Ark* narrowly escaped being run down by the *Beur* and three other ships. S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 7. Carleton says that the fireships were commanded by Yonge and Prowse.

⁵ The *San Lorenzo*. She became a complete wreck.

⁶ Wounded on this service; commanded an expedition to the Spanish Main in 1595; was captain of the *Ark* in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596, when he was knighted.

⁷ Probably created Baron Gerard in 1603. If so, eldest son of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls.

⁸ Knighted at Cadiz in 1596; captain of the *Bonaventure* in 1597.

⁹ Captain William Coxe, of the *Delight*, was the first to board her. He seems to have been killed in the fight off Gravelines. S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 7.

¹⁰ "Sewed two foot," *i.e.*, aground in water two feet too shallow to float her.

¹¹ Don Hugo de Moncada, commanding the galleasses, was killed in this fight. Gourdan drove the English away.

¹² "There were but fifteen of these which bore the burden of the battle." Carleton; 'Thankful Remembrance.'

¹³ Howard committed an error in wasting time over the stranded galleass; for Medina Sidonia and Parma were so close to one another, that it had become imperative to concentrate all efforts for a decisive victory over the Armada.

Drake, in the *Revenge*, accompanied with Mr. Thomas Fenner in the *Nonpareil*, and the rest of his squadron, set upon the fleet of Spain and gave them a sharp fight. And within short time Sir John Hawkyns, in the *Victory*, accompanied with Mr. Edward Fenton, in the *Mary Rose*, Sir George Beeston, in the *Devadought*, Mr. Richard Hawkyns, in the *Swallow*, and the rest of the ships appointed to his squadron, bare with the midst of the Spanish army; and there continued a hot assault all that¹ forenoon. Sir George Beeston behaved himself valiantly. This fight continued hotly; and then came the lord admiral, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, near the place where the *Victory* had been before, where these noblemen did very valiantly. Astern of these was a great galleon² assailed by the Earl of Cumberland and Mr. George Raymond,³ in the *Bonaventure*, most worthily; and, being also beaten with the Lord Henry Seymour, in the *Rainbow*, and Sir William Wynter,⁴ in the *Vanguard*, yet she recovered into the fleet. Notwithstanding, that night she departed from the army and was sunk.

“After this, Mr. Edward Fenton, in the *Mary Rose*, and a galleon encountered each other, the one standing to the eastward and the other to the westward, so close as they could conveniently one pass by another, wherein the captain and company did very well. Sir Robert Southwell that day did worthily behave himself, as he had done many times before; so did Mr. Robert Crosse,⁵ in the *Hope*, and most of the rest of the captains and gentlemen. This day did the Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Wynter so batter two of the greatest armados⁶ that they were constrained to seek the coast of Flanders, and were afterwards, being distressed and spoiled, taken by the Zealanders and carried into Flushing. In this fight it is known that there came to their end sundry of the Spanish ships besides many others unknown to us.”

The Spanish story⁷ of the occurrences off Calais and Gravelines, as set forth in the relation of Medina Sidonia, is as follows:—

“There were divers opinions as to whether we should anchor there” (off Calais), “or should proceed further; but the duke, learning from the pilots who were with him that if he went further the currents would force him out of the English Channel and into the North Sea, decided to anchor off Calais, seven leagues from Dunquerque, whence the Duke of Parma might join him. At five o’clock, therefore, in the afternoon,⁸ order was given for the whole fleet to anchor; and the duke sent Captain Heredia⁹ to visit Monsieur de Gourdan, Governor of Calais, not only to advise him of the cause of our presence there, but also to assure him of our friendship and good intentions. This evening thirty-six ships joined the enemy, whereof five were large galleons. This was supposed to be the squadron which Juan Acles¹⁰ had had under

¹ July 29th, off Gravelines. The Spaniards were in half-moon formation, with the admiral and large ships in the centre, and the galleasses, Portuguese galleons, etc., to the number of about sixteen, on each wing. S. P. Dom. ccxv. 77; ccxiv. 7. But the exigencies of the fight seem to have quickly destroyed all formation.

² Probably the *Gran Grin*.

³ Lost captain of the *Peulope*, 1591.

⁴ Wynter was wounded in the hip, by the overturning of a demi-cannon. S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 7.

⁵ Knighted at Cadiz, 1596.

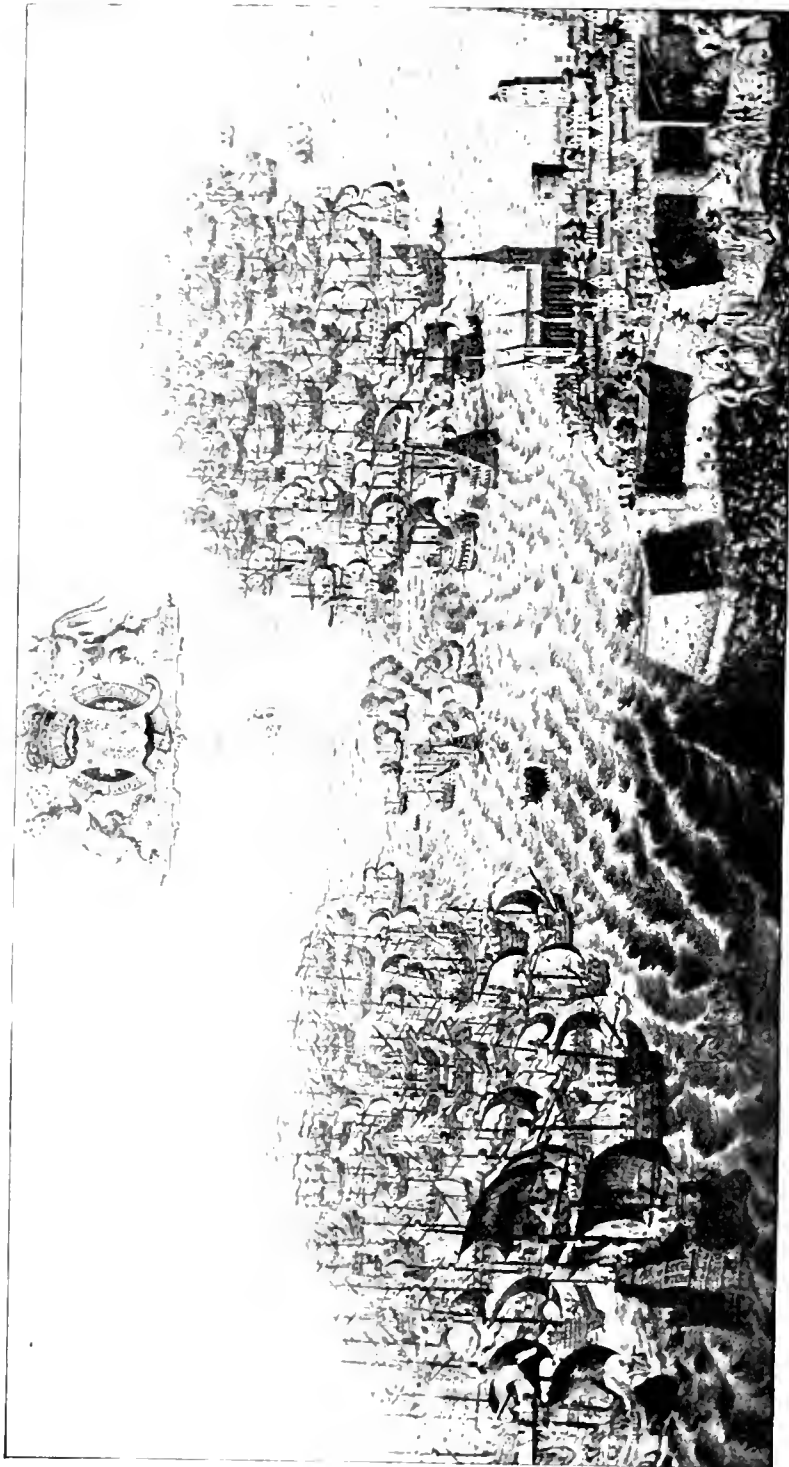
⁶ The *San Felipe* and *San Mateo*.

⁷ Duro, doc. 165.

⁸ Of July 27th.

⁹ Pedro de Heredia, attached to the duke’s staff in the *San Martin*.

¹⁰ “Acles” was the Spanish name for Hawkyns. The supposition about the squadron was, as we know, incorrect.



JULY 28th, 1588. THE ARMADA, OFF CALAIS, DISLODGED BY FIRESHIPS
(From Pine's 'Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords'.)

[To face page 575.]

his charge before Dunquerque. They all anchored about a league from our Armada. That night Captain Heredia returned from Calais, and said that the governor made great offers of service on the part of his majesty, and showed his goodwill by offering the same on his own part. That night also the duke sent the secretary Arceo to the Duke of Parma, to apprise him of the place where he then was, and of the fact that he could not wait there without imperilling the entire Armada.

"On Sunday, July 28th, at dawn, Captain Don Rodrigo Tello arrived, coming from Dunquerque. The duke (of Medina Sidonia) had sent him away on the 19th of the month. He reported that the duke (of Parma) was at Bruges, whither he had proceeded to him; and that, although he had shown great satisfaction at the news of the arrival of the Armada, yet, on the evening of the 27th, when Tello had quitted Dunquerque, the duke had not appeared there, and that neither men nor stores were being embarked.

"That day, in the morning, the Governor of Calais sent his nephew, with a present of refreshments, to visit the duke, and to inform him that the neighbourhood where he had anchored was very dangerous to remain in, because the currents and countercurrents of that channel were extremely strong. The duke, seeing the goodwill of the Governor of Calais, sent the purveyor-general, Bernabé de Pedroso, to buy victuals. With him went the comptroller. That night likewise the duke sent Don Jorge Manrique to the Duke of Parma to urge him to come out speedily. On the Sunday night the secretary Arceo sent a man from Dunquerque to report that the Duke of Parma had not arrived there, that the stores were not embarked, and that in his view it was impossible that things could all be got ready in less than a fortnight.

"On Sunday, at sunset, nine ships joined the enemy, and at their coming a squadron of twenty-six ships moved nearer to the land.¹ This caused us to suspect that they had arrived with some intention of employing fire; wherefore the duke ordered Captain Serrano to go away in a pinnace, taking with him an anchor and cable, so that, if any fireship should be directed at us, he might tow her ashore. The duke also sent to warn all the ships to be on their guard, and, for that purpose, to have both men and boats ready. At midnight two fires were seen burning in the English fleet. These increased to eight;² and suddenly eight ships with sails set, and wind and tide behind them, came direct towards our flagship and the rest of our fleet. All were burning fiercely. The duke seeing that, as they drew near, our men did not arrest them, and fearing lest they might be explosion vessels, weighed, and ordered the rest of the Armada to do the same,³ designing, when the fire should have passed by, to return and take up the same station. The commander of the galleasses,⁴ while keeping clear of one ship, drifted on board the *San Juan de Sicilia*, and so damaged herself that she had to remain close to the shore. The current was so strong, and drove our Armada in such a manner, that although the flagship and several of the vessels near her anchored again and fired a gun, the rest did not see them, and were carried as far as off Dunquerque.

"On Monday, the 29th, at daybreak, the duke, perceiving that his fleet was very far off, and that the enemy was coming up under a press of sail, weighed to collect his ships, and, with them, to recover station. The wind was N.W.,⁵ and strong, blowing nearly straight on to the coast, and the enemy's fleet of one hundred and thirty-six

¹ The English accounts have no mention of these movements.

² Of the fireships, which cost £5100, five were: the *Thomas* [*Drake*], 200 tons; *Bark Talbot*, 200 tons; *Bark Bond*, 150 tons; *Hope* [*Hawkyns*], 180 tons; and *Bear Yauge*, 140 tons. S. P. Dom. cxxvi. 18, ii. The rest, among which was the *Elizabeth*, of Lowestoft, were probably smaller.

³ Many of the ships undoubtedly cut or slipped their cables, and so were unprepared to re-anchor later.

⁴ *I.e.* his ship, the *San Lorenzo*.

⁵ Wynter says S.S.W., and later W.N.W. S. P. Dom. cxxiv. 7.

ships came on so fast with both wind and tide in its favour, that the duke, who was in the rear, chose rather to save his Armada by awaiting the enemy's attack, than to bear away; for bearing away would be destruction, seeing that, as the pilots assured him, the Armada was already very near the shoals of Dunquerque. He therefore cast about to meet the enemy, and fired guns and dispatched pinnaces to order all the ships to keep a close huff, unless they would drive amid the shoals of Dunquerque. The enemy's admiral, with the greater part of his fleet, attacked our flagship with a heavy fire delivered within musket, and even within arquebuss, shot; and this went on without cessation from daybreak; nor did the flagship bear away until our fleet was clear of the shoals. During the whole time, the galleon *San Marcos*, in which was the Marquis de Peñafiel, remained by the admiral.

"The commander of the galleasses,¹ not being able to follow our fleet, made for Calais, and ran himself ashore near the entrance of the port, whither several of the enemy followed him. It is reported that the French in the fortress of Calais covered the galleass with the fire of their guns, and that her people reached the land.

"Don Alonso de Leyva and Juan Martinez de Recalde, the flagship of Oquendo, all the ships of the camp-masters, Castilian as well as Portuguese, the flagship of Diego Flores, that of Bertendona, the galleon *San Juan*, of the squadron of Diego Flores, in which was Don Diego Enriquez,² and the *San Juan de Sicilia*, in which was Don Diego Tellez Enriquez,³ sustained the enemy's onset as stoutly as was possible; and in consequence all their vessels were very much mauled, and almost reduced to silence, the greater part of them being without shot for their guns. In the rear,⁴ Don Francisco de Toledo⁵ awaited the attack and endeavoured to grapple with the enemy, whose vessels engaged him, and, by their gunfire, brought him to great extremity. Don Diego Pimentel⁶ went to his assistance, and both were hard pressed; upon which Juan Martinez de Recalde, with Don Augustin Mexia, went to their help and rescued them from their difficulties. In spite of their experience, these vessels returned, and again attacked the enemy, as did Don Alonso de Luzon,⁷ and the *Santa Maria de Beçoña*,⁸ in which was Garibay, and the *San Juan de Sicilia*, in which was Don Diego Tellez Enriquez. These drew near to the enemy's ships to board them, but failed to grapple with them, they using their great guns at very short range, and our men returning the fire with arquebuss and musket.⁹

"When the duke heard the arquebuss and musketry fire in the rear,¹⁰ but could not, owing to the smoke, see from the top what was the occasion of it, except that two ships of ours were surrounded by the enemy, and that the whole English fleet, having quitted our flagship, was engaging them, he ordered the flagship to cast about for their assistance, although she was badly mauled by great shot between wind and water, it not being possible to stop her leak, and although her rigging was much damaged. Yet when the enemy saw our flagship approaching, he left the ships which he was engaging, namely, the ships of Don Alonso de Luzon, of Garibay, of Don Francisco de Toledo, of Don Diego Pimentel, and of Don Diego Tellez Enriquez. The last three¹¹ of these had been most closely and warmly occupied with the enemy, had all suffered great damage, and were unfit for service, all their people being killed or wounded;¹² and only the ship

¹ In the *San Lorenzo*.

² Son of the Commandator.

³ In the *San Felipe*.

⁴ In the *Trinidad Valencera*.

⁵ Shot and powder for their heavy guns were probably exhausted. This was at 2 P.M. Duro, ii, docs. 261, 284, 390.

⁶ *Le.* the Spanish right wing.

⁷ *San Felipe*, *San Mateo*, and *San Juan de Sicilia*.

⁸ *Le.* probably nearly all. Duro, doc. 168, p. 262.

⁹ Son of the Viceroy of Peru.

¹⁰ *Le.* on the Spanish right wing.

¹¹ In the *San Mateo*.

¹² In the list, *N. S. de Beçoña*.



JULY 29th, 1588. THE SAN LORENZO AGROUND OFF CALAIS. THE ARMADA IN FLIGHT TO THE NORTHWARD.
(From *Pine's Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*.)

(To face page 578.)

of Don Diego Tellez Enriquez,¹ in spite of her injuries, made shift to follow us. The duke collected his fleet, and the enemy did the same.

"The duke ordered boats to go to bring away the people from the *San Felipe* and *San Mateo*; and by this means all the people were taken out of the *San Mateo*, but Don Diego Pimentel declined to leave the ship, and sent Don Rodrigo de Vivero and Don Luis Vanegas to the duke to beg him to send some one to see if it were not possible to save her; whereupon the duke sent a pilot and a diver from this galleon,² though there was much risk in sparing the latter; yet in consequence of the lateness of the hour and of the sea being very heavy, they could not reach the *San Mateo*, and only saw her at a distance, drifting towards Zealand.³

"The galleon *San Felipe* got alongside the hulk *Doncella*,⁴ into which all her people had made their way, when Don Francisco, who was on board of her, heard a cry that the hulk was sinking. Upon this, Captain Juan Poza de Santiso leapt back into the *San Felipe*, as did also Don Francisco de Toledo,⁵ which was a great mishap, for the hulk was not indeed sinking; and Don Francisco was carried in the *San Felipe* towards Zealand,⁶ while the duke understood that he and all his people were safe on board the hulk *Doncella*. The sea was so high that nothing more could be done; nor could the damage done to the flagship by great shot be repaired, so that she ran risk of being lost.⁷

"That day the duke had desired to turn on the enemy with the whole of the Armada, rather than leave the Channel, but the pilots told him that this was impossible, because with sea and wind setting upon the coast direct from the north-west, it was absolutely necessary either to go into the North Sea or to let the entire Armada drive on to the shoals. Thus, leaving the Channel was inevitable. Moreover, nearly all the best ships were unfit, and unable to resist longer, firstly on account of the damage which they had received,⁸ and secondly because they had no shot for their guns."

The battle off Gravelines was really the decisive action of the campaign. The direction of the wind, which put the Spaniards on a lee shore, was most favourable for the tactics which Howard had pursued from the beginning. His policy was to concentrate ships upon stragglers lying to leeward of him, and to cripple or cut them off. Howard, however, did not at once grasp the nature of his

¹ *San Juan de Sicilia*.

² The flagship *San Martin*.

³ She made a point between Sluis and Ostend, and on July 31st she was attacked there by three men-of-war, and, after a two hours' fight, surrendered. Holland, lvi. Borlas to Walsyngham. She and the *San Felipe* appear to have been taken by ships of North Holland, under Count Justinus of Nassau, assisted by a few English small craft. Kylligrew to Walsyngham.

⁴ "La urca *Doncella*."

⁵ Preferring, if he must die, to perish with his own ship. Duro, doc. 168.

⁶ The *San Felipe* drove ashore on July 31st, between Ostend and Nieuport, whither the officers escaped. Both the *San Felipe* and the *San Mateo* were taken into Flushing.

⁷ Vanegas says that she was struck one hundred times, but only mentions twelve soldiers as killed and twenty as wounded. Duro, doc. 185, p. 392.

⁸ The losses in men are put by Vanegas at six hundred killed and eight hundred wounded. Duro, doc. 168, p. 263. Rich. Tomson, writing on July 30th, says: "Of the one hundred and twenty-four sail that they were in Calais Road, we cannot now find by any account above eighty-six ships and pinnaces." S. P. Dom. cexiii. 67. The English losses in men, apart from losses by sickness, do not appear to have exceeded sixty in the whole campaign. Fenner to Walsyngham, S. P. Dom. ccxv. 27.

success. "Their force," he wrote to Walsingham, "is wonderfully great and strong; and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little."¹ But that it should be more or less decisive was entirely in accordance with Howard's plans; for he had deliberately determined, if possible, to postpone a general engagement until after the junction with him of Seymour and Wynter. Drake was a little more clear-sighted. "God," he wrote to Walsingham, "hath given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward, as I hope in God the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands this few days; and whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service."² Neither Drake nor Howard can have known that many ships of the Armada had no cannon shot left;³ and both, no doubt, overrated the amount of fight still left in the Spaniards. That Gravelines had destroyed the *moral* of the enemy did not become apparent until several days afterwards, when, making no attempt to return for Parma, and so abandoning its main object, the Armada was fairly on its hazardous course of *saure qui peut* round Scotland.

On Tuesday, July 30th, Howard ordered Lord Henry Seymour⁴ and Sir William Wynter to return to the Narrow Seas to guard the coasts there against any raids which might be attempted by Parma or others; and with the main body of the fleet he followed the Spaniards, determining to pursue them "until they should come so far northward as the Frith in Scotland, if they should bend themselves that way."⁵ The squadrons parted company between seven and eight o'clock on the evening of Wednesday,⁶ being then apparently on the line between Lowestoft and the Brielle; but the formal resolution to chase as far northward as the latitude of the Frith of Forth was not come to until Thursday, August 1st,⁷ when a council of war agreed to the project. Seymour's squadron thenceforward consisted of the *Vanguard*, *Rainbow*, *Antelope*, *Bull*, *Tiger*, *Tremontana*, *Scout*, *Achates*, *Merlin*, *Sun*, *Cygnets*, *George*, and Captain William Borough's galley, besides merchant vessels.⁸

The decision to pursue as far as the Frith of Forth was not carried out, it becoming clear to Howard that the Spaniards had

¹ S. P. Dom. cxiii. 64. July 29th.

² *Ib.* cxiii. 65. July 29th.

³ Wynter, however, suspected the truth.

⁴ To the great disgust of Seymour, as expressed in his letters.

⁵ Cott. MS. Julius, F. x. 111-117.

⁶ S. P. Dom. cxiv. 2, 7.

⁷ B. M. Addit. MS. 33,740, f. 6.

⁸ S. P. Dom. cxiv. 6.

no designs on Scotland, and were only endeavouring to make the best of their way home round Scotland and Ireland.

“When,” says ‘A Relation of Proceedings,’¹ “we were come into 55 degrees and 13 minutes to the northward, 30 leagues east of Newcastle, the lord admiral determined to fight with them again on the Friday, being the 2nd of August; but by some advice and counsel his lordship stayed that determination, partly because we saw their course and meaning was only to get away that way to the northward to save themselves, and partly also for that many of our fleet were unprovided of victuals; for our supply, which her majesty had most carefully provided and caused to be in readiness, knew not where to seek us. It was therefore concluded that we should leave the Spanish fleet, and direct our course for the Frith in Scotland, as well for the refreshing of our victuals as also for the performing of some other business which the lord admiral thought convenient to be done; but the wind coming contrary—viz., westerly—the next day the lord admiral altered his course, and returned back again for England with his whole army,² whereof some recovered the Downs, some Harwich,³ and some Yarmouth, about the 7th of August, 1588.”

The Spanish account of what befell the Armada after Gravelines is here continued from the relation of Medina Sidonia:—⁴

“On Tuesday, July 30th, the eve of San Lorenzo, at two o’clock in the morning, the wind freshened, so that our command, though it had remained in hope of returning to the Channel, was driven towards the coast of Zeeland, in spite of the fact that it kept as close a luff as possible. At break of day the N.W. wind was not so strong. The enemy’s fleet of one hundred and nine sail was visible astern, little more than half a league distant. Our flagship remained in the rear with Juan Martinez de Recalde and Don Alonso de Leyva, and the galleasses, and the galleons *San Marcos* and *San Juan*, of the squadron of Diego Flores, the rest of our fleet being far to leeward. The enemy’s ships stood towards our flagship, which lay to; the galleasses also awaited them, as did too the other ships in the rear; whereupon the enemy brought to. The duke fired two guns to collect his Armada, and sent a pinnace with a pilot to order his ships to keep a close luff, seeing that they were very near the banks of Zeeland. For the same cause, the enemy remained aloof, understanding that the Armada must be lost; for the pilots on board the flagship, men of experience on that coast, told the duke at the time that it would not be possible to save a single ship of the Armada, and that with the wind at N.W., as it was, every one must needs go on the banks of Zeeland, God alone being able to prevent it. The fleet being in this danger, with no kind of way of escape, and in six and a-half fathoms of water, God was pleased to change the wind to W.S.W.; and with it the fleet stood to the northward, without damage to any vessel, the duke having sent orders to every ship to follow the motions of the flagship, at peril of driving on the banks of Zeeland.

“That evening the duke summoned on board the generals and Don Alonso de Leyva, to consider what was best to be done; and having explained the state of the

¹ Cott. MS. Julius, F. x. 111–117.

² Except “certain pinnaces” ordered “to dog the fleet until they should be past the isles of Scotland.”

³ The following reached Harwich on August 8th: *White Bear*, *Victory*, *Nonparvil*, *Hope*, *Swiftsure*, *Foresight*, *Moon*, *White Lion*, and *Disdain*, with twenty-six ships of London. S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 46.

⁴ Duro, doc. 165 (ii. 228).

Armada and the lack of shot—for which all the largest ships had made demands—he desired them to say whether it would be best to turn back to the English Channel, or, seeing that the Duke of Parma had not sent word that he would soon be able to come but, to return to Spain by the North Sea. The council was unanimously of opinion that the Armada should return to the Channel, if the wind permitted; but that, if not, it should, under the stress of weather, return by the North Sea to Spain, there being great lack of provisions in the fleet, and the vessels that had previously withstood the enemy being damaged and unfit for service. The wind, coming from S.S.W., continued to increase, and the duke stood to seaward, the enemy's fleet following him."¹

"As to the fighting, and the turning to relieve and assist his ships, and the awaiting the attack of the enemy, the duke took counsel with the camp-master, Don Francisco de Poladilla, whom, on account of his many years' experience of war by land and sea, he had ordered at Corunna to go on board the flagship, and to quit the *San Marcos* of the same squadron. The Marquis de Peñafiel, who also was in the *San Marcos*, had remained there, not desiring, by removing to the flagship, to leave the gentlemen who were with him. On the question, however, of the conduct of the fleet, and of matters relating to the sea, the duke had the advice of the general Diego Flores, whom also he had caused to remove into the flagship, he being one of the oldest and most experienced officers in sea affairs.

"On Wednesday, July 31st, the Armada pursued its course with a strong wind from the S.W. and a high sea, the enemy's fleet continuing to follow it. In the evening the wind decreased, and the enemy, under all sail, closed with our rear; whereupon the duke, there being few ships in the rear with Juan Martinez de Recalde, struck his topsails and lay to to wait for the rear, firing three guns for the main body also to lie to and wait for the rear and the flagship. Don Baltasar de Zuñiga will report what our Armada did in consequence. But when the enemy perceived that our flagship had brought to, and that the galleasses of the rear and as many as twelve of our best ships had done likewise, their vessels also brought to and shortened sail, without firing at us. That night Juan Acles² turned back with his squadron.

"On Thursday, August 1st, we pursued our voyage with the same strong wind, the enemy's fleet keeping a long way off. In the evening, under all sail, it approached our Armada, and we counted the ships of Juan Acles³ to be missing. Again the galleasses and our flagship lay to and waited for the enemy; whereupon he also brought to, and did not come within gunshot.

"On Friday, August 2nd, at dawn, the enemy's fleet was close up with ours. Seeing that we were in good order, and that our rear had been strengthened, it desisted, and turned back towards England, until we lost sight of it. After that time we had always the same wind, until we were out of the channel of the Sea of Norway, without having found it possible to return to the English Channel; although we desired to return until to-day, the 10th of August, when, having passed the isles at the north of Scotland, we are sailing for Spain, with the wind at north-east."

The Armada passed between the Orkney Islands and the Shetlands, and, turning gradually southwards, skirted the Outer Hebrides, and the west coast of Ireland. The story of its mis-

¹ "The 30th, one of the enemy's great ships was espied to be in great distress by the captain" (Robert Crosse) "of her majesty's ship called the *Hope*; who, being in speech of yielding unto the said captain, before they could agree on certain conditions, sank presently before their eyes." S. P. Dom. ccxiv. 42, i.

² It was not Hawkyns, but Seymour, who then returned.

³ The ships, really, of Seymour.

fortunes, after Howard had given up the chase, scarcely belongs to English Naval History, and may be very briefly summarised.

On August 11th, Medina Sidonia sent to Philip a dispatch¹ in which he admitted that the undertaking had failed. "God," he wrote, "has seen good to direct matters otherwise than we expected." He went on to lay down the reasons which had prompted the decision to give up the expedition. His fleet was almost destroyed; the best vessels had no ammunition; the survivors had no confidence or spirit remaining. The queen's fleet, owing to its peculiar methods of fighting, had proved its superiority to his. The English strength lay in gunnery and in seamanship. The Spanish strength, on the contrary, lay, unfortunately, in small-arms and in fight at close quarters; and as the Spaniards had been unable to get to close quarters, this advantage had not availed them. Looking to all the circumstances, Medina Sidonia deemed that he would best serve Philip by endeavouring to save the fleet by taking the admittedly perilous course home round Scotland. Indeed, the wind, which had steadily blown from the southward, left him no option. Besides his many wounded, he had three thousand sick among his people.

But the Armada had still the worst of its mishaps before it. In the course of the voyage round Scotland and Ireland, it lost by storm and shipwreck at least nineteen vessels,² and probably several more; for the exact fate of no fewer than thirty-five missing vessels of the great Spanish fleet remains to this day unknown. In addition to almost continuous bad weather, two exceptionally heavy storms were encountered. The galleass *Girona* went to pieces near Giant's Causeway, on a rock still called Spaniards' Rock, and carried down with her Don Alonso de Leyva, the Count of Paredes, and all her crew. The "urca" or hulk, *El Gran Grifon*, which belonged to Rostock, was lost on Fair Island, where Juan Gomes de Medina, admiral of the hulks, remained with his men during the whole winter. The *Rata Coronada*, or, to give her her full name, *La Rata Santa Maria Encoronada*,³ went ashore and became a wreck on the coast of Erris. Don Alonso de Leyva, who later went on board the *Girona*, narrowly escaped losing his life in her. The *Duquesa Santa Ana*, into which he first removed, was

¹ Duro, doc. 164.

² Duro's estimate. Irish accounts give seventeen as lost in Ireland alone.

³ S. P. Ireland, Eliz. cxxxvii. 3.

lost in Glengaveny Bay, near Inishowen Head,¹ and again De Leyva barely escaped with his life, only to lose it a little later in the *Girona*. The *N. S. de la Rosa* went to pieces among the Blaskets.² The *San Marcos*,³ the *San Juan*,⁴ of the squadron of Diego Flores, the *Trinidad Valencera*,⁵ and the *Falcon Blanco Mediano*,⁶ also left their bones in Ireland. And the *San Pedro Mayor*,⁷ after having escaped the perils of Scotland and Ireland, lost her way in the mouth of the Channel, and met her end in Bigbury Bay, Devonshire. These are about all that can be identified, but they are by no means all that perished. Writing on October 1st, to Walsyngham, Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, said:—⁸

"After the Spanish fleet had doubled Scotland and were in their course homewards, they were by contrary weather driven upon the several parts of this province and wrecked, as it were, by even portions, 3 ships in every of the 4 several counties bordering upon the sea coasts, viz., in Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and Thomond. So that 12 ships perished, that all we know of, on the rocks and sands by the shore side, and some 3 or 4 besides to seaboard of the out isles, which presently sank, both men and ships, in the night time. And so can I say, by good estimation, that 6 or 7000 men have been cast away on these coasts, save some 1000 of them which escaped to land in several places where their ships fell, which sithence were all put to the sword."⁹

The cruelties practised on the shipwrecked Spaniards, whose miserable situation should have given them a claim to protection, were as bad as any practised by Alva in the Low Countries. There were other wrecks, both in Munster and in Ulster. The ships must have been in terrible straits for lack of provisions, and especially of water. The *San Juan*, flagship of Juan Martinez de Recalde, seems to have landed a party at Dingle and to have obtained water by force.¹⁰ A prisoner, taken in a skirmish there, said, when examined,¹¹ that in the *San Juan* three or four men a day had died of hunger or thirst, although she was one of the best furnished ships in the Armada: and that men had been dying daily of sickness. Another prisoner averred that two hundred persons in the *San Juan* had died.

Of the one hundred and twenty-eight or one hundred and

¹ S. P. Ireland, Eliz. cxxxvi. 36, iii. ² *Ib.* cxxxvi. 41, v.

³ Duro, i. 125.

⁴ With Don Diego Enriquez. Duro, ii. 342.

⁵ S. P. Ireland, Eliz. cxxxvii. 15.

⁶ Duro, ii. 332.

⁷ Arch. Nat. de la France, K. 1592, doss. B. 81. This wreck was on October 28th, 1588.

⁸ S. P. Ireland, Eliz. cxxxvii. 3.

⁹ A few, however, escaped, in spite of Bingham and his people.

¹⁰ Duro, i. 210.

¹¹ S. P. Dom. cxxvi. 17.

thirty sail, of which the Armada originally consisted, no fewer than sixty-three are believed by Duro to have been lost. These he thus classifies: abandoned to the enemy, two;¹ lost in France, three;² lost in Holland, two;³ sunk in the action (off Gravelines), two;⁴ wrecked off Scotland and Ireland, nineteen; fate unknown, thirty-five. Of the lost vessels, twenty-six were galleons and ships, thirteen were "urcas," or hulks, twenty were patasses, three were galleasses, and one was a galley.

¹ *N. S. del Rosario* and *San Salvador*.

² *Santa Ana*, *San Lorenzo*, and *Diana*.

³ *San Felipe* and *San Mateo*.

⁴ Probably *Gran Grin* and *San Juan de Sicilia*.



APPENDIX.



SHIPS ENGAGED IN THE ARMADA CAMPAIGN.



[The following lists are substantially those given in Professor J. K. Laughton's 'State Papers relating to the defeat of the Spanish Armada' (Navy Records Society), Vol. II. pp. 323-341, and 376-387. The information there collected has, however, been supplemented from other sources, chiefly from certain State Papers, copies of which have been kindly furnished by Lieut.-Col. L. Edye, R.N., and from family records. The arithmetical errors have also, so far as possible, been corrected.]

ENGLISH SHIPS.

HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS.	Built.	Tons.	MEN.			GUNS.							Remarks.		
			Men-of-war.	Galleyes.	Soldiers.	Carbines.	Portcullis.	Swivel.	Minor.	Small.	Light.				
1. <i>Ark</i>	1587	800	270	34	126	430	1	1	12	12	6	1	1	55	Rebuilt 1608.
2. <i>Elizabeth Bonaventure</i>	[1581]	600	150	21	76	250	2	2	11	11	1	1	1	17	Broken up <i>ca.</i> 1610.
3. <i>Retinbone</i>	1586	500	150	24	76	250	1	1	8	10	1	1	1	12	Rebuilt 1602.
4. <i>Golden Lion</i>	[1582]	500	150	24	76	250	1	1	8	11	9	1	1	3	Broken up 1609.
5. <i>White Bear</i>	1563	1000	300	40	150	490	3	3	11	7	10	2	1	9	Rebuilt 1599.
6. <i>Vanguard</i>	1586	500	150	24	76	250	2	2	8	10	11	2	1	20	Rebuilt 1599 and 1615.
7. <i>Revenge</i>	1577	500	150	21	76	250	1	1	6	12	6	6	1	11	Taken by Spain 1591.
8. <i>Elizabeth Jones</i>	1559	900	300	40	150	490	3	3	6	8	9	9	1	20	Rebuilt 1598.
9. <i>Victory</i>	[1586]	800	270	31	126	430	1	1	12	18	9	1	1	3	Rebuilt 1610.
10. <i>Antelope</i>	[1581]	400	120	20	30	170	1	1	4	13	8	1	1	3	Rebuilt 1618.
11. <i>Triumph</i>	1561	1100	300	10	100	500	4	4	3	17	8	6	1	4	Rebuilt 1596.
12. <i>Devaulonight</i>	1573	400	130	20	10	190	2	2	1	1	10	1	1	3	Rebuilt 1592 and 1613.
13. <i>Mary Rose</i>	1556	600	150	24	76	250	1	1	1	11	10	4	1	7	Rebuilt 1589.
14. <i>Nonpareil</i>	[1581]	500	150	24	76	250	2	2	3	7	8	12	1	6	Rebuilt 1603.
15. <i>Hope</i>	[1581]	600	160	25	85	270	2	2	4	9	11	4	1	18	Rebuilt 1602.
16. <i>Bonavida's galley</i>	1584	..	..	..	..	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Sold 1599.
17. <i>Swiftsure</i>	1573	400	120	20	40	180	2	2	..	..	8	..	..	15	Rebuilt 1592 and 1607.
18. <i>Swallow</i>	[1573]	300	110	20	30	160	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	6	Condemned 1603.
19. <i>Foreflight</i>	1570	300	110	20	20	150	..	..	..	..	8	3	..	12	Condemned 1601.
20. <i>Aid</i>	1562	250	90	16	14	120	..	..	..	..	8	2	..	4	Condemned 1599.
21. <i>Bull</i>	[1570]	200	80	12	8	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Condemned 1593.
22. <i>Tiger</i>	[1570]	200	80	12	8	100	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	10	Condemned 1605.
23. <i>Trenoultant</i>	1586	150	55	8	7	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	Broken up 1618.
24. <i>Scout</i>	1577	120	55	8	7	70	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	2	Condemned 1605.
25. <i>Lebanes</i>	1573	100	45	7	7	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	Broken up 1601.
26. <i>Charles</i>	1586	70	32	6	7	45	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	8	Condemned 1601.
27. <i>Moon</i>	1586	60	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	Sold 1616.
28. <i>Advice</i>	1586	50	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	Rebuilt 1601.
29. <i>Merlin</i>	1579	50	26	5	4	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	Condemned 1601.
30. <i>Spiff</i>	1586	50	30	5	5	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	Sold 1616.
31. <i>Saga</i>	1586	40	24	4	2	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	Rebuilt 1601.
32. <i>Cygnel</i>	1585	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
33. <i>Briggachae</i>	1583	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34. <i>Grange, hoy</i>	1601	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rebuilt 1601.
31 ships												6289			

N.B.—The dates in the "Built" column, when enclosed in square brackets, indicate "Rebuilt."

CAPTAINS AND OFFICERS OF THE ABOVE.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral.
Sir Edward Hoby, Secretary.
Thomas Gray, Master.
Anyas Preston, Lieutenant.
— Morgan, Captain of soldiers.
Samuel Clerke, Master Gunner.
John Wright, Boatswain.
Richard Leveson, Volunteer.
Thomas Gerard, "
William Harvey, "
John Chidley, "
Thomas Vavasour, "
Francis Burnell, " Admiral's man."
— Newton, " " | 11. Sir Martin Frobiser.
(?) — Eliot, Lieutenant.
Simon Fernandez, Boatswain. |
| 2. Earl of Cumberland. ¹
George Raymond, Captain.
James Sewell, Master.
Tristram Searche, Boatswain.
Robert Carey, Volunteer. | 12. Sir George Beeston.
(?) — Harvey, Boatswain. |
| 3. Lord Henry Seymour.
Richard Laine, Boatswain.
Sir Charles Blount, Volunteer.
Francis Carey, "
Brute Brown, " | 13. Edward Fenton.
Lawrence Cleer, Boatswain.
Henry Whyte, Volunteer. |
| 4. Lord Thomas Howard. | 14. Thomas Fenner.
I — C —, Boatswain. |
| 5. Lord Sheffield.
(?) Richard Poulter, Master.
H. Sheffield, Lieutenant.
Robert Baxter, Boatswain. | 15. Robert Crosse.
(?) John Sampson, Master.
John Vayle, Boatswain. |
| 6. Sir William Wynter.
John Wynter, Lieutenant. | 16. William Borough. |
| 7. Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admiral.
John Gray, Master.
Jonas Bodenham, Lieutenant.
(?) Martin Jeffrey, Purser.
Richard Derrick, Boatswain.
Nicholas Oseley, Volunteer. | 17. Edward Fenner.
William Mychell, Boatswain. |
| 8. Sir Robert Southwell.
(?) John Austyne, Master.
John Woodroffe, Boatswain. | 18. Richard Hawkyns. ²
John Borman, Boatswain. |
| 9. Sir John Hawkyns, Rear-Admiral.
(?) — Barker, Master.
John Edmunds, Boatswain. | 19. Christopher Baker.
James Andrews, Boatswain. |
| 10. Sir Henry Palmer. | 20. William Fenner.
(?) Richard Blucke, Purser.
John Russell, Boatswain. |
| | 21. Jeremy Turner.
Myhyll Pyrkyne, Boatswain. |
| | 22. John Bostocke. |
| | 23. Luke Ward.
John Pratte, Boatswain. |
| | 24. Henry Ashley. |
| | 25. Gregory Riggs. |
| | 26. John Roberts.
William Monson, Volunteer. ³ |
| | 27. Alexander Clifford. ⁴ |
| | 28. John Harris.
Tristram George, Boatswain. |
| | 29. Walter Gower. |
| | 30. Ambrose Ward. |
| | 31. Richard Buckley, Master. |
| | 32. John Sheriff, Master.
George Wilkynson, Boatswain. |
| | 33. Thomas Scott. |
| | 34. Richard Hodges, Master. |

¹ Cumberland's real position seems to have been only that of a volunteer. He received no pay.

² Son of Sir John Hawkyns: died 1622.

³ Monson describes himself as having been lieutenant of the *Charles*, but she was allowed no lieutenant.

⁴ Knighted 1596.

MERCHANT SHIPS APPOINTED TO SERVE WESTWARDS UNDER
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks
35. <i>Galleon Leicester</i>	400	160	George Fenner.	{ Cavendish made his last voyage in her, 1591.
36. <i>Merchant Royal</i>	400	160	Robert Flicke.	{ Belonged to the Levant Company.
37. <i>Edward Bonaventure</i>	300	120	James Lancaster.	{ Belonged to the Levant Company. Made the first English successful voyage to India and back, 1591-93.
38. <i>Roebuck</i> , of Dartmouth	300	120	Jacob Whiddon.	{ Belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh.
39. <i>Golden Noble</i>	250	110	Adam Seager.	
40. <i>Griffin</i>	200	100	{ William Hawkyns. { Saul. Norfolk, Master.	
41. <i>Minion</i>	200	80	{ William Wynter. { Nicholas Maunder, Master.	
42. <i>Bark Talbot</i>	200	90	{ Henry Whyte. { John Hampton, Master.	{ Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
43. <i>Thomas Drake</i>	200	80	{ Henry Spindelow. { John Tranton, Master.	{ Belonged to Sir Francis Drake. Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
44. <i>Spark</i>	200	90	{ William Spark. { Richard Loarie, Master.	
45. <i>Hopewell</i>	200	100	John Marchant.	
46. <i>Galleon Dudley</i> , of Barnstaple	250	96	James Erisey.	
47. <i>Virgin God Save Her</i> , of Barnstaple	200	70	John Greynvile.	{ Belonged to Sir Richard Greynvile.
48. <i>Hop Hawkyns</i> , of Plymouth	200	80	{ John Rivers. { Roger Haley, Master.	{ Belonged to William Hart. Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
49. <i>Bark Bond</i>	150	70	{ William Poole. { John Rock, Master.	{ Belonged to Sir John Hawkyns. Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
50. <i>Bark Bonner</i>	150	70	{ Charles Caesar. { William Loggin, Master.	
51. <i>Bark Hawkyns</i>	150	70	{ ——— Prideaux. { William Snell, Master.	
52. <i>Unity</i>	80	40	{ Humphrey Sydenham. { William Cornish, Master.	

MERCHANT SHIPS APPOINTED TO SERVE WESTWARDS UNDER
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.—*continued.*

	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
53. <i>Elizabeth Drake</i> , of Lyme . . . }	60	30	{ Thomas Cely. Thomas Clerke, Master.	
54. <i>Bark Buggins</i> . . .	80	50	John Langford.	
55. <i>Elizabeth Founes</i> . . .	80	50	Roger Grant.	
56. <i>Bark St. Leger</i> . . .	160	80	John St. Leger.	
57. <i>Bark Manington</i> . . .	160	80	Ambrose Manington.	
58. <i>Heartseuse</i> . . . ?		24	Hannibal Sharpam.	
59. <i>Golden Hind</i> . . .	50	30	Thomas Flemyng.	{ Brought in the first news of the Armada. Was not Drake's <i>Golden Hind</i> .
60. <i>Makeshift</i> . . .	60	40	Piers Lemon.	
61. <i>Diamond</i> , of Dartmouth . . . }	60	40	Robert Holland.	
62. <i>Speckwell</i> . . .	60	14	Hugh Hardinge, Master.	
63. <i>Bear Yonge</i> , of Lyme . . . }	110	70	John Yonge.	{ Belonged to John Yonge. Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
64. <i>Chauce</i> . . .	60	40	{ James Founes. Hugh Cornish, Master.	
65. <i>Delight</i> . . .	50	40	William Coxe.	{ Belonged to Sir William Wynter.
66. <i>Nightingale</i> . . .	40	30	{ John Grisling. Habbakuk Percy, Master.	
67. Small Caravel . . .	30	20	?	
68. Fly-boat <i>Yonge</i> . . .	50	50	Nicholas Webb.	
34 ships		2391		

SHIPS FITTED OUT AND PAID BY THE CITY OF LONDON.

	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
69. <i>Heracles</i>	300	120	George Barne.	
70. <i>Toby</i>	250	100	Robert Barrett.	
71. <i>Mayflower</i>	200	90	Edward Bancks.	
72. <i>Minion</i>	200	90	John Dale.	
73. <i>Royal Defence</i>	160	80	John Chester.	
74. <i>Ascension</i>	200	100	John Bacon.	
75. <i>Gift of God</i>	180	80	Thomas Luntlowe.	
76. <i>Primrose</i>	200	90	Robert Bringborne.	
77. <i>Margaret and John</i>	200	90	John Fisher. John Nash, Master. Richard Tomson, Lieut. John Watts, Volunteer.	Belonged to John Watts. In 1590, present at a severe action off Cadiz between English merchantmen and Spanish galleys. Watts was knighted, 1603; and was Lord Mayor in 1606.
78. <i>Golden Lion</i>	140	70	Robert Wilcox.	
79. <i>Diana</i>	80	40	Edward Cock.	
80. <i>Bark Burr</i>	160	70	John Serocold.	
81. <i>Tiger</i>	200	90	William Caesar.	
82. <i>Brave</i>	160	70	William Furthow.	
83. <i>Red Lion</i>	200	90	Jervis Wilde.	
84. <i>Centurion</i>	250	100	Samuel Foxcraft.	
85. <i>Passport</i>	80	40	Christopher Colthurst.	
86. <i>Mooshive</i>	60	30	John Brough.	
87. <i>Thomas Bonner's venture</i>	140	70	William Aldridge.	(Belonged to the Levant Company)
88. <i>Release</i>	60	30	John King.	
89. <i>Georg Noble</i>	120	80	Henry Bellingham. Richard Harper, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 10 muskets.
90. <i>Anthony</i>	100	60	George Harper. Richard Dove, Master.	(Carried 12 calivers and 8 muskets.
91. <i>Toby</i>	120	70	Christopher Pigot. Robert Cuttle, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 10 muskets.
92. <i>Salamander</i> , of Leigh	110	60	— Danford. William Goodlad, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 8 muskets.
93. <i>Rose Lion</i> , of Leigh	100	50	Bartholomew Acton. Robert Duke, Master.	(Carried 12 calivers and 8 muskets.
94. <i>Antelope</i>	120	60	— Denison. Abraham Bonner, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 10 muskets.
95. <i>Jewel</i> , of Leigh	110	60	— Rowell. Henry Rawlyn, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 8 muskets.
96. <i>Pansy</i>	100	70	William Butler, Master.	(Carried 12 calivers and 8 muskets.
97. <i>Prudence</i> , of Leigh	120	60	Richard Chester, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 10 muskets.
98. <i>Dolphin</i> , of Leigh	110	70	William Hare, Master.	(Carried 14 calivers and 8 muskets.
30 ships		2180		

(The above, in addition to the light armaments specially noted, carried sakers, minions, falcons, and fowlers.)

MERCHANT SHIPS SERVING UNDER THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, AND PAID
BY THE QUEEN.

(The following served for about eight weeks.)

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
99. <i>Susan Parnell</i> . . .	220	80	Nicholas Gorges.	} Belonged to the Levant Company.
100. <i>Violet</i> . . .	220	60	Martin Hawkes.	
101. <i>Solomon</i> . . .	170	80	Edmund Musgrave.	} Belonged to the Levant Company.
102. <i>Anne Frances</i> . . .	180	70	Charles Lister.	
103. <i>George Bout-</i> <i>venture</i> . . . }	200	90	Eleazar Hickman.	
104. <i>Jacq Bouaren-</i> <i>ture</i> . . . }	100	50	Thomas Hallwood.	
105. <i>Vineyard</i> . . .	160	60	Benjamin Cooke.	
106. <i>Samael</i> . . .	140	50	John Vassall.	
8 ships		530		

(The following served the whole time.)

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
107. <i>White Lion</i> . . .	140	50	Charles Howard.	} "The Lord High Ad- miral's pinnace," possibly belonged to the R.N. Built 1585.
108. <i>Disdain</i> . . .	80	45	Jonas Bradbury.	
109. <i>Lark</i> . . .	50	20	Thomas Chichester.	} Belonged to Edward Peck.
110. <i>Edward</i> , of Maldon . . . }	186	30	William Pierce.	
111. <i>Marigold</i> . . .	30	12	William Newton, Master.	
112. <i>Black Dog</i> . . .	20	10	John Davis, Master.	
113. <i>Katherine</i> . . .	20	10	?	
114. <i>Fanny</i> . . .	50	20	John Paul, Master.	
115. <i>Pippin</i> . . .	20	8	?	
116. <i>Nightingale</i> . . .	160	16	John Doate, Master.	
10 ships		221		

VESSELS WHICH TRANSPORTED VICTUALS WESTWARDS.

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
117. <i>Mary Rose</i> . . .	?	70	{ Francis Bunnell, William Parker, Master.	
118. <i>Elizabeth Bount-</i> <i>venture</i> . . .	?	60	Richard Start.	
119. <i>Pelican</i> . . .	?	50	John Clarke.	
120. <i>Hope</i> . . .	?	40	John Skinner.	
121. <i>Unity</i> . . .	?	40	John Moore.	
122. <i>Pearl</i> . . .	?	50	Lawrence Moore.	
123. <i>Elizabeth</i> , of Leigh . . .	?	60	William Bower.	
124. <i>John</i> , of London	?	70	Richard Rose.	
125. <i>Bearsabe</i> (?) . . .	?	60	Edward Bryan.	
126. <i>Marigold</i> . . .	?	50	Robert Bowers.	
127. <i>White Hind</i> . . .	?	40	Richard Browne.	
128. <i>Gift of God</i> . . .	?	40	Robert Harrison.	
129. <i>Jonas</i> . . .	?	50	Edward Bell.	
130. <i>Solomon</i> , of Aldborough . . .	?	60	George Street.	
131. <i>Richard Duffield</i>	?	70	William Adams.	{ Belonged to—Duffield. William Adams, ten years later went, as chief pilot of some Rotterdam ships, to the Far East, and then entered the ser- vice of the Shogun of Japan. He died in 1620.
15 ships		810		

COASTERS UNDER THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, AND PAID BY THE QUEEN.

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
132. <i>Bark Webb</i> . . .	80	50	?	
133. <i>John Trclawney</i>	150	30	Thomas Meek.	
134. <i>Hart</i> , of Dart- mouth . . .	60	70	James Houghton (or Houston).	(Thomas Anthony, Master.)
135. <i>Bark Potts</i> . . .	180	80	Anthony Potts.	
136. <i>Little John</i> . . .	40	20	Laurence Clayton.	
137. <i>Bartholomew</i> , of Apsam . . .	130	70	Nicholas Wright.	(Apsam is now Top- sham.)
138. <i>Rose</i> , of Apsam	110	50	Thomas Sandye.	
139. <i>Giffl</i> , of Apsam	25	20	?	
140. <i>Jacob</i> , of Lyme	90	50	?	
141. <i>Revenge</i> , of Lyme . . .	60	30	Richard Bedford.	
142. <i>Bark</i> of Bridg- water . . .	70	30	John Smyth.	
143. <i>Crescent</i> , of Dartmouth . . .	140	75	John Wilson.	(Christopher Wey- mouth, Master.)
144. <i>Galleon</i> of Weymouth . . .	100	50	Richard Miller.	
145. <i>John</i> , of Chichester . . .	70	50	John Young.	
146. <i>Katherine</i> , of Weymouth . . .	66	30	?	
147. <i>Heartly Anne</i> . . .	60	30	John Wymall.	
148. <i>Minion</i> , of Bristol . . .	230	110	John Sachfield.	
149. <i>Unicorn</i> , of Bristol . . .	130	66	James Langton.	} Belonged to John Sachfield, or Sack- vile.
150. <i>Handmaid</i> , of Bristol . . .	80	56	Christopher Pitt.	
151. <i>Aid</i> , of Bristol . . .	60	26	William Megar.	
20 ships		993		

COASTERS UNDER LORD HENRY SEYMOUR, SOME PAID BY THE QUEEN, BUT MOST BY THE PORT TOWNS.

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
152. <i>David</i> . . .	160	70	Robert Johnson.	
153. <i>Calleon Hutchins</i>	150	60	Thomas Tucker.	
154. <i>Bark Lamb</i> . .	150	60	Leonard Harbell.	
155. <i>Fancy</i> . . .	60	30	Richard Fearne.	
156. <i>Griffin</i> . . .	70	35	John Dobson.	
157. <i>Little Hare</i> . .	50	25	Matthew Railstone.	
158. <i>Handmaid</i> . .	75	35	John Gattenbury.	
159. <i>Marigold</i> , of Hull, . . .	150	70	Francis Johnson.	
160. <i>Matthow</i> . . .	35	16	Richard Mitchell.	
161. <i>Susan</i> . . .	40	20	John Musgrave.	
162. <i>William</i> , of Ipswich, . . .	140	50	Barnaby Lowe.	
163. <i>Katherine</i> , of Ipswich, . . .	125	50	Thomas Grymble.	
164. <i>Primrose</i> , of Harwich, . . .	120	40	John Cardinal.	
165. <i>Anne Bount</i> , <i>ventur</i> . . .	60	50	John Conny.	
166. <i>William</i> , of Rye	80	60	William Coxon.	
167. <i>Grace of God</i> , of Dover . . .	50	30	William Fordred.	
168. <i>Elizabeth</i> , of Dover . . .	120	70	John Lidgen.	
169. <i>Robin</i> , of Sand- wich, . . .	110	65	William Cripps.	
170. <i>Hazard</i> , of Feversham . . .	38	34	Nicholas Turner.	
171. <i>Grace</i> , of Yar- mouth . . .	150	70	William Musgrave.	} Carried 6 minions and 20 muskets.
172. <i>Mauglowe</i> , of King's Lynn	150	70	Alexander Musgrave.	
173. <i>William</i> , of Col- chester . . .	100	50	Thomas Lambert.	
174. <i>John Young</i> . .	60	30	Reynold Vesey.	
23 ships		1090		

VOLUNTARY SHIPS WHICH JOINED WHEN THE ARMAIDA WAS ON THE COAST,
AND WERE PAID BY THE QUEEN DURING SERVICE.

—	Tons.	Men.	Captains and Officers.	Remarks.
175. <i>Sampson</i> . . .	300	108	John Wingfield.	} Belonged to the Earl of Cumberland. } Belonged to John Rashley. His pinnace, the <i>Christopher</i> , 15 tons, seems to have been also in the fleet.
176. <i>Francis</i> , of Fowey . . .	110	60	John Rashley.	
177. <i>Heathen</i> , of Weymouth . . .	60	30	?	} Belonged to Thomas Middleton.
178. <i>Golden Rial</i> , of Weymouth . . .	120	50	?	
179. <i>Bark Sutton</i> , of Weymouth . . .	70	40	Hugh Pearson.	
180. <i>Carouse</i> . . .	50	25	?	
181. <i>Samaritan</i> , of Dartmouth . . .	250	100	?	
182. <i>William</i> , of Plymouth . . .	120	60	?	
183. <i>Gallego</i> , of Plymouth . . .	30	20	?	
184. <i>Bark Halse</i> . . .	60	40	Grenfield Halse.	
185. <i>Unicorn</i> , of Dartmouth . . .	76	30	Ralph Hawes.	
186. <i>Grace</i> , of Apsam . . .	100	50	Walter Edney.	
187. <i>Thomas Bonaventure</i> , of Lyme . . .	60	30	John Pentire.	
188. <i>Rat</i> , of Wight . . .	80	60	Gilbert Lee.	
189. <i>Margaret</i> . . .	60	46	William Hubbard.	
190. <i>Elizabeth</i> . . .	40	30	?	
191. <i>Raphael</i> . . .	40	40	?	
192. Fly-boat . . .	60	40	?	
193. <i>John</i> , of Barnstaple . . .	?	65	?	} Belonged to Sir Richard Greynville.
194. <i>Greyhound</i> , of Aldborough . . .	?	40	Michael Pullison.	
195. <i>Elizabeth</i> , of Lowestoft . . .	90	30	?	} Belonged to Thomas Meldrum. Burnt as a fireship before Calais.
196. <i>Jonas</i> , of Aldborough . . .	?	25	?	
197. <i>Fortune</i> , of Aldborough . . .	?	25	?	
23 ships		1044		

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

ARMADA OF PORTUGAL, UNDER THE DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
1. <i>San Martín</i> , Capitana General ¹	1000	48	300	177	477
2. <i>San Juan</i> , Almiranta General ²	1050	50	321	179	500
3. <i>San Marcos</i> ³	790	33	292	117	409
4. <i>San Felipe</i> ⁴	800	40	415	117	532
5. <i>San Luis</i>	830	38	376	116	492
6. <i>San Matías</i>	750	34	277	120	397
7. <i>Santiago</i>	520	24	300	93	393
8. <i>Florencia</i>	961	52	400	86	486
9. <i>San Cristóbal</i>	352	20	300	78	378
10. <i>San Bernardo</i>	352	21	250	81	331
11. <i>Zabra August</i>	166	13	55	57	112
12. <i>Zabra Julia</i>	166	14	44	72	116
12 ships					4623

¹ Returned to Santander with 180 dead, and nearly all the rest sick.

² Probably J. M. de Recalde's flagship till July 21st, and again from July 24th. Returned to Corunna. Burnt there 1589.

³ Lost on the coast of Ireland.

⁴ Grounded at the mouth of the Scheldt.

ARMADA OF BISCAY, UNDER JUAN MARTINEZ DE RECALDE.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
13. <i>Santa Ana</i> , Capitana ¹	768	30	256	73	329
14. <i>El Gran Grin</i> , Almiranta	1160	28	256	73	329
15. <i>Santiago</i>	666	25	214	102	316
16. <i>La Concepcion de Zabalza</i>	186	16	90	70	160
17. <i>La Concepcion de Juanes del Cava</i>	418	18	164	61	225
18. <i>La Magdalena</i>	530	18	193	67	260
19. <i>San Juan</i>	350	21	114	80	194
20. <i>La Maria Juan</i>	665	24	172	100	272
21. <i>La Montera</i>	520	12	125	54	179
22. <i>Santa Maria de Monte-Mayor</i>	707	18	206	45	251
23. <i>Patax La Maria de Aguirre</i>	70	6	20	23	43
24. <i>Patax La Isabela</i>	71	10	20	22	42
25. <i>Patax de Miguel Suso</i>	36	6	20	26	46
26. <i>Patax San Esteban</i>	96	6	20	26	46
14 ships					2692

¹ Probably J. M. de Recalde's flagship from July 21st to July 23rd. Was wrecked near Le Havre.

ARMADA OF THE GALLEONS OF CASTILE, UNDER DIEGO FLORES DE VALDES.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
27. <i>San Cristóbal</i>	700	36	205	120	325
28. <i>San Juan Bautista</i>	750	21	207	136	343
29. <i>San Pedro</i>	530	21	111	131	242
30. <i>San Juan</i> ¹	530	21	163	113	276
31. <i>Santiago el Mayor</i>	530	24	210	132	342
32. <i>San Felipe y Santiago</i>	530	21	151	116	267
33. <i>La Asunción</i>	530	21	199	111	310
34. <i>Nuestra Señora del Puerto</i>	530	21	155	108	263
35. <i>San Mateo y Celedon</i>	530	21	160	101	261
36. <i>Santa Ana</i>	250	21	91	80	171
37. <i>Nuestra Señora de Begoña</i>	750	21	171	123	297
38. <i>La Trinidad</i>	872	24	180	122	302
39. <i>Santa Catalina</i>	882	21	190	159	349
40. <i>San Juan Bautista</i>	650	21	192	93	285
41. Patax N. S. <i>del Socorro</i>	75	24	20	25	45
42. Patax S. <i>Antonio de Padua</i>	75	12	20	46	66
16 ships					4177

¹ The ship in which was Diego Enriquez. Apparently lost on the coast of Ireland.

ARMADA OF THE SHIPS OF ANDALUSIA, UNDER DON PEDRO DE VALDES.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
43. N. S. <i>Del Rosario</i> , Capitana ¹	1150	36	301	118	422
44. <i>San Francisco</i> , Almiranta	915	21	222	56	278
45. <i>San Juan</i>	810	31	235	89	324
46. <i>San Juan de Guayacín</i>	569	16	165	56	221
47. <i>La Concepción</i>	862	20	185	71	256
48. <i>Duquesa Santa Ana</i> ²	900	23	280	77	357
49. <i>Santa Catalina</i>	730	23	231	77	308
50. <i>La Trinidad</i>	650	13	192	71	266
51. <i>Santa María del Jucaul</i>	730	20	228	80	308
52. <i>San Bartolomé</i>	976	27	210	72	312
53. Patax <i>Espíritu Santo</i>	?	..	33	10	43
11 ships					3105

¹ Taken, and broken up at Chatham. Don Pedro de Valdes, after about three years, paid a ransom of £3000.

² Lost in Glenmagiveny Bay.

ARMADA OF GULFÚZCOA, UNDER MIGUEL DE OQUENDO.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
54. <i>Santa Ana</i> , Capitana ¹	1200	47	303	82	385
55. <i>N. S. De la Rosa</i> , Almiranta ²	945	26	233	64	297
56. <i>San Salvador</i> ³	958	25	321	75	396
57. <i>San Esteban</i>	736	26	196	68	264
58. <i>Santa Marta</i>	548	20	173	63	236
59. <i>Santa Bárbara</i>	525	12	154	45	199
60. <i>San Buenaventura</i>	379	21	168	53	221
61. <i>La María San Juan</i>	291	12	110	30	140
62. <i>Santa Cruz</i>	680	16	156	32	188
63. <i>Uca Doucella</i>	500	16	156	32	188
64. Patax <i>La Asunción</i>	60	9	20	23	43
65. Patax <i>San Bernabe</i>	69	9	20	23	43
12 ships					2600

¹ Returned to Spain, but accidentally blew up.

² Lost among the Baskets.

³ Seems to have been "Almiranta" when partially blown up on July 21st. Was taken to Weymouth, and lost at Studland.

ARMADA OF LEVANT SHIPS, UNDER MARTIN DE BERTENDONA.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
66. <i>La Rejazona</i> , Capitana ¹	1249	30	344	80	424
67. <i>La Lacia</i> , Almiranta	728	25	263	71	274
68. <i>La Rata Coronada</i> ²	820	35	335	84	419
69. <i>San Juan de Sicilia</i> ³	800	26	279	63	342
70. <i>La Trinidad Valcavera</i> ⁴	1100	42	281	79	360
71. <i>La Anunciada</i>	703	24	196	79	275
72. <i>San Nicolas Prodrandi</i>	831	26	374	81	455
73. <i>La Juliana</i>	860	32	325	70	395
74. <i>Santa María de Vison</i>	666	18	236	71	307
75. <i>La Trinidad de Seula</i>	900	22	307	79	386
10 ships					3637

¹ Flag of Bertendona, who is said by Duro to have been the captor of the *Revenge* in 1591. Burnt at Corunna, 1589.

² Wrecked off Erris.

³ In her was Diego Tellez Enriquez. Seems to have foundered while negotiating surrender to Captain Crosse.

⁴ Lost on the Irish Coast.

ARMADA OF GULKS, UNDER JUAN GOMES DE MEDINA.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
76. <i>El Gran Grifon</i> , Capitana ¹	650	38	213	43	286
77. <i>San Salvador</i> , Almiranta	650	21	218	43	261
78. <i>Perro Marina</i>	200	7	70	21	91
79. <i>Falcon Blanco Mayor</i> ²	500	16	161	36	197
80. <i>Castillo Negro</i>	750	27	230	34	273
81. <i>Barca de Aumbury</i>	600	23	230	25	264
82. <i>Casa de Paz Grande</i>	650	26	198	27	225
83. <i>San Pedro Mayor</i> ³	581	29	213	28	241
84. <i>El Sanson</i>	500	18	200	31	231
85. <i>San Pedro Menor</i>	500	18	157	23	180
86. <i>Barca de Auzique</i>	450	26	200	25	225
87. <i>Falcon Blanco Mediano</i> ⁴	300	16	76	27	103
88. <i>Santo Andres</i>	400	14	150	28	178
89. <i>Casa de Paz Chica</i>	350	15	162	24	186
90. <i>Cierro Volante</i>	400	18	200	22	222
91. <i>Paloma Blanca</i>	250	12	56	20	76
92. <i>La Ventura</i>	160	4	58	14	72
93. <i>Santa Bárbara</i>	370	10	70	22	92
94. <i>Santiago</i>	600	19	56	30	86
95. <i>David</i>	450	7	50	24	74
96. <i>El Gato</i>	400	9	40	22	62
97. <i>Esayas</i>	260	4	30	16	46
98. <i>San Gabriel</i>	280	4	35	20	55
23 ships					3729

¹ A ship of Rostock. Lost on Fair Island.² A Hanaburg ship. Captured and taken to Plymouth while returning from Lisbon to Hamburg, January 22nd, 1589.³ Wrecked in Bigbury Bay, Devonshire.⁴ Lost on the Irish Coast.

PATACHES AND ZABRAS, UNDER DON ANTONIO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
99. <i>N. S. del Pilar de Zaragoza</i>) Capitana	300	11	109	51	160
100. <i>La Ciudad</i> (Inglesa)	180	12	70	36	106
101. <i>San Andres</i> (Escocés)	150	12	40	29	69
102. <i>El Conceijo</i> ,	150	8	40	29	69
103. <i>N. S. del Puerto</i>	55	8	30	33	63
104. <i>La Concepcion de Caracas</i>	70	5	30	42	72
105. <i>N. S. de España</i>	61	..	20	26	46
106. <i>La Concepcion de Capatzen</i>	60	10	20	26	46
107. <i>San Jeronimo</i>	50	4	20	37	57
108. <i>N. S. de Gracia</i>	57	5	20	34	54
109. <i>La Concepcion de Francisco de</i> <i>Lutero</i>	75	6	20	29	49
110. <i>N. S. de Guadalupe</i>	70	..	20	42	62
111. <i>San Francisco</i>	70	..	20	37	57
112. <i>Espiritu Santo</i>	75	..	20	47	67
113. <i>Trinidad</i>	?	2	..	23	23
114. <i>N. S. de Cristo</i>	?	2	..	26	26
115. <i>Santa Andres</i>	?	2	..	15	15
116. <i>La Concepcion de Valencuela</i>	?	2	..	27	27
117. <i>La Concepcion de Somaniha</i> . . . . .	?	..	..	31	31
118. <i>Santa Catalina</i> . . . . .	?	..	..	23	23
119. <i>San Juan de Caracas</i> . . . . .	?	..	..	23	23
120. <i>Asuncion</i> . . . . .	?	..	..	23	23
22 ships			1168		

GALLEASSES OF NAPLES, UNDER DON HUGO DE MONCADA.

—	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
121. <i>San Lorenzo</i> , Capitana ¹	?	50	262	124	386
122. <i>Patrona Zúñiga</i>	?	50	178	112	290
123. <i>Gigana</i> ²	?	50	169	120	289
124. <i>Napolitana</i>	?	50	261	112	373
4 ships					1341 ³

¹ Driven ashore and became a wreck at Calais.

² Wrecked near the Giant's Causeway, probably with Don Alonso de Leyva, the Count of Paredes, and all hands.

³ With 1200 rowers.

GALLEYS OF PORTUGAL, UNDER DON DIEGO MEDRANO.

—	Tons.	Guns.	MEN.		
			Soldiers.	Mariners.	Total.
125. <i>Capitana</i>	?	5	..	106	106
126. <i>Princesa</i>	?	5	..	90	90
127. <i>Diana</i> ¹	?	5	..	91	91
128. <i>Bazana</i>	?	5	..	72	72
4 ships					362 ²

¹ Wrecked at Bayonne.

² With 888 rowers.

SUMMARIES OF THE TWO FLEETS.

ENGLISH.

Divisions.	Ships.	Men.
Her Majesty's ships	31	6289
Merchant ships under Sir Francis Drake	34	2394
Ships paid by the City of London	30	2180
Merchant ships under the Lord High Admiral :—		
For about eight weeks	8	530
For the whole campaign	10	221
Victuallers	15	810
Coasters under the Lord High Admiral	20	993
Coasters under Lord Henry Seymour	23	1090
Voluntary ships	23	1041
Total	197	15,551

SPANISH.

Divisions.	Ships.	Men.
Armada of Portugal	12	4623
Armada of Biscay	14	2692
Armada of the Galleons of Castille	16	4177
Armada of Andalusia	11	3105
Armada of Guipúzcoa	12	2600
Armada of Levant ships	10	3637
Armada of Hulks	23	3729
Pataches and Zabras	22	1168
Galleasses of Naples (1200 rowers)	4	2541
Galleys of Portugal (888 rowers)	4	1250
Total	128	29,522

CHAPTER XVI.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1485-1603.

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.

English discovery—Retrospect—Meagre records—Chroniclers—Eden—Hakluyt—Early voyages—Nicholas of Lynn—William Canyng—Thylde—John Cabot—Followers of Cabot—Early voyages—Western voyages—William Hawkyus—Guinea voyages—Sebastian Cabot—Voyages to N.E.—Willoughby—Chancellor—The Boroughs—John Hawkyus—Francis Drake—John Oxenham—Martin Frobiser—Pet and Jackman—John Davis—Drake's circumnavigation—Fenton—Cavendish—Merick—Cavendish and Davis—John Davis—Richard Hawkyus—Results of discovery—New companies—Humphrey Gilbert—Walter Raleigh—Walter Raleigh (Virginia)—Walter Raleigh (Guiana)—Lawrence Keymis—Robert Dudley—Preston, Shirley, Parker—Explorers knighted at Cadiz—James Lancaster—Voyages to the East Indies—East India Company—Retrospect.



THE work at sea, which is now done by three services, the mercantile marine, the royal navy, and the much-neglected expeditions of discovery, was, in the whole earlier period of our maritime history, combined; our merchant ships going forth to trade peaceably, if this way was permitted, if not to fight, and always to explore and to discover. All distant lands, if unvisited and unexplored by Englishmen, were practically discoveries, so far as England was concerned, and the daring seamen who reached them were explorers and discoverers as well as traders. In the study of our maritime history we are checked at the outset by the want of records. It is certain that in early times many voyages were made to distant countries of which no accounts are preserved, and that there was a spirit of enterprise abroad among our merchants, and great activity in our seaports. The foundations of our naval supremacy were laid in silence, so far as posterity is concerned; and it seems important that this should be borne in mind. Continuous efforts were made, and splendid work was done at sea of which we know little or nothing. Through casual sentences in some of the old chroniclers—of Botoner, of Fabyan, or of

Stow—we get a few glimpses of what was going on. Richard Eden gives us a little light; but even Hakluyt, with all his devoted energy and perseverance, was able to preserve only portions of the early part of the glorious history of our maritime enterprises. He could not find a single scrap of the writings of John Cabot. Yet during a long life he “waded on still further and further in the sweet studie of the historie of cosmographie,” and strove “to incorporate into one bodie the torn and scattered limnes of our ancient and later navigations by sea.” To no writer does England owe so deep a debt of gratitude as to Richard Hakluyt.

In the fifteenth century William Botoner, better known as William of Worcester—the accomplished secretary of that doughty old warrior, Sir John Fastolf, of Caistor—gives us some insight into the activity and enterprise of one of our great seaports. He tells us of William Canyng, the merchant prince of Bristol, who, for many years, employed eight hundred seamen and one hundred artificers, and possessed ten ships which, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, traded to the Mediterranean, to the Baltic, and even to Iceland, where one of his vessels of 160 tons was lost. We hear also how Robert Sturmy, Mayor of Bristol, sent a ship to the Mediterranean in 1457, which was “spoilt by the Genoese,” for which wrong the Genoese in London were arrested and imprisoned until they made good the loss.

A book of sailing directions for the coasts from Scotland to Gibraltar was written in the fifteenth century, and has been preserved. At the time when the Portuguese vessels, under the auspices of Prince Henry, were slowly and cautiously creeping along the coast of Africa, dreading to be out of sight of land, English sailors had no such fears, but habitually faced the storms of the North Atlantic and made voyages to Iceland. They may have gone farther. A map of the coasts from the British Isles nearly to Cape Verde in Africa, was drawn in London in 1448, including the Azores and other islands in the Atlantic. It has recently been brought to the notice of geographers by Mr. Yule Oldham. Its author was a Venetian galley captain named Andrea Bianco, who is also well known as an accomplished cosmographer. In the margin of his map the outline of a coast is added, with the inscription—“An authentic island distant to the west 1500 miles” (“*Irola otinticha x longa a ponente 1500 mia*”). As the map was drawn in London, this new information was probably received there.

The distance might mean 1500 miles to the westward of the English coast, on about the parallel of London, where Bianco drew the map. The information would come from some expedition in the days of William Canyug.¹

About twenty years later, voyages of discovery began to be dispatched from Bristol, to discover or re-discover an island called Brazil, reported to be in the ocean to the westward of Ireland. William Botoner knew something about one of these voyages, because his brother-in-law, John Jay, took part in it. He says that the commander's name was Thyld, and that he was the most scientific seaman in all England. Sailing from the port of Bristol, on the 15th of July, 1480, he preceded Columbus by upwards of twelve years. His task, however, was far more difficult and perilous than that of the Genoese. Columbus merely ran down the trades in lovely weather. But Thyld and his gallant Englishmen, in a little vessel of 80 tons, had to battle against the gales of the North Atlantic in the roaring forties. They failed to discover land, but they deserved success. The time occupied by the voyages of Columbus and Thyld respectively was about the same, one sixty-nine and the other sixty-four days; but while the Spaniards enjoyed the pleasant weather of the trade wind, the English adventurers fought a brave fight against the mighty seas and adverse gales of the boisterous North Atlantic. Thyld returned to Bristol on the 18th of September; and we owe it to the accident that one of his crew was related to one out of the very few chroniclers of that time, that any record was preserved of the existence of the most scientific seaman in all England, or of his voyage of discovery. Other similar voyages followed; but the English sailors, in their more stormy latitudes, had no trade wind to carry them easily across the ocean; while Thyld, as a scientific observer, for a long time had no English successor. The unknown facts which led to the insertion of the coast-line on the margin of Andrea Bianco's map, possibly account for the subsequent efforts of Thyld and others to re-discover that land which they called Brazil. It seems certain, from what we are told by William Botoner, that such efforts were actually made.

The minds of English mariners were thus quite prepared for another attempt, when the news of the discoveries of Columbus

¹ Mr. Yule Oldham, however, suggests a Portuguese source for the information which induced Bianco to draw the outline on the margin of his map.

reached them. To those among them who were accustomed to sail from Bristol, a voyage of discovery to the westward was no new idea. When, therefore, a scientific Genoese seaman, with Venetian citizenship, named John Cabot, and his three sons, obtained letters patent for this discovery to the westward from Henry VII. in 1496, the voyage was made in a Bristol ship called the *Matthew*, with a crew of eighteen men, chiefly English seamen. The surgeon was a Genoese, and one of the men was a Burgundian. It is possible to gather a few particulars respecting this voyage from State papers, and from the letters of two Italian news' writers who were in London at the time. The *Matthew* sailed from Bristol in May, 1497, first steering northwards, after passing Ireland, and then westward for a month, during which time the vessel must have been set to the south. For, passing Newfoundland on the starboard hand, the first sight of land (the "*Prima Vista*") was obtained on St. John's Day, the 24th of June, 1497. The "*Prima Vista*" is shown on a map drawn in 1544 by John Cabot's son Sebastian, to be the northern end of Cape Breton. The explorers can only have remained a very short time on the newly discovered coast, for the *Matthew* had returned to Bristol by the end of July or first days of August. On the 10th of August, Henry VII. granted Cabot the munificent sum of £10.¹

The aspirations of Thylde and the other English explorers of the fifteenth century were thus at length realised. There was every encouragement to repeat the voyage, and on February 3rd, 1498, Henry VII. granted his second letters patent to John Cabot. Nothing whatsoever is known of the important second voyage of Cabot from any English source, except the facts that the expedition consisted of five vessels, and that it sailed from Bristol before the 25th of July, 1498. English seamen named Lancelot Thirkill and Thomas Bradley each received a loan of £30 from the king towards fitting out two of the ships. There was also a gratuity of £40 5s. to John Carter "going to the newe ile." Nothing more is recorded. We know nothing more of John Cabot, nor of the expedition, except that Captain Thirkill returned home—for he is again mentioned in a document dated June 6th, 1501. But when the Spanish pilot, Juan de la Cosa, produced his famous map in 1500,

¹ Mr. Harrisse disbelieves in the legend on the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544 (which is the authority for the "*Prima Vista*") both as regards the date and the place. He places the landfall of Cabot on the coast of Labrador in 51° 15' N.

he painted flags with the Red Cross of St. George to show the discoveries made by the English along the coasts of the New World, which extend from Cape Breton to a point which is probably Cape Hatteras. He calls these discoveries "Sea discovered by the English terminating to the north with the Cape of England." This grand achievement was the work of the expedition of 1498. The results, in the shape of a map, must have been obtained by the Spanish ambassador in London, forwarded to his government, and handed over to Juan de la Cosa as material for his great map. So it came to pass that the only record of the discoveries of the English Expedition of 1498 is preserved on the bullock's hide which now hangs in the navy office at Madrid.

This is a very striking example of the absence of materials for the history of English maritime adventure during its earlier development. The Cabot voyages are generally considered to mark an epoch; and to form the commencement of British maritime discovery. They did nothing of the kind. It has been seen that voyages of discovery preceded them; and they also followed them in quick succession. The importance of the Cabot voyages lies in their success, not in their forming a starting point. English maritime enterprise had been fully aroused half a century before letters patent were granted to Cabot, and its development steadily continued without any break. Three years after John Cabot disappeared from the scene, letters patent were granted for the discovery and settlement of what was called the "New Island" to Richard Ward, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas of Bristol, in conjunction with three natives of the Azores. In 1502, letters patent, for a fourth time, were granted to Hugh Eliot and Thomas Ashehurst; and Dr. Thorne tells us that his father, with another merchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of Newfoundland. Cabot, according to the legend on his son's map of 1544, had left it to the north, and discovered Cape Breton. The State Papers furnish incidental evidence that these and other voyages were actually made across the Atlantic. In 1503, we read of "one who brought hawks from Newfoundland," and in 1504, of "a Preste going to the New Islande." Another expedition returned in September, 1505.

Maritime discovery was a plant of slow but steady growth in England, established in a rich and fertile soil and destined to spread over the whole earth, to the benefit not only or chiefly of England,

but of all mankind. Progress was continuous. In 1505, the famous Company of Merchant Adventurers received their Charter and enlarged their commercial relations with the Low Countries and Germany; while the number of English ships trading to ports in the Mediterranean increased year by year. The voyage to the Levant occupied twelve months, and was beset by all kinds of perils, which were faced and overcome by the fighting seamen of London and Bristol.

Voyages to the westward were also continuous from the days of Canyng and Thyldre; and some record of at least two—which were made during the reign of Henry VIII.—has been preserved. In 1527 the king sent out two ships, the *Sampson* and *Mary of Guildford*, well manned and victualled, under the command of John Rut of Ratcliff, yeoman of the Crown, and having on board a canon of St. Paul's and "divers cunning men to seek strange regions." They sailed on the 10th of June; but the *Sampson* was cast away on the coast of Labrador, and the other vessel returned in the following October. The letter from John Rut to Henry VIII., dated at St. John's, Newfoundland, on August 3rd, 1527, is given by Purchas. In the same year, Master Grube, with two ships, reached Cape Race. Nine years after, in 1536, a voyage was undertaken by a number of gentlemen of the Inns of Court, led by Master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature, great courage, and learned in the science of cosmography. The expedition consisted of thirty gentlemen volunteers, including a son of Sir William Butts of Norfolk, and a hundred seamen, in two vessels, the *Trinity*, of 140 tons, and the *Minion*, commanded by Captain Wade. Sailing from Gravesend they reached Cape Breton, after a voyage of two months, and proceeded thence to an island which, in those days, was frequented by thousands of great auks. The men drove numbers of these helpless birds into their boats and took their eggs, finding them to be "very good and nourishing meat." Many Basque, Breton, and English vessels came every season, and the wholesale destruction of the birds brought about their extinction in less than two centuries. The exploring vessels were then on the coast of Newfoundland, and "great want of victuals" was brought about by inexperience and mismanagement. The young barristers began to eat each other, which induced Captain Wade to preach a sermon on the impropriety of such conduct. Eventually a French vessel came in sight and was seized

by the adventurers, who appropriated provisions sufficient to enable them to return to England. Hakluyt rode two hundred miles to obtain the particulars of this voyage from young Mr. Butts; and to his indefatigable perseverance we owe the preservation of records of this and other voyages, which would otherwise have been lost. They may be taken as enterprises typical of many long since forgotten.

The maritime enterprises of the days of Henry VIII. were not confined to these northern voyages. Hakluyt tells us how old Mr. William Hawkyns of Plymouth, who was much esteemed for his wisdom, valour, and skill in sea canoes, would not be contented with short voyages along the known coasts of Europe. He fitted out a tall and goodly ship of 250 tons, called the *Pole*, of Plymouth, and made three long and once famous voyages to Brazil, which, in those days, was an enterprise of very rare occurrence. His first voyage was in 1530, when he reached the Rio Cestos on the Grain Coast of Guinea, and took in elephants' teeth and other commodities. Thence he continued his voyage to the coast of Brazil, where he behaved with such prudence and judgment that he not only formed friendships with the natives, but even induced one of the chiefs to come to England. These three voyages of William Hawkyns were memorable, and others followed in his footsteps. Several wealthy merchants of Southampton sent ships to Brazil in 1540; and trade was carried on with the ports of Barbary from London. But one of the first voyages to Guinea was disastrous, owing to the inexperience, and perhaps to the misconduct, of the commander. The *Primrose* and *Lion* left Portsmouth in August, 1553, and returned with the loss of the captain and of a hundred men, out of one hundred and forty men forming the crews of the two ships.

These Guinea voyages were indeed very perilous in those days. Their commanders needed to be men of high qualifications—to be endowed with courage, patience, perseverance, zeal, and sympathy for their men. Long voyages, the ravages of scurvy, and bad provisions had certainly to be faced, besides the usual perils of the sea, and a probable encounter with a superior force of Portuguese. This was the training of most of the great naval officers of the Elizabethan age; and such a man appears to have been Captain John Lock, who commanded a fleet of three ships for the Guinea voyage, fitted out by merchants of London, in 1554. He exchanged his outward cargo

with the commodities of the country at a place four leagues to the east of Lamina. His journal describes the people and the climate, and contains notes on the variation of the compass and on the native products, such as gold, elephants' teeth, dragons' blood, and cinnabar. He suggested instructions for those who would make a voyage to Guinea. They should make a chart with the correct latitudes of places; learn what commodities belong to each port; what help may be depended upon from the natives; ascertain particulars respecting water-supply; and explore the country both along the coast and inland. The voyage of John Loek was followed, from 1555 to 1557, by three voyages sent to Guinea by a merchant of London, named William Towerson, his ships fighting the Portuguese successfully, and bringing back gold and ivory.

The meagre history which Hakluyt has thus preserved, proves that there was an increasing spirit of enterprise among the merchants and seamen of our principal seaports for at least a century before the formation of the great companies gave an additional and abiding impulse to maritime discovery. Nor was this spirit of adventure confined to those whose regular business it was to make trading ventures and to navigate distant seas. Young gentlemen from inland counties, barristers from the Inns of Court, and even a canon of St. Paul's, came forward as volunteers; while the policy of the Government was generally to give reasonable encouragement to these undertakings, by sharing in the ventures, by occasionally even fitting out expeditions, and eventually by granting charters.

Young Edward VI. appears to have taken a personal interest in the advancement of the maritime prosperity of his country, and in the science which is a necessary part of a seaman's education. During his reign Sebastian, the son of John Cabot, returned to England, after having served the Spanish Government for many years, been initiated into all the secrets of the hydrographic office at Seville, and been entrusted with the high position of Chief Pilot. He in fact deserted; and application was made for his surrender by the Emperor Charles V., which was refused because it was thought that his services would be useful to England. Sebastian was very young at the time of the voyages of John Cabot, and it is doubtful whether he accompanied his father. When he returned from Spain he was an old man, and he was welcomed as a learned cosmographer, possessed of the secrets of the Spanish Government. In reality, he was a treacherous intriguer, disloyal to all his employers,

alike to England as to Spain. But this was never known until the Venetian archives revealed it, centuries after his death. King Edward's government received him as a valuable acquisition, and granted him a pension.

When the monopoly of the foreign merchants of the Steelyard was withdrawn, the Company of Merchant Adventurers resolved to seek for new outlets for English manufactured goods, and, after much consideration, it was resolved that the vessels should be fitted out, to undertake a voyage to Cathay by the north-east. One of the leading promoters was Lord Howard of Effingham, father of the great admiral; and Sebastian Cabot was chosen as the first governor of the company. The choice of the commander for this expedition fell upon Sir Hugh Willoughby, a younger son of an ancient Nottinghamshire family. His portraits at Wollaton and in the painted hall at Greenwich, show us a tall, handsome man, with a small head and amiable expression of countenance. He had the title of captain-general, with his flag on board the *Bona Speranza*, of 120 tons. His second in command, on board the *Edward Bonaventure*, of 160 tons, was Richard Chancellor, an experienced seaman, who had already seen service in the Mediterranean. Stephen Borough was with Chancellor as master, and John Buckland as mate. The third vessel was the *Bona Confidentia*, of 90 tons. Rather elaborate ordinances and instructions were drawn up for Willoughby's expedition, borrowed from similar documents in the office of the Chief Pilot of Spain. One, as Mr. HARRISSE has pointed out, is copied from the instructions which the Council of the Indies prescribed, in 1523, to Cabot himself, for the expedition to the River Plate. In these instructions the captains were enjoined to enter daily in their journals the navigations of every day and night. The journals of the different ships were to be compared periodically, and, after debate and consultation, to be entered in a common ledger.

On the 20th of May, 1553, the three ships forming Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition were towed down the Thames by boats, with the crews dressed in sky-blue cloth. The ships saluted as they passed the royal palace of Greenwich, the roofs and towers of which were crowded with spectators. But the poor young king was too ill even to come to a window. The evidence points to his having been poisoned, probably not through criminal intent, but owing to ignorance and neglect. Five years of terror and mis-

government were to follow his death, during which period the sister he had loved so well was in deadly peril, expecting to be offered a sacrifice to bigotry and jealousy, "*tanquam ovis*," as she plaintively said. But then all the clouds cleared away, the sun appeared in its splendour, and the spirit of maritime enterprise was fostered for nearly half a century by the great queen.

As Willoughby's ships were towed down the river, great crowds



SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY, KT.

(Taken, by kind permission of Lord Middleton, from the picture, by an unknown artist, at Wallaton Hall, Notts.)

[Owing to the condition of this very interesting portrait, it has been found impossible to obtain a better reproduction of it than the one above given. The historical value of the print will excuse its imperfections.]

lined the banks, salutes were fired, and cheers resounded from the crews of all vessels at anchor. The fate of Willoughby's ship is well known. Sir Hugh came in sight of what is now called the "Goose Coast" of Novaya Zemlya, and afterwards took refuge in the Bay of Arzin ain Lapland. Here he and all his crew perished

during the following spring, after making some efforts to find habitations of the natives and to seek their aid. Chancellor was more fortunate. He succeeded in reaching the Russian settlement of Kholmogori on the White Sea, proceeded to Moscow, and returned safely to England in the autumn of 1554. Commercial relations were thus commenced with this distant and previously unknown country, which were kept open by vessels periodically dispatched to the White Sea by the Muscovy Company, the title by which it was henceforth known. For in February, 1555, it was granted a charter of incorporation by Philip and Mary, for the discovery of unknown lands.

In June, 1555, the company sent out two ships, the *Edward Bonaventure* and *Philip and Mary*, commanded by Richard Chancellor and John Howlet, with George Killingworth on board as the company's agent. The former ship proceeded to the White Sea, probably hearing of the sad fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby and his people at Vardö. On her return, the *Edward Bonaventure*, then in command of John Buckland, visited Arzina and took on board the body of Willoughby, and the papers and merchandise remaining in his ships. The *Edward Bonaventure* and *Philip and Mary* returned to the Thames in November. Mr. Harris has pointed out that Milton ('Brief History of Muscovia') was mistaken in supposing that the vessel with Willoughby's body on board was lost at sea. The same two ships were sent to the White Sea again, in 1556, and a third vessel was added, the *Searchthrift*, under Stephen Borough, with his brother William and a crew of eight men.

Stephen Borough appears to have been in chief command; and he left Gravesend on the 25th of April, 1556. Parting company with the two other ships off the entrance to the White Sea, the *Searchthrift* continued the explorations eastward, and Borough reached the mouth of the Pechora. On August 1st, 1556, he landed on the south-west coast of Novaya Zemlya, and explored the strait between that coast and Waigatsch island. He then proceeded to the White Sea, and wintered at Kholmogori, returning home in 1557.

Meanwhile, Chancellor had again been to Moscow, and returning with a Russian ambassador, embarked at Kholmogori on board the *Edward Bonaventure* in July, 1556. It was not until November that she arrived off Pitsligo, near Aberdeen, where she was driven

upon the rocks during a heavy gale. Chancellor, the experienced pilot and gallant seaman, perished in an attempt to reach the shore in a boat.

Then, from 1557 to 1572, followed the voyages of Anthony Jenkinson, an able negotiator and intrepid traveller. Jenkinson was the first Englishman to navigate the Caspian Sea. He penetrated as far as Kazvin and Bokhara, and obtained a new charter from the Tsar, for the Russia Company, in 1567.

There are reasons for paying special attention to the careers of Stephen and William Borough. They are the first in the long roll of illustrious seamen who commenced life in the merchant service, became distinguished as explorers, and ended as valuable officers of the Royal Navy. They began the establishment of the proof, which the experience of three centuries since their day has now completely demonstrated, that voyages of discovery are the best training-grounds for naval officers. They were the first to perceive that the only point in which English seamen were then inferior to Spaniards or Portuguese was in scientific knowledge; and the elder Borough was the first to seek a remedy.

Stephen and William Borough were born at Borough in the parish of Northam, near Bideford. After Stephen returned from the White Sea in 1557, he induced Richard Eden to translate the 'Arte de Navegar,' of Martin Cortes, the navigation text-book of the Spaniards, into English. He thus secured the means whereby our seamen could obtain instruction. In 1563 he received the appointment of Chief Pilot in the Medway, and assumed the duty of instructing and examining seamen in the art of navigation. This meritorious officer died in July, 1584, in his sixtieth year, and was buried at Chatham. His brother William's services were of the same character. He was ten years younger than Stephen, and he continued to serve the Russia Company in voyages to the White Sea. In 1570 he commanded a fleet bound for Narva in the Baltic. The brothers had been attentive in observing the variation of the compass during the voyage of 1556, and in 1581 William Borough published his 'Discourse of Variation of the Compass.' In 1583 he became Comptroller of the Navy, and two years afterwards he commanded the fleet which conveyed the Earl of Leicester from Harwich to Flushing. He constructed charts and prepared sailing directions, besides serving with Drake at Cadiz, and under Lord Howard against the Spanish Armada. Such were the services of

these two brothers, who received their training in expeditions of discovery.

But they were only the two first among that galaxy of explorers and discoverers who created the English navy and saved England. They were the first, but their compeers Drake and Hawkins were perhaps the greatest as commanders in war and as administrators in time of peace. John, the son of that famous old William Hawkins of the Brazil voyages, was born in 1532, and in his youth made divers voyages to the Canary Islands, where he obtained much information respecting the trade of the West Indies. He heard, among other things, that there was a great demand for negroes at St. Domingo and in the Spanish Main, and that they could easily be obtained in Guinea. His plan was approved by several London capitalists, as well as by Mr. Benjamin Gonson, the Treasurer of the Navy, who became the father-in-law of the young adventurer, probably before he sailed.

John Hawkins was thirty years of age in 1562, when he received command of three ships, the *Solomon*, of 120 tons, the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, and the small barque *Jonas*. The orders he gave to his sailors were:—"Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals; beware of fire; and keep good company." Proceeding to Sierra Leone, he got on board, partly by force and partly by other means, as many as three hundred negroes, besides other merchandise. Crossing the Atlantic, he visited the ports of Isabela, Puerto de Plata, and Monte Christi, on the north coast of the island of Santo Domingo. He disposed of all his negroes, and received in exchange so valuable a cargo that he returned home in September, 1563, with much profit, both to himself and to the merchant adventurers who fitted out the expedition. But Hakluyt was only able to get but a brief account of the first West Indian voyage of John Hawkins.

The story of the second voyage of John Hawkins is well told by John Sparke the younger, who was on board one of the ships as a volunteer. On the 18th of October, 1564, four vessels, named the *Jesus of Lübeck*, of 700 tons, the *Solomon*, of 140 tons, and the *Tiger* and *Swallow* of 50 and 30 tons respectively, sailed from Plymouth under the command of Hawkins, who proceeded, as on the previous voyage, to the Coast of Africa, and in January, 1565, made sail from Sierra Leone for the West Indies with a cargo of slaves. After touching at Dominica and other islands, Hawkins anchored off Burburata on the coast of Venezuela. Here he was

told that the Spaniards were forbidden to trade with any other nation; but the authorities agreed to supply him with provisions and water; and in the end Hawkins also received payment for a number of his negroes. At Rio de la Hacha, by a display of force, Hawkins again obliged the Spaniards to trade with him, and thus disposed of more negroes.

On the 31st of May, 1565, the English adventurers departed from the South American coast, sighted Jamaica and Cuba, and



SIR JOHN HAWKYN, KT.

(From the *Herologia*.)

arrived at the river in Florida where the French, under Laudonier, had built a fort. Hawkins found these settlers in want of provisions, and presented them with supplies of meal and beans, and also with one of his barques, to help them on their return. Taking leave of the Frenchmen, Hawkins began his homeward voyage on the 28th of July, and arrived at Padstow on the 20th of September, 1565. This second voyage of Hawkins was also profitable, and encouraged the adventurers to tempt fortune a third time.

Hawkyns sailed from Plymouth on the 2nd of October, 1567, with a fleet consisting of the *Jesus of Lübeck*, lent by the queen, the *Minion*, the *Judith*, of 50 tons, and two small barques; and in command of the *Judith* was his renowned cousin, Francis Drake. The needy vicar of Upchurch on the Medway, driven by persecution from his native Devonshire, found it hard to bring up several sons, and Francis was apprenticed to the master of a small vessel which traded along the coast, and across the Channel to Zealand and France. As a boy of twelve or thirteen, he might have seen, and probably did see, the fleet of Sir Hugh Willoughby go down the river, and he probably joined in the cheering. He was such a good and honest lad that the old sailor who owned the coasting vessel bequeathed it to his apprentice on his death. This was the small beginning of Drake's fortune. He continued in the same business for several years, but in 1565 he made a voyage with Captain John Lovell to the West Indies, which was disastrous, and caused ruinous loss to young Drake. He was, therefore, glad to receive command of the little *Judith* in the fleet of his relative.

Pursuing his former course of procedure, Hawkyns went first to the coast of Africa, took between four hundred and five hundred negroes on board, and sailed with them for the West Indies, arriving at Dominica on the 27th of March, 1568. He seems to have found no difficulty in inducing the Spaniards on the coast of Venezuela to trade with him, except at Rio de la Hacha and Cartagena. At the former place Hawkyns found it necessary to land his men and take the town by storm before its citizens could be induced to enter into commercial relations, but after that decisive step, they came by night and purchased two hundred negroes from the English. Leaving Cartagena on the 24th of July, and commencing the homeward-bound voyage, the adventurers encountered a hurricane off the west end of Cuba, which lasted four days, and the *Jesus* sprung a leak. This was followed by another gale, and Hawkyns was obliged to seek a refuge for his battered ships in the bay of Vera Cruz on the coast of Mexico, on the 16th of September.

Hawkyns made a request to the Audience of Mexico, which was in charge of the government until the new viceroy should arrive, that, having been driven to the anchorage of San Juan de Ulloa by stress of weather, he might be supplied with provisions and allowed to depart peaceably. Meanwhile, the Spanish fleet arrived, having on board the new viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Henriquez. The

viceroy made an agreement with the English commander that his ships should be provisioned; the fleets saluted each other, and amity was apparently established. But the Spaniards intended treachery, and at a given signal a general attack was suddenly made on the English ships. The *Minion* slipped her cables, hauled away on a sternfast, and thus escaped from the first assault. The *Jesus* was next attacked, but she also hauled out, and both the English ships got to a distance of two ships' lengths from their Spanish assailants. Then a heavy fire was opened on the *Jesus* from a battery on shore, and her masts and yards were so cut about that all hope was abandoned of getting her out to sea. She was left to her fate, while the *Minion*, hastily taking Hawkyns on board, made sail, followed by some of the survivors of the crew of the *Jesus* in a boat. The rest were slaughtered. The *Minion* and *Judith* put to sea, but parted company next day. The *Minion* was thus crowded with men, while the provisions had run short, and there was no possibility of feeding so many. After sailing about for several days in the Gulf of Mexico, she was anchored off the coast, near Tampico. The unfortunate people, pressed by hunger, demanded to be put on shore. There was no alternative. A hundred men were landed, and Hawkyns commenced the voyage home with about a hundred survivors, who died in great numbers from scurvy and famine. Some relief was obtained from English ships in Vigo Bay, and on the 25th of January, 1569, the battered *Minion*, with her suffering crew, was anchored in Mount's Bay.

The men who were put on shore on the coast of Mexico were made prisoners, and were at first treated with humanity, but the Inquisition was established at Mexico in 1570, and the most horrible atrocities were committed on the English captives. Only two, named David Ingram and Miles Philips, ever returned home, and their accounts of the cruelties of the Inquisition, and of the terrible sufferings of themselves and their comrades, sent a thrill of horror through the land. Both Hawkyns and Drake vowed vengeance, and they were men who kept their word.

John Hawkyns had thus received his training in the conduct of difficult and perilous adventures by sea. The rest of his life was devoted to the naval service of his country. This great sea captain acquired his rare qualifications during his long service in exploring voyages to the Canaries, to the coast of Africa, and to the West Indies.

The captain of the *Judith* was ten years younger than his cousin Hawkyns, and was resolved to see more of the West Indies. The treatment of his comrades who had been forced to land at Tampico made Francis Drake an implacable enemy of the Spaniards. Whether there was peace or war between England and Spain, there was henceforth to be unceasing war between Drake and the countrymen of the Spanish Inquisitors. In 1570, Drake made a voyage to the West Indies with two small vessels, called the *Dragon* and *Swan*, and in 1571 he went out in the *Swan* alone. He was collecting information and maturing his plans for a hostile expedition on a more considerable scale.

When he returned to Plymouth, he began to make a very careful selection of young able-bodied seamen to form the crews of two vessels, forty-seven men and boys for one, and twenty-six for the other. A year's provisions were taken on board, and three pinnaces were specially constructed, to be taken out in pieces. The *Pasha*, of 70 tons, was commanded by Drake himself, and the *Swan*, of 25 tons, by his brother John. They sailed from Plymouth on the 24th of May, 1572, and Drake shaped a course for the Spanish Main, until he sighted the high land about Santa Marta. He seems to have known of a small unfrequented bay, which he called "Port Pheasant," and here his ships were anchored, and the pinnaces were put together. He was joined by a barque belonging to Cowes, with a crew of thirty men, under the command of a seaman named James Reuse.

Drake's scheme was desperate; but it was very carefully planned. He intended to attack Nombre de Dios in the pinnaces, the point on the isthmus to which all the wealth of Peru converged for shipment to Europe. The three pinnaces came silently before the town in the dead of night. At three in the morning of the 22nd of July, the English, landing, captured a battery of six brass guns, and spiked them. Unluckily a gunner escaped and alarmed the town. When Drake entered the market-place at the head of his men, the Spaniards opened fire, but were put to flight. John Oxenham, Drake's trusty lieutenant, found an immense heap of silver bars in the treasure-house. The gallant commander of the expedition had, however, been severely wounded. He fainted from loss of blood, was carried down to his pinnace, and taken to an island where he might be cured of his wound. Here the ships joined them, and Reuse parted company to return home with his share of the spoils.

Drake continued to harass the Spaniards. His brother John was killed in boarding an enemy's ship, and another brother Joseph died of fever with twenty-eight of the men, but several prizes were captured in the autumn of 1572.

During these closing months of the year, the active brain of the illustrious leader was elaborating a plan for crossing the isthmus of Darien, and intercepting the train of treasure mules. He made his preparations with great care. He had succeeded in opening friendly relations with a chief of the Cimarrones or runaway slaves named Pedro, and he selected the best of his own men. His expedition finally consisted of eighteen picked English seamen and thirty Cimarrones, and he started for the journey across the isthmus on the 3rd of February, 1573. The way led through dense tropical forests, up steep declivities, and along rocky water-courses. On the 11th, they reached the top of a hill on which, the narrative tells us, there was "a goodlie and great high tree." Francis Drake climbed into the branches by means of notches cut in the trunk, and, for the first time, beheld the South Sea stretching away to the western horizon. His mind was filled with enthusiasm, and when he reached the ground he knelt down and besought God "to give him life and leave once to sail an English ship on that sea."

The little party had reached the water-parting of the isthmus. They now began to force their way through the almost impervious tangle of forest vegetation until at length they came in sight of the city of Panama. Drake had intelligence that eight mules laden with gold were about to make their way from Panama to Nombre de Dios. He secreted his men near the roadside, and after about an hour the tinkling of the leading mule's bell was heard. One of the seamen, unable longer to restrain his excitement, dashed forward. This prevented the plan of a surprise, but Drake was not to be beaten. He got his little force in order, and boldly attacked the escort. The Spaniards were seized with panic and fled, leaving their precious charge in the hands of the victors. Drake then re-crossed the isthmus and, near Nombre de Dios, captured another train of 109 mules, each carrying 300 pounds of silver. The quantity was so great that only a portion could be taken away.

When Drake came down to the appointed place of embarkation he found that, instead of his pinnaces, there were seven armed Spanish boats at anchor in the bay. It is on such occasions that



mezzotinto

W. Hill del.

*Mr. Francis Drake, Adm.
from the Engraving by W. Hill after a picture in the possession of Lady M. Drake*

the value of a training in exploring expeditions is brought out. Men have to decide on the instant, when one false step would be fatal. The habit of alertness and presence of mind is acquired; and the necessary training cannot be secured by study and exercise, but only by long service in the midst of perils and difficulties and of sudden emergencies. Taking every precaution that his people should be neither seen nor heard, Drake led them quietly down to a part of the bay which was concealed from the Spaniards by a jutting point. Here they built a raft and embarked to search for their comrades with a bread-bag for a sail, and the branch of a young tree for a rudder. They were up to their middles in water, but the ships were found, and Drake prepared for the homeward voyage after dismissing the faithful Cimarrones loaded with presents.

Drake returned to Plymouth on the 9th of August, 1593, and found himself a rich man. He served for some years in Ireland, and on his return he was, through the good offices of Sir Christopher Hatton, presented to the great queen.

John Oxenham was not so patient. He was devoted to the service of Drake, whom he had accompanied through all the stirring incidents of his marvellous voyage to the isthmus, but, while waiting for his old master, he must needs scrape together money from among his Devonshire friends, fit out a small vessel of 140 tons at Plymouth, and start on an expedition of his own in 1575. Proceeding to the same place on the isthmus he heard from the Cimarrones that, since Drake's incursion, the mule trains were guarded by much larger escorts. So he conceived the project of embarking on the South Sea and intercepting the treasure ships before they reached Panama. Oxenham concealed his ship in a creek and buried his guns. He then made his way across the isthmus with all his crew and a large body of Cimarrones. On reaching a river flowing into the Pacific, trees were felled, timbers were shaped, and a pinnace was built, with forty-five feet length of keel. On board this little craft Oxenham and his intrepid followers sailed down the river and across the bay to one of the Pearl Islands, thus being the first Englishmen to navigate the Pacific Ocean. They captured two vessels from Callao and Guayaquil laden with treasure, but Oxenham committed the fatal mistake of allowing the crews to depart and give the alarm. The English returned to the isthmus and went up the river where the pinnace had been built, on their way to their own ship on the other side. Meanwhile, an expedition in pursuit,

consisting of a hundred soldiers under Don Juan de Ortega, was sent from Panama to surprise them. Ortega reached the delta of the river, but he was at a loss which mouth to enter, for it discharged its waters into the sea by three channels. Presently a quantity of feathers of plucked fowls came floating down one of them. Ortega at once went up that channel, and on the fourth day came to the pinnacle with only six men in her. Soon the Spaniards discovered where the booty was concealed, and were returning to their boats, when they were overtaken by Oxenham and the main body. The fearless Englishman led on a desperate attack, and his men fought with impetuous valour. But they were overpowered by numbers. Eleven were killed, and twelve, including the gallant leader, were captured and sent to Lima. All were put to death except two boys. It was a sad ending for an exploit almost without an equal in the annals of maritime daring. Its reckless audacity has been condemned, though it is a quality which should be fostered and encouraged, for it has made England the mistress of the sea. It must be remembered too that Oxenham and his men showed that, although they knew no fear and counted no odds, they, and especially their leader, had the minds to plan out an undertaking of extreme difficulty, and to execute it with skill and foresight. Above all we should be proud that the cause of their disaster was their generous humanity. If they had done to their prisoners what the Spaniards did to theirs, they would have returned home safely with their little ship laden with treasure. The training of an explorer alone could have enabled Oxenham to achieve what he did. The noble attribute of mercy to the vanquished caused his failure and death.

While Drake, fired by the sight of the South Sea from the tall tree on Darien, was dreaming of a great voyage round the world, the attention of some of his brother adventurers was turned to the discovery of a way to the Indies by the north-west. Michael Lok was a leading spirit in advocating an attempt; and the bold Yorkshireman who commanded the expedition was fortunate in having a man on board who was so well able to give an interesting account of his voyages. Mr. George Best knew what he was writing about, for he had "applied himself wholly to the study of cosmographie and the secrets of navigation." He tells us that Captain Martin Frobiser fitted out two very small vessels—the *Gabriel* of 25, and the *Michael* of 20, tons—and sailed on the 1st

of July, 1576, to attempt a passage which has baffled all the skill, energy, and devotion of later times. After a stormy voyage Frobiser sighted high and rugged land, with great store of ice along the coast, which he judged to be the Friesland described by the Venetian brothers Zeni at the end of the fourteenth century. In reality it was the east coast of Greenland, near Cape Farewell. Here the pinnace was lost with four men. The *Michael* deserted her consort and went home; but Frobiser, in the little *Gabriel*, continued his westward course. He crossed what was afterwards called Davis' Strait, and sighted "Queen Elizabeth's Forlande" on the 20th of July. On this voyage Frobiser discovered the deep bay, long called a strait, which bears his name. He returned in August, 1596, bringing home a shining piece of stone, from which the gold-finders "promised great matters." This was fortunate, for it led to the dispatch of two more expeditions under Frobiser. It often happens that such searches for "El Dorado," Prester John, or even for ores existing only in the imaginations of assayers, lead to important geographical discoveries, or, at all events, to voyages being undertaken which form an admirable nursery for seamen; "which things," says Mr. George Best most truly, "are of so great importance as, being well wayed, may seem to countervail the adventurers' charges."

Frobiser's second expedition consisted of three vessels—the *Aid* of 200 tons, with the commander of the expedition himself on board; lieutenant, George Best; master, Christopher Hall; and mate, Charles Jackman. The *Gabriel* was commanded by Captain Edward Fenton, and the *Michael* by Gilbert Yorke. Sailing on the 26th of May, 1577, they anchored in Kirkwall Bay to send home letters, and sighted the coast supposed to be Friesland on the 4th of July. Proceeding onward to the land discovered in the previous year, a more careful survey was made of Frobiser's (Strait) Bay: the names of Yorke and Jackman were given to sounds, and that of the master, Christopher Hall, to an island. During this second voyage only one man was lost.

On Frobiser's return it was found that the assayers and goldsmiths had become more excited than ever over the worthless, though glittering, bits of mica, and adventurers were ready to equip a large fleet to seek for more. The queen named the country discovered by Frobiser "Meta Incognita," and, in the spring of 1578, that valorous commander found himself at the head of an

expedition consisting of no less than fifteen vessels. As his companions we again find Fenton, Yorke, and Best, besides others not unknown to naval fame, Carew, Courtenay, Newton, Kendal, Kinnersley. Edward Sellman was the historian of the third voyage.

Much experience in ice navigation was acquired during this third voyage. Frobiser himself landed on the coast of Greenland, which he still called Friesland, and obtained some dogs from the natives—the first communication with Greenland Eskimos since the days of the Norsemen. He called some high land near Cape Farewell “Charing Cross.” Jackman, who was chief pilot of the fleet, succeeded in guiding the ships through all the perils of floes and icebergs in the strait, though Captain Fenton was beset for twenty days and in great danger. The “*Meta Incognita*” was farther explored in several directions; and a small house was built on an island named after the Countess of Warwick. The American explorer Hall discovered its remains in July, 1861. The ships returned home, and by that time it had been ascertained that the glittering stones were rubbish. The most distinguished of the ice navigators, Frobiser and Fenton, did good service ten years afterwards at the repulse of the Spanish Armada.

Charles Jackman, who had served as a pilot in two of Frobiser's voyages, continued his Arctic work. It was resolved once more to attempt the north-east passage, and two little vessels set out in the spring of 1580, named the *George* and the *William*, under the command of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman. Mr. Hugh Smith wrote the account of their gallant but ill-fated enterprise. Doubling the North Cape on the 22nd of June, they parted company off Keger to rendezvous at Waigatsch. They attempted to enter the Kara Sea, but were stopped by the ice, and in returning westward they again parted company. The *George* returned to the Thames in November. The *William* wintered on the coast of Norway and, sailing for England in February, 1581, was never again heard of.

This was nearly the last attempt by the north-east, but an interest was maintained in the north-west passage by such eloquent appeals as the ‘Discourse’ of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the ‘Hydrographical Description’ of John Davis.

Uniting the qualities of a daring seaman and a skilful pilot to those of a scientific scholar, Davis was, in some respects, one of the most notable of Queen Elizabeth's marine worthies. He was a

native of Dartmouth, and the neighbour and friend of the Gilberts and of Raleigh, so that an ardent zeal for northern discovery was early implanted in his breast. Through the munificence of Mr. William Sanderson, a wealthy London merchant of the Fishmongers' Company, Davis was enabled to equip two vessels for a northern expedition of discovery—the *Sunshine* of 50, and the *Moonshine* of 35 tons. Sailing from Dartmouth in June, 1585, Davis touched on the coast of Greenland and acquired experience in ice navigation. Returning in September, he started on a second voyage in May, 1586, returning in August. Undaunted by failure he induced his employers to fit out a third expedition, this time consisting of three vessels—the *Elizabeth*, *Sunshine*, and a small pinnace of 20 tons called the *Ellen*.

The third was the most important of the three Arctic voyages of John Davis. Being very anxious to make it remunerative to his generous and enterprising employers, he sent the two larger vessels to fish, while he prosecuted his discoveries along the coast of Greenland on board the little twenty-ton pinnace. He sailed northwards, in an open sea, until he reached $72^{\circ} 12''$ N., where he named a lofty, and now well-known, headland, "Sanderson, his hope of a north-west passage." He reached this point on the 30th June, 1587, hoping to proceed on a prosperous voyage. But soon afterwards he was beset in the ice for several days, which diverted him from his course, and he sailed across the strait that bears his name, returning safely to Dartmouth in September, 1587. Davis did a great work in the course of these three voyages. He discovered Davis' Strait; he lighted the way to others who were destined to penetrate farther north and farther west; he set a bright example of scientific skill, consummate seamanship and dauntless gallantry which was followed by numerous successors; and he firmly believed in the possibility of making the voyage under more favourable circumstances, as he stated in an interesting letter, which has been preserved, to his old friend Francis Drake.

Ten years before Davis commenced his Arctic voyages, Francis Drake had returned from his Irish service resolved to put his plans into execution. For his dreams of navigating English ships in the South Sea had become solid and carefully thought out plans. His age in 1577 was thirty-seven. He had been at sea nearly all his life. He had received the training of an explorer, and was a thorough seaman and a scientific pilot. He was a wise and prudent

commander. He carefully collected all available information, and weighed every argument before deciding upon a line of action. He carried his designs into execution with dauntless courage, but he always remained cool, and his presence of mind never deserted him. He respected the personal property of an enemy. His men felt absolute confidence in his judgment and sense of justice. They knew that he sympathised with them and understood their feelings. They loved him, and would follow him anywhere. Technically the Spaniards were entitled to apply the term "Corsario" to the renowned "Francisco Drague," whom they feared and hated: at least until 1585. But to call him a pirate in the ordinary acceptation of the term conveys an entirely false impression.

The proposal of Francis Drake to navigate the South Sea, in spite of the Spaniards, received the support of several great men at court, especially of Sir Christopher Hatton, who was the renowned sailor's most active friend. Funds were therefore raised for the equipment of five vessels. Drake himself sailed in the *Pelican*, of 100 tons, as general. He was surrounded with some state, keeping a good table, with music playing during dinner, and having several gentlemen volunteers as his messmates. Among them was his youngest brother and heir, Thomas Drake. He had already lost two other brothers, John and Joseph, in the West Indies. The second ship of 80 tons was the *Elizabeth*, commanded by John Wynter, with William Markham, a younger son of Markham of Sedgebrook in Lincolnshire, and surnamed the "Otter Hunter," as master. The *Marygold*, commanded by John Thomas, was a vessel of 30 tons; the *Swan*, under John Chester, was a fly-boat of 50 tons; and there was a little pinnace of 15 tons called the *Christopher*. Drake's famous expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577.

The fleet shaped a course for the Cape Verde Islands, and, after leaving them, Drake steered southward into a region quite unknown to Englishmen. For fifty-five days they were out of sight of land, and during three weeks in the equatorial calms there was great heat, the line being crossed on the 7th of February, 1578. Drake attended personally to the health of the men, making regular inspections and seeing that they were suitably clothed and fed. He also took the precaution of bleeding them before encountering the great heat of the equator. In all these respects he showed the qualities of a great commander, and in some points he was in

advance of his age. The fearful ravages of scurvy in those days were of course mainly due to ignorance, partly also to overcrowding; and this seems to have been suspected; for commanders sometimes thought that they would escape sickness by having their vessels under-manned. Still, much saving of life might doubtless have been effected by close personal attention on the part of the commander to the comforts of the men; and in this respect Drake was distinguished above all the seamen of his time.

At length the terraced shores of Patagonia came in sight, and the little fleet anchored in Port St. Julian. Fifty-seven years before, Magellan had suppressed a mutiny at this very place with violence, treachery, and bloodshed. Knowing that the captain of one of his ships was disaffected, he sent an officer to him with a letter and with orders to stab him while he was reading it. This was done; and he ordered another captain to be strangled. The two bodies were quartered, while a third captain and a priest were turned adrift on the shore to die of starvation. Francis Drake, unfortunately, had to deal with a similar matter, but he did so in a different spirit. One of the gentlemen volunteers, named Thomas Doughty, was accused of insubordination and mutiny. He was an accomplished gentleman and a scholar, but he was also a "sea lawyer," striving to stir up discontent; and the success of his machinations would, at the very least, have led to the failure of the enterprise. He received a fair trial, and was found guilty of mutiny by a jury. He was executed with all proper formality, after receiving the sacrament with Drake from Mr. Fletcher, the chaplain. Drake's own feeling towards Doughty was friendly, but, in the isolated and somewhat hazardous position of the fleet, he came to the conclusion, undoubtedly with reluctance, that the execution of a just sentence was necessary for the safety of the people entrusted to his charge, and for the success of the enterprise. He afterwards spoke kindly, and even in praise, of the deceased. Doughty's young brother, who was in the general's own ship, continued to mess at Drake's table and to be treated in all respects as the other gentlemen volunteers. It was a melancholy business, but the emergency was met by Drake with coolness, firmness, and moderation. It was unfortunate, also, that a skirmish with the natives resulted in the death of Robert Wynter, a brother of the captain of the *Elizabeth*, and of the master gunner.

The fleet left Port St. Julian and, steering south along the

Patagonian coast, came in sight of the land at the northern side of Magellan's Strait, which that commander had named the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, having come in sight of it on the 21st of October, 1520, St. Ursula's day. On entering the strait, being the third navigator to do so since Magellan, on the 20th of August, 1578, Drake changed the name of his ship from the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind*, in honour of his patron Sir Christopher Hatton, whose crest was a hind statant Or.

Drake took his fleet through the strait in sixteen days, Magellan having taken thirty-one days in the same navigation. The English sailors obtained plenty of fresh provisions. In one day three thousand penguins were killed on an island which Drake named after the queen. There was also some friendly intercourse with the natives. Emerging into the South Sea on the 6th of September, the fleet encountered a terrific storm. The little *Marygold* was never heard of again. The *Golden Hind* was driven far to the south, and when the gale moderated, Drake landed on an island at the extreme south of Tierra del Fuego. Although the Dutch were the first to sail round Cape Horn in 1615, Francis Drake, undoubtedly discovered that famous island. He named it, and the adjacent islets, the Elizabethides.

The *Elizabeth* ran back into the strait and, after some hesitation, Captain Wynter resolved to return home, despairing of being able to join his consorts again. This decision was made we are told "full sore again the mariners' minds." Wynter remained three weeks in the strait to recruit the strength of his men, and during his sojourn he collected some aromatic bark from an evergreen tree since named by Foster *Drimys Winteri*. He used it on the voyage home as a remedy for scurvy, and the remedy, still known as a useful tonic, has ever since been called "Winter's bark." The *Elizabeth* arrived safely at Ilfracombe.

The small pinnace *Christopher*, with a crew of only eight men, was also driven out of sight of the other ships by the force of the storm. The crew got back into the strait, killed and salted many penguins, and eventually brought the little *Christopher* into the River Plate. Here she was dashed to pieces on some rocks. Six of the crew were killed by the natives. The two survivors, named Peter Curden and William Pitcher, lived on crabs and wild berries for two months, at the end of which time Pitcher died, and his comrade buried him in the sand. After nine months, Peter Curden almost miraculously

found his way back to his native land, and related his marvellous adventures.

The *Golden Hind* was now left alone to complete the wonderful voyage of circumnavigation. Drake proceeded along the west coast of America, with the intention of waging a war of retribution on the Spanish settlements and shipping. This resolution would have been still more firmly fixed in his mind if he had known of the cruel fate of his gallant lieutenant John Oxenham and his men. But the news had not yet arrived when Drake sailed from Plymouth.

Having obtained supplies at the island of Mochoa, off the coast of Chile, and at Valparaiso, the *Golden Hind* appeared off Callao, the seaport of Lima, the capital of Peru, and residence of the viceroy. Drake there found seventeen loaded Spanish vessels, and, having obtained tidings of the recent departure for Panama of a richly freighted ship called the *Cacafucyo*, he proceeded in chase.

His unexpected appearance at Callao caused the utmost consternation. The viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, a younger son of the Count of Oropesa, was astonished. No one had ever passed through the strait since the days of Magellan and Loaysa,¹ and that English ships should have the audacity to make such a voyage had never been conceived possible. All the fancied security of the west coast of America was gone, and a new and quite unexpected state of affairs had to be faced. The viceroy Toledo was a cruel and heartless politician. He was red-handed with the blood of young Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, and with the blood of John Oxenham and his gallant comrades. At the same time he was a statesman of considerable ability. His first step was to fit out two armed vessels, and to send them to Panama in pursuit of the *Golden Hind*. But it was too late. He then resolved to have Magellan's Strait properly surveyed, with a view to its fortification, and to preventing the passage of any more English ships into the South Sea.

For this service he selected the ablest officer in Peru. Don Pedro Sarmiento had served under Mendana in the discovery of the Solomon Islands. He had accompanied the viceroy in his great tour of inspection through all the provinces of his government, had constructed maps of Peru, and had written a history of the Incas.

¹ Garcia de Loaysa and Sebastian del Cano passed through the strait in 1526. Simon de Alcazava entered it in 1535, but he was murdered by his men, and his ships never got through.

Toledo prepared elaborate, but judicious, instructions, and entrusted Sarmiento with the command of the expedition. No better man could have been found. He was a scientific seaman, devoted to his duties, and true as steel. He made a careful survey of the channels leading from the Gulf of Trinidad, and of the Strait of Magellan; and he then proceeded to Spain and strongly recommended that the narrow channel near the eastern entrance should be fortified, and that a colony should be established to raise provisions, in connection with the garrisons. His plan was approved by King Philip II., a large fleet was fitted out, and colonists were put on board. But the business was shamefully mismanaged, owing to the command being given to an incapable and jealous officer, while Sarmiento was to be kept without power until he actually landed on the shore of the strait. At length, however, Sarmiento was put on shore, with the survivors of the colonists and with a small remnant of the supplies intended for them. Two towns were founded; but food ran short, and Sarmiento returned to Brazil for help. His subsequent efforts were all thwarted, until at length he was taken prisoner by a ship belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, and brought to England. No succour was sent to the colonists, who perished of starvation and misery. These events were the direct consequences of Drake's appearance in the South Sea.

While the viceroy Toledo was elaborating these defensive schemes, which were destined to terminate so tragically, Drake was pursuing his successful career. He crossed the line on the 28th of February, 1579, sighted the chase off Cape San Francisco, on the coast of the province of Quito, and soon came to close quarters. A defence was attempted by the *Cacafuego*; but one of her masts was shot away, and she was captured by boarding. The prize yielded eighty pounds' weight of gold, thirteen chests of coined silver, and a quantity of bar silver and precious stones, the whole value being £90,000. A few days afterwards another Spanish ship laden with linen, silks, and china dishes, was overhauled. Drake made prize of the cargo, but not of the private property of the owner, Don Francisco de Zarate, who was himself on board. He did not, as is asserted in Barrow's 'Life of Drake,' rob from the owner's person a golden ornament in the shape of a falcon, with a large emerald set in its breast. A most interesting letter has quite recently been found at Seville, from this very Don Francisco de Zarate to the Viceroy of Mexico, giving an account of the capture

of the ship. Here we learn the truth, which was, that Drake did nothing of the kind alleged. Zarate wrote that Drake exchanged a sword with a costly hilt, and a silver chafing-dish, for certain toys of his, and he added: "I promise you I did not lose by the bargain."

The whole passage, in Zarate's letter, relating to Drake and his ship is extremely interesting. He wrote:

"The English general is about thirty-five years of age, short of stature, with a red beard, and one of the best sailors that sail the seas, both in respect to boldness and to capacity for command. His ship is of near 100 tons burden, with a hundred men on board, all young and of an age for battle, and all drilled as well as the oldest veterans of our army of Italy. Each one is bound to keep his arquebus clean. Drake treats them all with affection, and they him with respect. He also has with him nine or ten gentlemen, the younger sons of great people in England. Some of them are in his counsels, but he has no favourite. These sit at his table, and he is served in silver plate with a coat of arms engraved on the dishes; and music is played at his dinner and supper. The ship carries about thirty pieces of artillery, and plenty of ammunition and warlike stores."

This is the testimony of a stranger and an enemy, and is particularly valuable because it gives us a glimpse of the internal economy of the *Golden Hind*. We get some idea of the general's personal appearance, of the sort of state that was observed at his meals, of the discipline he maintained, of his relations with his men, and of the ship's armament. The *Golden Hind* was evidently kept like a man-of-war, with all the order and discipline of a queen's ship, and as efficient as she could be made by an able commander, working with a zealous and willing crew.

After the capture of the two valuable prizes, Drake shaped a course for the west coast of Mexico, and anchored in the port of Guatulco, where he took in water and fresh provisions. He then steered northwards, intending to try whether it were possible to find a passage home along the northern shores of America. He had punished the Spaniards for their treachery at Vera Cruz, and for their cruelty to the shipwrecked English sailors who fell into their hands. He had enriched himself and his friends. His voyage now became one of geographical discovery northwards, beyond the farthest limit known to the Spaniards. In 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo had been as far as Cape Mendocino, in 40° N. on the Californian coast. Drake, sailing onward, succeeded in reaching the 48th parallel, having thus discovered 480 miles of a new region, to which he gave the name of New Albion. Want of provisions obliged him to give up the project of exploring farther in that direction, and to shape a course for the Ladrone Islands. He therefore resolved to circum-

navigate the globe. During a voyage of sixty-eight days, without seeing land, Drake crossed the Pacific. At length he reached one of the Pelew Islands, and on the 4th of November, 1579, he arrived at Ternate. He refitted at an island near Celebes, and in the course of some intricate navigation the ship grounded on a shoal, but was got off after an anxious day. On January 9th, 1580, the *Golden Hind* passed the Cape, was at Sierra Leone on the 22nd of July, and arrived in Plymouth Sound on the 26th of September.

She was taken round to Deptford, and, on the 4th of April, 1581, the queen dined on board, conferring the honour of knighthood on the great circumnavigator. The *Golden Hind* was placed in dock, with orders that she should be preserved as long as she would hold together, and the cabin was converted into a banqueting-room. In 1587, Sir Francis Drake purchased Buckland Abbey, near his old home in Devonshire. This was inherited by his younger brother Thomas, whose descendants continue to possess it.

Drake was the first commander of an expedition who circumnavigated the globe. Magellan was slain in a brawl with the natives of the Philippine Islands, and one of his ships was brought home by a junior pilot. The English explorer, on the other hand, completed the voyage himself, maintaining discipline and order, giving constant attention to the health and comfort of his men, and avoiding disputes with the natives as far as possible. But he did much more: he discovered Cape Horn, and he discovered 480 miles of new coast to the northward of California. His voyage was the greatest maritime achievement of that century. The rest of the life of Sir Francis Drake was devoted to the naval service of his country. Like nearly all the other great naval commanders of that age, he owed his training to voyages of exploration and discovery. The habits thus acquired—of coolness and presence of mind, of forming a decision at the moment, of bringing the resources of a mind stored with knowledge and experience to bear quickly and effectively, and his magnetic influence over men—were all now devoted to the service of his queen and country in their great need. First among explorers and discoverers, Sir Francis Drake was, for that very reason, one of the greatest naval commanders of his age. For it cannot be too often repeated that voyages of discovery form the best nursery for a navy.

The next expedition which shaped a course in the direction of Magellan's Strait was not a success, as it never got beyond the

coast of Brazil. It was equipped under the auspices of the Earl of Leicester, and the queen contributed two of her ships. But the instructions were ambiguous. The North-West Passage was to be discovered if it was to be found south of 40° N., but the ships were not to be taken north of that parallel; they were not to pass through Magellan's Strait; yet they were to visit the Moluccas. The command was given to Captain Edward Fenton, the companion of Frobiser in his Arctic voyages. He was on board the galleon *Leicester*, of 400 tons, with young William Hawkyns, a nephew of Sir John, and Mr. Maddox, the chaplain and historian of the voyage. The other vessels were the *Bonaventure*, of 300 tons, commanded by Luke Ward, and the *Francis*, of 40 tons, under Captain John Drake, with William Markham, who had been in the *Elizabeth* with Captain Wynter, as master. There was also a pinnace. The expedition sailed in May, 1582, and went to the coast of Guinea, anchoring at Sierra Leone on the 10th of August. It would appear, from the journal of young Hawkyns, that Fenton wanted from a very early period to give up the voyage, and that he was only induced to proceed owing to the protests of his officers. On the 1st of November the ships crossed the line; and Fenton seems to have gone as far as 33° S. But he then turned back, and anchored in the Bay of St. Vincent, on the coast of Brazil.

At this time Don Pedro Sarmiento, with indomitable patience and perseverance, was striving to induce the incompetent commander of the Spanish fleet to proceed to Magellan's Strait, and land his colonists. Once this incapable officer, whose name was Valdez, sailed to the entrance of the strait; but, on the excuse of bad weather, he returned with the ships to ports on the coast of Brazil. Fenton was in the Bay of St. Vincent when, on the 23rd of December, 1582, three of these Spanish ships arrived and opened fire at about ten o'clock at night. The action continued until noon next day. The English succeeded in sinking one of the Spanish ships, and then put to sea, with a loss of six killed and twenty wounded. After being nearly a month off the coast, Fenton anchored in the mouth of the River Espiritu Santo, and obtained a small cargo of sugar, with which he sailed home, arriving at Kinsale on the 14th of June, 1583. This was a mismanaged business, although Fenton afterwards did good service in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. He died at Deptford in 1603.

The *Francis* parted company in a gale before Fenton put into

the Bay of St. Vincent; and reached the River Plate. Here she was wrecked, but officers and crew succeeded in reaching the shore. They were kept among the Indians for fifteen months, when the officers appear to have been given up to the Spaniards. Drake and Markham were sent to Lima, but their fate is unknown.

War was declared between Queen Elizabeth and Philip II. in 1585, and from that time there could be no further talk about



THOMAS CAVENDISH.

(From the *'Hervologia.''*)

piracy. A gentleman named Thomas Cavendish, of Trimley in Suffolk, had been for some time desirous of emulating the deeds of Sir Francis Drake, and in 1586 he equipped an expedition consisting of three vessels, the *Desire* of 120 tons, the *Content* of 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant* of 40 tons. Mr. Francis Pretty, another Suffolk man, accompanied Cavendish and was the historian of the voyage. The fleet touched at Sierra Leone, at San Sebastian in Brazil, and at Port Desire on the coast of Patagonia. Cavendish then entered

Magellan's Strait, and, after passing the two narrows, he anchored the ships and proceeded to explore in his boat along the shore. Presently he saw two men waving to him from a rock. He pulled in and took one of them into his boat. The man turned out to be one of the survivors of Sarmiento's colony, and he told a harrowing tale. Nearly all had died of starvation. For months they had lived on shell-fish picked off the rocks. Fifteen were still alive about a mile distant, including two women. The man's name was Tomas Hernandez. Cavendish promised to take them all on board, but a fair wind springing up he made sail and left them to their fate. Hernandez was the only one who escaped to tell the tale. Cavendish visited the deserted town called Felipe which the colonists had built. They had abandoned it when their provisions came to an end, and had hoped to maintain life by scattering themselves along the shore and living on shell-fish until the long-deferred succour arrived; and so they perished slowly, the weakest first. The English commander called the place Port Famine.

Hernandez was frequently consulted by Cavendish, especially on the occasion of an encounter with the natives near Cape Froward, the most southern point of America—so named on this occasion. After entering the South Sea, Cavendish sailed northwards along the west coast of South America, and anchored at Quintero, a little bay near Valparaiso, for wood and water. Hernandez landed with the watering party, as a guide, several horsemen having been seen on the hills. Through his treachery the party was surprised, and a dozen English sailors were taken prisoners and hanged at Santiago, Hernandez escaping behind one of the horsemen. Sir Richard Hawkyns tells us that retribution overtook the treachery of Hernandez. In the fight with the *Dainty*, he served on board one of the Spanish ships and was severely wounded. Three years afterwards Sir Richard saw him begging on crutches, and in such a miserable state that he had been better dead than alive. He lived afterwards at Lima, and, in the days of the Viceroy Prince of Esquilache (1620), he made a deposition giving a full account of the sufferings of the colonists in the Strait of Magellan, of his rescue by Cavendish, and of his treachery at Quintero.

Touching at Arica, Cavendish, with his little squadron of three vessels, made his way to the island of Puna in the Gulf of

Guayaquil. Here he sank a Spanish ship of 250 tons, and landed a party which was repulsed by the Spaniards with a loss of twenty men. Cavendish then went on shore at the head of a stronger force, routed the victors, and burnt their town. On leaving Puna the *Hugh Gallant* was sunk, as it had been found that she impeded the progress of the other two ships. A course was next shaped across the line to the west coast of Mexico, and on the 27th of July Cavendish arrived in the Bay of Guatulco and burnt the town. He then proceeded to a port, which appears to have been San Blas, in order to refit and take in water and provisions. The ships were there several months. Hitherto Cavendish had done some injury to the Spaniards by burning towns and sinking ships, but he had not secured any rich prizes.

Sailing from San Blas the *Desire* and *Content* cruised off Cape San Lucas, the southern point of California, a lofty and barren headland, with outlying rocks which reminded the English explorers of the Needles off the Isle of Wight. On the 4th of November a tall ship hove in sight, and was captured after a brief resistance. Cavendish had at last secured a rich prize. The *Santa Ana*, a ship of 700 tons, had on board 122,000 *pesos de oro*. The Spanish crew was landed at Agnada Segura, a little port, with supplies of fresh water, almost under the shadow of Cape San Lucas. The two English ships then steered for the Eastern Archipelago, but a few days afterwards the *Content* parted company and was never heard of more. The *Desire* touched at the Ladrones and Philippines, and passed along the south coast of Java on her way round the Cape of Good Hope. She reached home in the autumn to 1588.

Thus was the world circumnavigated for a second time by English sailors. Cavendish, though fortunate on this occasion, was more remarkable for energy and violence of methods than for seamanlike skill, fitness for command, and humanity. The desertion of starving men and women, the burning of towns, and hanging of a Spanish pilot without sufficient cause, make us feel that we have not here a true disciple of Drake and Raleigh.

The enthusiasm for these voyages continued to prevail, and the year after the return of Cavendish, in 1589, a country gentleman of Devonshire, named Chudleigh, fitted out a vessel, called the *Wild Man*, for the South Sea. She was joined by the *Delight* of Bristol, under the command of Captain Merick. We have

no details of Chudleigh's voyage. The young leader appears to have visited Trinidad. He died in the Strait of Magellan, and his ship returned. But the *Delight* had on board Mr. Magroth, who wrote the story of her passage out and home. She reached the Strait of Magellan, where sickness, want of resources, and other misfortunes led to a resolution to return without succeeding in the objects of the voyage. The sole survivor of the miserable colonists who had been abandoned to their fate by Cavendish was found at Port Famine and taken on board the *Delight*, but he died on the passage to Europe. The ship was wrecked on the coast of France, and only a few survivors found their way home again, including Mr. Magroth, the historian of the voyage.

Cavendish also fitted out a second expedition, which he mismanaged and which was a total failure. He himself reached the Strait of Magellan, shaped a course homeward, and died on the passage. Another ship deserted and returned.

The interest of this expedition lies in the fact that John Davis, the great Arctic navigator, commanded one of the ships, with the idea of attempting to make the voyage intended by Drake, from the coast of New Albion, round North America, to the Atlantic. Davis, on board the *Desire*, sailed from England in August, 1591. The ship was ill-found, both as regards stores and provisions, and when Davis reached Port Desire, on the coast of Patagonia, he strove to make good some of the defects. His crew fished for smelts with crooked pins, and caught many seals, which enabled him to salt down twenty hogsheads of seal flesh. He again put to sea with the intention of passing through Magellan's Strait, and on the 14th of August, 1592, he discovered the group now called the Falkland Islands. He then passed through the Strait, but on entering the South Sea he was driven back by gale after gale of wind. In one furious squall the cable of the *Desire* parted and an anchor was lost. Davis now only had one anchor with one of the flukes gone, and a cable spliced in two places. Still the dauntless seaman resolved to make another attempt. But again he was met, on passing Cape Pilar, by a furious storm, with hail and snow, and with such a sea running that the people expected every moment to be their last.

At length, worn out with fatigue and the desperate struggle against the elements, even Davis began to despond. The sails were nearly worn out. The foot-rope of the foresail had parted, so that nothing held it but the cringles or eyelet-holes in the clews. The

seas constantly broke over the poop and dashed with great force against the lower sails.

After nine days of an unequal contest the gallant commander of a resolute crew reluctantly bore up for the Strait. The provisions were spent and the *Desire* was quite unfit to continue the voyage. It would be necessary to lay in provisions for the return voyage while anchored in the Strait, of which Davis had already made a careful survey. He made salt by evaporation from the sea water, and stored in the hold fourteen thousand salted penguins. The allowance on the passage home was five ounces of meal per week for each man, three spoonfuls of oil a day, five penguins between four men, and six quarts of water for four men. In the hot weather the penguins, having been insufficiently salted, went bad. Scurvy broke out and all the crew died but sixteen, of whom only five were able to move. The whole work of the ship was done by Davis himself, the master, two men and a boy. The captain and master at first went aloft to the topsails, but latterly they were too weak, and finally topsails and spritsail were blown away. Davis sailed homewards under courses, he and the master taking turns at the helm. Thus did the great navigator, in spite of almost insuperable difficulties, bring his ship into Berehaven, on the Irish coast, on the 11th of June, 1593.

Such was the type of seamen created by a training in the Arctic regions. Davis was not found wanting when the trial came. He had learnt courage of the highest order, perseverance, readiness of resource, patience, and sympathy for his men, in the best school. No man, without these qualities, would have struggled against adverse circumstances as he did, nor would any less gifted seaman have ever brought the *Desire* home. The life of Davis was still preserved for useful service to his country as a scholar and as a pilot.

The last Elizabethan voyage to the South Sea, with its memorable fight against hopeless odds, belongs rather to the militant than to the exploring department of our naval service. Yet its leader inherited the traditions of an explorer, and was himself a born lover of everything that appertained to the work of maritime discovery.

Richard Hawkyns was the only son of Sir John Hawkyns, and was brought up to a sea life from a boy. Born about 1562, and losing his mother at an early age, he became his father's constant companion, and his boyhood was passed in dockyards and on board

ships. At the age of twenty he made his first long voyage to the West Indies, with his uncle William, and displayed both boldness and sagacity. One of the ships had been reported to be unseaworthy, and it had been arranged that the stores should be taken out of her and that she should be sunk. But young Richard volunteered, with as many men as would stand by him, to take her home. From his return in 1583 to 1588 he was constantly employed, and he commanded the *Swallow* in the fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada.

At the end of the same year, with the consent and help of his father, he prepared for a voyage to India by way of the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea, with the intention of discovering and exploring unknown lands, and reporting upon their inhabitants, governments, and the commodities they yielded. With this object he caused a ship to be built in the Thames, "pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good for sayle, and well-conditioned." His step-mother asked to be allowed to christen the ship, and named her the *Repentance*, saying it was the safest ship we could sail in to purchase the haven of heaven. But when Queen Elizabeth passed on her way to Greenwich Palace she ordered her bargemen to row round her, and said that she disliked nothing but the name. Her majesty christened her anew, and ordered that henceforth she should be called the *Dainty*. She was a ship of about 350 tons. Other duties delayed the voyage, and meanwhile the *Dainty* was employed in the queen's service; but in April, 1593, Richard Hawkins sailed on his daring enterprise. He was then in his thirtieth year, with several years' experience as a sea-captain, observant and eager to adopt every improvement, and paying close attention to each detail of his work. The most important event in his voyage across the Atlantic was the sighting of land on the 2nd of February, 1594, in 50° S., and about fifty leagues from the Strait of Magellan. He called it "Hawkyns's Maiden Land," not being aware that it had already been discovered by John Davis in 1592.

On the 10th of February, Richard Hawkins entered the Strait of Magellan. He described the appearance of the land, the different birds met with, and those available for fresh food, and prepared useful sailing directions throughout. His was the mind of an observant explorer. He also enriched his narrative with valuable suggestions respecting the sheathing of ships' bottoms and the

repairing of anchors. He took the opportunity offered by his detention in the Strait to caulk the ship throughout, and employed the men in collecting Winter's bark, and in various sports, to keep them cheerful and healthy.

Having made a prosperous voyage through the Strait into the South Sea, the *Dainty* anchored off the island of Mocha, on the coast of Chile, which was occupied by independent Indians, of whom he wrote an interesting account. They supplied him plentifully with fresh provisions, and he then steered northwards with the intention of passing Callao out of sight of land, so that his presence on the coast might not be known to the Spaniards. But his plan was overruled by the officers and crew, who urged him to attack some of the ships in the enemy's ports. He very reluctantly consented, and bore up for Valparaiso, where he ransacked four ships and the warehouses on shore, but found nothing worth taking away, except fresh provisions. When leaving the port, however, a ship was taken with some gold on board, and with important passengers who paid ransoms. Hawkyns touched at Coquimbo and Arica, and off Quilca he caused the empty prize to be burnt. But meanwhile news of the arrival of an English ship on the coast had been sent to Lima. The Marquis of Cañete, a most distinguished soldier both in the wars in Europe, and in those against the Araucanian Indians when he was Captain-General of Chile, was the Viceroy of Peru. With all possible diligence he sent six ships in search of the *Dainty* under the command of his brother-in-law, Don Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva. She was sighted off Cañete, and the Spanish ships, being much more windwardly, rapidly came up with their chase. Then a fresh breeze began to blow, the Spanish admiral sprung his mainmast, the vice-admiral split his mainsail, and for that time the *Dainty* escaped. The Spanish ships returned to Callao, while Hawkyns steered for the Bay of Atacames, in the province of Quito, intending to take in wood and water, and then leave the coast.

The *Dainty* anchored in Atacames Bay on the 10th of June, 1594. In five days all the empty water-casks were filled, wood was cut and taken on board, and the pinnace was put to rights. On the 15th, sail was made to the Bay of San Mateo, and a few days afterwards Hawkyns weighed with the intention of finally leaving the coast of South America. But it was not to be. The Spanish squadron hove in sight, and the admiral bore down on the little

Dainty. Richard Hawkyns and his splendid crew, hopelessly outnumbered, prepared to make a desperate fight for the honour of their country. First with noise of trumpets and then with artillery did the *Dainties* defy their enemies, but the Spaniards answered two to one; for they had twice the number of guns, and ten times the complement of men. Hawkyns had but 75 men and boys, while the Spaniards numbered 1300. All day the action continued, and in the evening the Spanish vice-admiral came alongside the *Dainty* with the intention of boarding. But he met with such a reception from the English sailors that his decks were completely cleared. He forged ahead with a loss of thirty men. The English also suffered severely, Hawkyns himself having received six wounds. The Spanish ships then remained at a more respectful distance, keeping up, however, a continual fire, and at intervals calling upon the *Dainty* to surrender "*a buena guerra*." Hawkyns had been carried below, and at last his captain, named Ellis, came down to his wounded chief and suggested the impossibility of further resistance. But Richard Hawkyns declared that he had not come into the South Sea to hang out flags of truce. Like Richard Greynvile he cried, "Fight on! fight on!" His captain and men took fresh heart, fought on all that night, and sustained the unequal struggle for the next day and night, and the third day after, being battered constantly with great and small shot by six ships. On the second day a master's mate named William Blanch, by a capital shot, carried away the mainmast of the Spanish vice-admiral close to the deck. But the *Dainty* could not free herself from the other ships, and, when nearly all were dead or wounded, Captain Ellis surrendered "*a buena guerra*" on a solemn promise from Don Beltran de Castro that all should have their lives and liberties with a passage to their own country.

Richard Hawkyns was received by the noble Spaniard with great courtesy, and accommodated in his own cabin. The *Dainty* was taken to Panama and re-christened the *Visitacion*. Hawkyns and his fellow-prisoners were brought to Lima, and the Marquis of Cañete treated them with kindness and consideration. But before long, Hawkyns was claimed by the Inquisition. The honour of the viceroy's brother-in-law was, however, at stake. The Marquis of Cañete defied the Inquisitors, and sent his prisoners to Spain after a detention of three years at Lima. On reaching Spain, Hawkyns was thrown into prison at Seville, in defiance of the terms of surrender. Don Beltran de Castro was indignant at this breach of

faith, which compromised his honour, but many years passed away. At length a more powerful man, the Count of Miranda, took up the case. He declared that all future agreement would be impossible if faith in Spanish honour were destroyed. After eight long years of imprisonment Richard Hawkyns was released. He was knighted by James I. and made Vice-Admiral of Devon; and he died in 1622, when about to sail as vice-admiral of a fleet for the punishment of Algerine pirates.

The 'Observations of Sir Richard Hawkyns' were published in 1622, and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1847 and 1878. They are a perfect storehouse of valuable naval information of all kinds, every incident of the voyage leading the writer into reminiscences of former experiences, or into dissertations on subjects having reference to navigation, seamanship, gunnery, or naval discipline. Richard Hawkyns was the ideal of an ardent explorer and of a brave and thoroughly efficient naval officer. If fortune had favoured, he would have made a great name. He has only left us a most charming book; and Englishmen read it with feelings of pride that the author was their countryman, and with warm regret and sympathy for his misfortunes.

The three Elizabethan voyages into the South Sea did not lead directly to commercial intercourse, because the Spanish monopoly was uncompromising, and the undertaking was too difficult and perilous. But in other directions the first voyages of discovery were the forerunners of an active and prosperous trade to the Mediterranean, to the coast of Guinea, to Russia, and to Newfoundland, while the fearless English seamen continued to frequent the West Indies. In 1581 a charter was granted to the Turkey Company, and consuls were appointed in the Levant; and in 1588 the first Guinea Company received its charter, with the privilege of exclusive trade to the Senegal and the Gambia.

But the oldest and most continuous traffic was that connected with the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. According to Mr. Anthony Parkhurst, who reported on "the true state and commodities of Newfoundland" in 1578, there were from thirty to fifty sail frequenting the banks from the west of England, one hundred from Spain for cod, and thirty Basque vessels for whales, fifty Portuguese, and one hundred and fifty Breton vessels of about 40 tons.

On the 11th of June, 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert received

letters patent to found a colony in Newfoundland, and for the discovery of Norumbega. His training had been rather in the war against Spaniards in the Low Countries than at sea; but he was a man of far-seeing views, a patriotic and high-minded gentleman. He made one disastrous voyage with his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, in 1579, and in 1583 he equipped a more important expedition.

Five vessels left Cawsand Bay on the 11th of June; but the largest, named the *Raleigh*, put back owing to the outbreak of a mortal sickness. The others were the *Delight*, of 120 tons, the *Swallow* and *Golden Hind*, each of 40 tons, and the little *Squirrel*, of 10 tons. On the 30th of July they had crossed the Atlantic and sighted land, visiting the island where the Bretons were accustomed to salt down quantities of great auks in casks. At St. John's, Newfoundland, Sir Humphrey Gilbert found thirty-six sail of vessels of all nations, and, in accordance with his orders, he took possession in the name of the queen. On the 4th of August he landed, and was entertained by the English merchants. Leaving St. John's on the 20th of August, the ships were steered in the direction of the Isle of Sables, and on the 29th the *Delight* ran on shore and became a total wreck. Among those who perished were Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, who was to have been the historian of the expedition, the captain, and many others. The master, Richard Clarke, got away in a small boat, which was dangerously overcrowded. One of the party, named Hedley, proposed that they should draw lots for four to be thrown overboard. But Clarke said, "No! We will live or die together!" After having been four days without food they succeeded in landing, and relieved their hunger by eating berries. Finally, they were taken on board a vessel belonging to St. Jean de Luz, and were landed at Pasajes in Spain, whence they found their way home.

These disasters induced Sir Humphrey Gilbert to resolve upon returning to England, with the intention of continuing the enterprise in the ensuing spring. He was urged to go on board the *Hind*; but as the *Squirrel*, owing to her small size, would be exposed to the greatest danger in crossing the Atlantic, he chose to go in her, and his resolution could not be shaken. On the evening of the 9th of September he was seen sitting with a book in his hand, and he cried out to those on board the *Hind*, when within hailing distance, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

On the same night, being ahead of the *Hind*, the *Squirrel's* lights were noticed to have disappeared. The vessel had gone down with all hands. The *Hind* arrived at Falmouth on the 22nd of September.

Hakluyt has preserved the journals of four Bristol ships which made successful sealing voyages to Newfoundland and Cape Breton in 1593 and 1594.

The mantle of Sir Humphrey Gilbert fell upon his half-brother, Walter Raleigh. This illustrious Englishman was the embodiment of all that was best in the chivalry, the culture, and the enterprise of the Elizabethan age. Born at Hayes, near Sidmouth, in 1552, Raleigh was educated at Oxford, and passed six years of his life in Huguenot camps in France, probably serving in the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour. He then saw service in Ireland; and in 1582, at the age of thirty, he was received into high favour by the queen. His greatness then began, and in 1584 he leased Durham House in the Strand. He was knighted in 1585, and became Captain of the Queen's Guard and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in the following year.

On the 25th of March, 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh received letters patent for the discovery and settlement of the region then vaguely known as Norumbega, the coasts of which had been discovered by the English in 1498, as shown by the map of Juan de la Cosa. Raleigh first sent two vessels, under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, to proceed to their destination by way of the West Indies, and thus avoid the storms of the North Atlantic. They sailed on the 27th of April, 1584, touched at the Canaries and at one of the West India islands, and, on the 18th of July, landed on a low and sandy beach, and took possession. The country received the name of Virginia, in honour of the great queen, but the spot where they landed is in North Carolina. They found a broad, wooded island, with great abundance of wild grapes. Seven leagues farther on was the village of Roanoak, consisting of a hundred houses of cedar. A banquet was given them by the king, and they returned to England with two natives.

Raleigh's second expedition was on a larger scale. It was commanded by the renowned Sir Richard Greynvile, and consisted of five vessels—the *Tiger*, of 140 tons, the *Lion*, of 100 tons, the *Elizabeth*, of 50 tons, the *Dorothy*, a small barque, and the fly-boat *Roebuck*. Among the volunteers were Ralph Lane, the Governor of Kerry,





mezzotinto

Printed in Paris

*Sir Walter Raleigh. Not
from H. A. Bray's Engraving of W. Hollar's drawing
after the original by J. Goussier.*

See also Hollar's engraving of Raleigh's portrait.

Cavendish, the future circumnavigator, Arundel, Raymond, Stukeley, and Vincent. Sailing on the 5th of April, 1585, Greynvile touched at Puerto Rico and at Isabela, on the north coast of St. Domingo. Passing along the mainland of Florida, he anchored at Wocoken (now called Ocracoke Inlet) on the 26th of June; but one of his ships went on shore and was lost. In exploring the country, Greynvile crossed the south part of Pamlico Sound, and visited three towns called Pomcick, Aguascogoc, and Lecoto, where he was well received. The plan was, that a small colony should remain under the command of Ralph Lane, and that Sir Richard Greynvile should return home with the ships. He reached Plymouth on the 18th of October, having during the voyage captured a richly laden Spanish ship of 300 tons. He boarded her in a boat made of the boards of chests, and the fragile craft went to pieces as he and his men sprang up the ship's side.

The colony under Ralph Lane was to remain and explore the mainland. There were with him Captain Philip Amadas, the learned Thomas Heriot, Courtenay, Stafford, Acton, Marmaduke Constable—all historic names—and a hundred men. They made the best use of their time, and Heriot studied the resources of the country, especially the vegetable products, and wrote an important work on the subject, which was of great use to future colonists. In June, 1586, Sir Francis Drake arrived with a fleet, and offered to supply the settlers with provisions; but they decided to return home. Meanwhile, Raleigh had sent out supplies to the colony in a vessel of 100 tons. Not finding the settlers, she returned to England. Sir Richard Greynvile also came out with three well-appointed vessels, and, failing to find the settlers, he also returned. He, however, left fifteen men at Roanoak, with provisions for two years.

In 1587, Raleigh obtained a charter for the "Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." He fitted out a ship of 120 tons, a fly-boat, and a pinnace, and sent out a colony of one hundred and fifty souls, under the leadership of John White, with Simon Fernando as pilot. They reached Hatorash on the 22nd of July, but found no signs of the fourteen men left by Sir Richard Greynvile. A colony was landed, consisting of ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine boys; and John White went back to England for supplies. But it was not until the 20th of March, 1590, that he was able to return with three vessels. He landed at

Hatorash on the 15th of August, and went to the place where the colony had been left in 1587. All was desolation. At length he found the word "Cruatoan" carved on a post. It was the name of the place whither the settlers had gone or had been taken. No effort was made to communicate with them, and the ships returned to England. Raleigh had now spent £40,000 on the work of colonising Virginia. In 1602 he again sent a vessel to succour the lost colony, under Captain William Mace, but she returned without reaching Roanoak. The colonists intermixed with the natives, and were finally massacred by order of King Powhatan, instigated by his priests. Four men, two boys, and one young maid were spared, and from them the Hatteras Indians were descended.

Although the first colony was unfortunate, the patriotic efforts of Raleigh were, without doubt, the incentives to future colonisation. He aroused the spirit of colonial enterprise, and thus planted a sturdy tree, which bore fruit even in his own lifetime. The people of the United States must look to Sir Walter Raleigh as the original founder of their nation, and they could not have a nobler nor a purer origin. For Sir Walter's connection with Virginia is a monument of patriotic self-sacrifice; and that his great merits are not forgotten was shown when a window to his memory was placed by Americans in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

Sir Walter Raleigh turned his attention to the discovery of Guiana in 1594. In that year he sent Captain Jacob Whiddon on a preliminary voyage of discovery, but Whiddon was thwarted by the Spanish Governor of Trinidad, and returned. Meanwhile, Raleigh himself made an exhaustive study of the subject. He derived his knowledge of Peru and the Incas from Gomara; he had studied Andrew Thevet and Diego de Ordas, and he knew the particulars of the voyages down the Amazon by Orellana and Aguirre. He had heard of the discovery of gold in the Orinoco basin, of El Dorado, and of the fabulous city of Manoa. He obtained the services of such experienced seamen as Captains Whiddon, Keymis, Canfield, Gifford, and Dowglas; and he was accompanied by a number of gallant young gentlemen volunteers, some of them being his own relations. John Gilbert was his nephew, Greynvile and Gorges were cousins. Leaving England on the 9th of February, 1595, with five ships, with the object of exploring the Orinoco, the expedition arrived at the island of Trinidad on the 22nd of March, anchoring at Parico within the Gulf of Paria.

The Spaniards had a settlement called San José on the island of Trinidad, and at that time the governor was an officer of some distinction. Don Antonio Berreo had married a daughter of Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, the famous conqueror of Nueva Granada. Berreo had made a very remarkable journey from Bogota, by descending the rivers Meta and Orinoco; and he was only waiting for the arrival of his son from Bogota to undertake the establishment of a settlement on the Orinoco River.

Raleigh's first step was the capture of the Spanish town of San José. This was done by break of day, and Berreo was taken prisoner. His captor treated the governor with all possible respect as an honoured guest, and received from him as much information respecting Guiana as he possessed; but Berreo vainly attempted to dissuade Raleigh from attempting to ascend the Orinoco.

The ships were to be left at Trinidad, and the ascent of the river was to be undertaken by a hundred men with provisions for a month. The little flotilla consisted of an old galley, a barge, two wherries, and the long-boat of the *Lion's Whelp*. Raleigh himself, with most of the volunteers and fifty men, were in the galley; Captain Gifford and ten more, in one wherry; Captain Canfield, with young Gorges and eight men, in the other; and the rest, in the two ships' boats.

Reaching the Orinoco delta, Captains Whiddon and Dowglas sounded the Capari mouth, while Captain Canfield examined that of Manamo. The boats then entered the Orinoco, good supplies of cassava bread being obtained from the natives, with whom Raleigh kept on very friendly terms. He was thus able to collect a large amount of valuable information respecting the tribes and the resources of the country. The stories he was told respecting the yield of gold were chiefly from Spanish sources, and were grossly exaggerated; but Raleigh was quite correct in his opinion that Guiana was a gold-yielding country.

The expedition was on the whole successful. The explorers suffered considerably from hardships and privations in the ascent of the river, rowing against the stream, but they got as far as the mouth of the Karoni, and forty miles up that river. The Orinoco was rising rapidly, which obliged them to return. Raleigh's principal native friend was an old chief named Tapiawari, with whom he held long conversations. It was arranged that two volunteers, a man named Francis Sparrow and a boy named Hugh Godwin, should

remain to learn the language, and that they should take merchandise into the interior, so as to explore and collect information. A son of Tapiawari returned with Raleigh. The boats reached the sea by the Capari mouth, and the explorers found the ships as they had left them, at Curiapan in Trinidad, and returned safely home.

In this ably conducted expedition, Sir Walter Raleigh showed himself to possess all the qualifications of an explorer. He took great pains, before starting, to inform himself, from every available source, of all that was known respecting the region he was about to explore. He equipped his expedition and selected his companions with great care, and with reference to the work that had to be done. He took every precaution in sounding the different mouths of the Orinoco, in navigating the river, and in his intercourse with the natives, that could suggest itself to a thoughtful leader. He was indefatigable in the collection of all useful information. The result was the publication of an interesting narrative which is read with pleasure and instruction down to the present day. The map was not finished when the book was published in 1596, but it is in the British Museum, and has recently been reproduced.

The Guiana voyage of Sir Walter Raleigh led to many others in the direction both of the Orinoco and of the West Indian Islands. In January, 1596, Captain Laurence Keymis left Portland in the *Darling*, of London, and again visited the Orinoco. He found that Sparrow had been captured by the Spaniards and taken to Cumana. In the same year Thomas Masham, in the pinnace *Watte*, went up the Essequibo.

The most romantic biography of all the Elizabethan worthies is that of Sir Robert Dudley, the repudiated heir of the Earl of Leicester. A gallant soldier, a scientific seaman, a gunner, an engineer, he was above all an enthusiastic explorer. He tells us that, "Having, ever since I could conceive of anything, been delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in myself that disposition till I was of more years and better ability to undertake such a matter." Yet he was only twenty-one when he sailed for the West Indies in command of an expedition consisting of the *Bear*, of 200 tons, the *Bear's Whelp*, and two pinnaces, called the *Frisking* and the *Earwig*. He ordered his master, Abraham Kendall, to steer for Trinidad, and, anchoring at Curiapan, he landed with an armed party, and marched through the woods. He was joined by a pinnace from Plymouth, commanded by Captain Popham, and

the leaders intended to have extended their explorations to Guiana. But the crews refused, and young Dudley was obliged to return. Leaving Trinidad in March, 1595, he touched at Puerto Rico and the Azores, encountering very severe weather. In May he arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall, having sunk and burnt nine Spanish ships and expended all his powder. Owing to unjust treatment after the great queen's death, Sir Robert Dudley abandoned his native country and lived at Florence, where he wrote that superb work, 'Del Arcano del Mare,' and where he died in 1630.

In 1595 also Amvras Preston harassed the Spaniards in the West Indies, with two ships, the *Ascension* and the *Gift*. He sacked the towns of Coro and Santiago de Leon, and obliged Cumana to pay a ransom. In 1596 Sir Anthony Shirley followed in Preston's track with nine vessels. He took Santa Marta and Jamaica, visited Puerto Cabello and Truxillo, and returned home by way of Newfoundland; and in the same year William Parker, in the *Prudence*, made good prizes in the Bay of Campeachy. These audacious voyagers were supplied with a good "Ruttier," or book of sailing directions for the West Indies, translated from the Spanish.

The value of an explorer's training was shown at the taking of Cadiz. Sir Walter Raleigh commanded a division of the fleet, and among those who had been engaged in exploring adventures with him, or at the same time, in the Orinoco and the West Indies, no fewer than four received the honour of knighthood from the Earl of Essex at Cadiz for their gallantry. These were Sir Robert Dudley, Sir George Gifford, Sir Francis Popham, and Sir Amvras Preston.

In the closing years of the brilliant reign of Queen Elizabeth, the first chapter in the history of British India was commenced. The establishment of factories by the Turkey Company in the Levant led the way. In 1583 Fitch, Leedes, and Newberry found their way to India overland, and their story drew attention in England to the wonders of the East. But no English ship had yet made the voyage to India, although Drake and Cavendish had rounded the Cape, coming from the East. The first English voyage to India was undertaken by James Lancaster in 1591. Lancaster was a native of Basingstoke, who had been serving in Portugal both as a soldier and a merchant, though he is only known to fame as an adventurous and able sea-captain. The expedition consisted of three tall ships, the *Penelope* as admiral, commanded by George Raymond, the *Merchant Royal*, under Abraham Kendall,

who had been master to Sir Robert Dudley in his West Indian voyage, as vice-admiral, and the *Edward Bonaventure* under James Lancaster as rear-admiral. The historians of the voyage were Edmund Barker, Lancaster's lieutenant, and a mate named Henry May.

The expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April, 1591, and, touching at the Canary Islands, the ships made the best of their way to the Cape of Good Hope. Near the line the English explorers fortunately captured a Portuguese caravel laden with wine, oil, and olives. During the long detention by equatorial calms the scurvy broke out, there were many deaths, and the crews were in a very weakly state when the ships reached Table Bay. There oxen and sheep were obtained from the natives, and the sailors began to recover their strength. It was resolved to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England with all the weakly men, and to proceed with two strong crews in two ships. Accordingly, Captains Raymond and Lancaster, in the *Penelope* and *Edward Bonaventure*, proceeded on the voyage. On the 14th of September they encountered a great storm, during which the *Penelope* parted company, nor was she ever heard of again.

The *Edward Bonaventure*, after losing the master and several men through the treachery of the Comoro Islanders, arrived at Zanzibar on the 7th of November. Lancaster remained there until February, 1592, opening friendly relations with the native merchants, who were disabused of the stories told by the Portuguese to the disadvantage of the strangers. On leaving Zanzibar a course was shaped for Cape Comorin, and then for the Nicobar Islands; but the first port in which the ship was anchored was Penang, on the coast of Malacca, where Lancaster remained until August. He lost his master, one of the merchants, and twenty-six men during his stay at that place; and when he put to sea there were not more than twenty-two men fit for duty. Having captured some Portuguese ships laden with pepper and rice, and cruised for some months on the coast of Malacca, Lancaster anchored at Point de Galle. There the crew declared they must return to England, and the homeward voyage was commenced on the 8th of December, 1593. After a long rest at St. Helena, Lancaster took the ship in the direction of the Brazilian coast, and thence to the West Indies, at last finding himself off the island of Mona, between St. Domingo and Puerto Rico, whence, after receiving provisions

and water, he directed his course to Newfoundland. Baffling winds prolonged the voyage, so that the provisions were exhausted, and it was resolved to return to the West Indies. Mona was again reached on the 20th of November, 1593, but while the captain and a party of men landed to seek for provisions, the carpenter secretly cut the cable, and the ship drifted away to sea with only five men and a boy on board. Lancaster, with his lieutenant Barker, and the men who had landed, were left on the island. During twenty-nine days their only food was the stalks of purslane boiled in water, with a few pumpkins. At length a French ship came to off the island, and took the unfortunate Englishmen on board. Lancaster and Barker were taken home, arriving at Dieppe on the 19th of May, 1594.

It had been arranged by Captain Lancaster that Henry May, one of the mates, should take a passage home in another French ship, to report to the owners the proceedings of the *Edward Bonaventure* and the mutinous condition of her crew. This ship was commanded by M. de la Barbotière, who made sail northwards from the port of Laguna in Santo Domingo. It appears that the pilot was quite out in his reckoning, and on the 17th of December the ship was run on a rock, at about midnight, on the western reef of Bermuda. About twenty-six men, including Henry May, reached the shore on a raft. Luckily the carpenter's tools were saved, and they began to cut down trees, and succeeded in building a small vessel of eighteen tons. Water was stored in two great chests, well caulked, and secured one on each side of the mainmast, and the provisions consisted of thirteen live turtles. On the 11th of May, 1594, they put to sea and made for the banks of Newfoundland, where a vessel from Falmouth took them on board. Henry May's adventures, of which he wrote an interesting narrative, came to an end when he landed at Falmouth in August, 1594.

This first English voyage to the East Indies was disastrous. Lancaster's next enterprise was of a warlike character, and was aided by some merchants of London, who fitted out several vessels to attack Pernambuco. James Lancaster was appointed to the command, with his old lieutenant, Edmund Barker, and John Audley of Poplar as his captains. The expedition was ably and resolutely conducted, and was a complete success. The port of Pernambuco was surprised, taken and held for thirty days in spite of repeated assaults by the Portuguese. About thirty ships

were captured, and rich cargoes of sugar, dye-wood, and cotton were brought home. But Captain Barker fell in one of the skirmishes, and several other valuable officers lost their lives. Lancaster was engaged on this service from September, 1594, to July, 1595, when he brought his ship back to Blackwall in safety. These two expeditions showed him to be an able, prudent, and courageous officer, well qualified for the high trust that was about to be placed in him.

In 1599 the merchants and adventurers of London projected an expedition, and eventually formed a company, with the object of establishing a trade with the East Indies. A sum of £72,000 was subscribed, and the preparations were steadily pushed forward throughout the autumn. On the 10th of December Captain James Lancaster was appointed "general" of the fleet, with a commission of martial law from the queen. His flag was on board the *Dragon*, a ship, formerly named the *Scourge of Malice*, which had been bought from the Earl of Cumberland for £3700. She was of 600¹ tons burden, and had a crew of two hundred and two men. The chief pilot was John Davis, the Arctic navigator, who had just returned from the East Indies as pilot of the first Dutch India fleet. The "vice-admiral" was the *Hector*, of 300 tons, and a crew of one hundred and eight men, commanded by John Middleton. The *Ascension*, of 260 tons, with a crew of eighty-two men, was under William Brand; and John Hayward commanded the *Susan*, of 240 tons, and eighty-eight men. The *Guest* was to accompany the fleet as a victualler.

On the 31st of December, 1599, Queen Elizabeth laid the foundation stone of the British Empire in India. The Charter of Incorporation of the East India Company was granted to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants; Alderman Sir Thomas Smith being chosen the first governor of the company, and James Lancaster and John Middleton being in the list of the first directors. The queen, in council, framed this great instrument with foresight and wisdom, and, it would almost seem, with some prevision of the future. Her majesty had cordially and graciously approved of the voyage before the issue of the Charter, and she sent John Mildenhall as her envoy to the great Emperor Akbar at Agra, by way of Constantinople and Persia.

¹ Some accounts make her to have been of 800 tons.—W. L. G.

All through the month of January, 1600, the expedition was being fitted out in the Thames. Each ship was provided with twelve streamers, two flags, and an ensign. Stores and provisions of all kinds were stowed in the holds, as well as merchandise; and merchants were appointed to each ship to superintend the trading operations. The queen prepared letters to the princes of India, including one to the Sultan of Acheen; and suitable presents accompanied them. Mr. Richard Hakluyt compiled much useful information respecting the commodities of the different countries, instructions "touching the preparing of the voyage," and several maps. The officers and others received "bills of adventure" on the gains of the voyage—that is to say, each was to receive a reward on a fixed scale with reference to the yield of the return cargo.

The fleet sailed from Woolwich on the 13th of February, 1600, but it was long delayed in the Downs by calms, and the ships had to put into Dartmouth to complete their stores; so that it was the 2nd of April before they finally sailed for the Canaries. The usual fatal sickness broke out while the fleet was detained by equatorial calms. Captain Lancaster, however, captured a Portuguese ship and got out of her 146 casks of wine, 176 casks of olive oil, and a quantity of meal, which proved a great addition to the supply of provisions. The victualler *Guest* was emptied and turned adrift. The expedition crossed the line on the last day of June.

The ravages of scurvy continued, so that when Table Bay was reached on the 9th of September, Captain Lancaster had first to anchor his own ship, and then to send his boats away, with working parties, to perform the same office for his consorts, whose crews were too weak to bring their ships to. The *Dragon's* working parties also hoisted out the boats for the rest of the fleet. The reason why the men in Lancaster's ship were so much healthier than the others was that he took the precaution of providing a supply of lemon-juice. He gave three spoonfuls to each man every morning fasting, by which means he cured many of his sailors and kept the rest from scurvy. The sick were landed and put under canvas on shore. Very good arrangements were made for the traffic with natives, cattle and sheep were purchased, and the sick soon began to gain strength on a diet of fresh meat and vegetables. But the terrible disease had carried off one hundred and five men before any effective remedy could be applied.

On the 20th of October the fleet left Table Bay and, towards the end of December, anchored in the Bay of Antongil, in Madagascar, where excellent fresh provisions were again obtained. But dysentery broke out, and there were several deaths. After encountering numerous dangers in crossing the Indian Ocean, and having touched at the Nicobar Islands, Lancaster anchored his fleet in the road of Acheen, in Sumatra, on the 5th of June, 1601. His reception by the sultan was cordial and satisfactory in every respect. In the first audience the letter from Queen Elizabeth was presented; and on subsequent occasions Lancaster made progress with the negotiations for opening trade. Pepper, cloves, and cinnamon were bought for the return cargo; and in October the sultan's answer to the queen's letter was brought on board.

The fleet finally left Acheen on the 9th of November, the *Ascension* proceeding direct to England with the news, and the *Dragon* shaping a course along the coast of Sumatra in search of the *Susan*, which had been previously sent to Priamon for a cargo of pepper. She joined off Priamon, and the ships anchored in the road of Bantam, in Java, on the 16th of December. Here the merchants landed to sell the goods brought from England, in exchange for which further supplies of pepper were shipped. A factory was established under Mr. William Starkey, to provide lading for the ships which were to be sent out on the Company's second venture. The King of Bantam sent a letter and presents to Queen Elizabeth, and on the 20th of February, 1602, the ships began their homeward course. Captain John Middleton of the *Hector* was taken ill and died at Bantam. His brother Henry, who was in the *Susan*, was destined to command the Company's second voyage.

On the 3rd of May a great storm was encountered between Madagascar and the Cape; and early next morning the *Dragon's* rudder was torn clean away from the stern of the ship. She drifted for some days at the mercy of the waves, once almost down to 40° S. in sleet and snow, the *Hector* always manfully keeping company. At last the mizzen-mast was taken out, and passed over the stern to serve as a temporary rudder, but it was found to shake the ship in such a way as to be dangerous, and it was got in again with all convenient speed. The carpenters then set to work to shape a rudder out of the mizzen-mast; but the irons had also been carried away, and there were only two wherewith to hang the new rudder. The men wanted to abandon the ship and go on board the *Hector*.

Lancaster said: "Nay, we will yet abide God's leisure, to see what mercy He will show us." The sea became smooth, the rudder was temporarily fixed, and there was no small rejoicing when the Island of St. Helena hove in sight. Here the rudder was properly hung, and plentiful supplies were obtained.

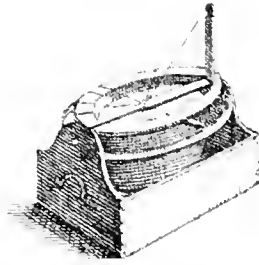
On the 11th of September the sailors of the East India Company's first venture arrived at the Downs, and completed this memorable voyage. Great credit is due to the master, Sanderhole, of the *Hector*, for the way in which he stuck by his rudderless consort when she was drifting helplessly about in the stormy sea to the south of the Cape. Even when Captain Lancaster gave him written orders to make the best of his way home, he disobeyed, and continued to keep near the *Dragon*, ready with all the help he could give, until they both got safe to St. Helena: "for the master was an honest and a good man, and loved the general well, and was lothe to leave him in so great distress."

The gallant commander of the first voyage received the honour of knighthood and became Sir James Lancaster. He afterwards served as a director of the East India Company in London, where his great experience was invaluable in preparing subsequent ventures, and in the general conduct of the Company's affairs. He died in June, 1618, unmarried and childless, leaving large legacies to the grammar-school, and to the charities, of his native town of Basingstoke. Before the Company's second voyage commenced, the great queen had passed away, and the glorious roll of Elizabethan adventure and discovery was completed.

It is indeed a roll of surpassing splendour:—In the far north, the "Meta Incognita" and Davis Strait, as far as 72° 12' N., discovered, and the intercourse with Russia, by the White Sea, strengthened and organised; the Caspian Sea navigated and Bokhara visited; a great fishing trade established on the Newfoundland banks, besides a considerable seal fishery; Virginia discovered, and a sure foundation laid for the future thirteen colonies which should form the United States; the charter granted to the Turkey Company, and British trade placed on a solid footing in the Levant; lucrative trade on the coast of Guinea and the West Indies and Spanish Main kept alive by English cruisers; the Orinoco explored as far as the mouth of the Karoni; the world twice circumnavigated: the Falkland Islands, Cape Horn, and 480 miles of the west coast of North America discovered; the Cape of Good Hope first rounded by an English

ship; and a charter of incorporation granted to the East India Company, which opened the first chapter of the history of the British Empire in India.

One of the results of Elizabethan exploration and discovery was the extension of British commerce in all directions, to the remotest parts of the earth. Almost every important voyage of discovery led to the establishment of a lucrative trade, and was, therefore, of lasting benefit to mankind. Another result was, in the highest degree, to stimulate an enthusiastic feeling of patriotism which no difficulties or hardships could daunt and no disaster could quench. But the greatest result of all was the creation of an admirable training-ground for the Royal Navy: so that, when the day of imminent peril came, the great queen's explorers and discoverers saved her throne and her country.



INDEX.

VOLUME I.

- ABENDAÑO, Don Martin Ruiz de, 364
 Aberconway, 217
 Aberdeen, 214, 238; pillaged by Orkney-
 men, 91
 Abergwillely, 303
 Abrincis, William de, 184
Achates, 423, 425, 580, 588, 589
 Acheen, Lancaster at, 656
 "Acles," Juan, 576 and n., 582
 Acre, action in 1190 off, 109
 — Richard I. at, 174
 Action, preparing for, 451
 Action in the Bay of Bourgneuf, 285, 286
 Acton, Bartholomew, 592
 Adam, Simon, 131
 Adamants, 147
 Adams, William, 594, *his*
 Adelard of Bath, voyages of, 97
 Administration of the Navy reorganised by
 Henry VIII., 437
 Admiral; pay of an, 150; title of, 141, 142;
 the first Lord High, 397; duties of an,
 150; duty of ships of a fleet to daily
 speak their, 431
 Admiral of England, 342, 343
 Admirals, 153; early commissions to, 142
 Admiralty, Court of, 80, 149, 371
 — Lieutenants of the, 437 n.
 — Courts, Parliament complains of pro-
 ceedings in the, 360
 — Office, 438
 — the Black Book of the, 149-153
 Adami, 8
Advantage, 423, 425, 529
Advantage, 423
Advantage, 423, 425, 504, 532, 531, 537, 538
 Adventurers bring about the conquest of
 Ireland, 162
Advice, 423, 425, 588, 589
 Æsc, son of Hengest, 31, 35
 Æses, 11 n.
Affection, 526
 African trade, 440
 Agincourt, battle of, 373
 Agnellis, Henry de, 162
Agnes or *Agate* (?), 346, 347
 Agricola, Julius, 29
Ajal, 423, 491 n., 588, 589, 625
 — of Bristol, 595
 Aiguemoortes, 202
 Aiguillon blockaded, 264
 Aix, Gerard, Archbishop of, 103
 Alard, Admiral Gervase, 132, 136, 142, 243
 and n.
 — Justin, 131 n., 243 n.
 — Admiral Stephen, 225
 — Thomas, 243 n.
Alarde, 120
 Albany carries troops to Scotland, John,
 Duke of, 459
 Albini retakes Sark, Sir Philip d', 183;
 commands under Hubert de Burgh, 187
 and n., 188, 190; behaves piratically, 195
Alcedo, 508, 526 and n.
 Alcock, Robert, 397
 Aldborough, Isabella, lands near, 229
 Aldridge, William, 592
 Alexander III, forbids Scots merchants to
 export in their own ships, 315
 Alfonsine Tables, the, 409
 Alfonso of Castile; supports the rebellion
 in Gascony, 199; Bayonne aids, 203
 Alfred, King; 13, 37, 66; defeats the Danes
 at sea, 38; his interest in distant lands,
 67; visited by "Scots" from Iceland, 61
 Allectus, 32
 Alliance with Philip Augustus, 165
 Alliance with Flanders, English, 210
 Alliance with the Empire, English, 210.
 Alliances of Edward III., 242
 — — unsatisfactory character of naval, 104
 — — unsatisfactory nature of foreign, 212
 — — weakness of naval, 257
 Allowances to officers, 429
 Almagest, The, 100
 Alphege murdered, 15
 Alva, Elizabeth seizes specie supposed to
 belong to, 478; proposes an invasion of
 England, 539 n.
 Amadas, Philip, 646, 647
 Ambleteuse, French checked near, 466
 Amboise, Convention of, 477

- America, Irish claims to the discovery of, 63, 64, 65; the Welsh claim to the discovery of, 303-314; early Orkney and Shetland communicate with, 324; the struggle with Spain determined the future of North, 482
- Amfar Bank, 377
- Amiens, Peace of (1475), 391
- Amity* takes two Spanish vessels, 501
- Anchors, 116
- "Ancient Towns," The, 106
- Andalusia, Armada of the ships of, 599
- Anderida, 8, 34
- Andrew*, 346, 347, 380 n.
- of Plymouth, 446 n.
- Andrews, Andrew, 524
- James, 589
- Angles, 10
- Anglesey, squadron sent against, 130
- "*Anglia Fides*," 10
- Angola, 527
- Angra, Spanish treasure fleet takes refuge at, 522 n., 523; English repulse at, 523
- Anjou, recovery of, 161
- and Maine, loss of, 176
- Anlaff, 14, 40
- Ann* of Greenwich, 427
- Anne*, 346, 347
- — *Bonaventure*, 596
- — *Frances*, 593
- — *Gallant*, 419, 420
- Anne of Bohemia, 294
- Anne* of Malden, 446 n.
- Annebaut, Baron de Retz, Claude d', 461, 462, 463, 464, 466
- Annot*, 137
- Annuities to officers, 346
- Answer*, 423, 425, 537
- Antelope*, 420, 423, 425, 520 and n., 580, 588, 589, 592
- Anthony*, 379, 508, 526, 592
- of Saltash, 446 n.
- Anthony, Thomas, 595
- William, 503
- Antonio, Dom, candidate for the throne of Portugal, 490; accompanies Drake and Norreys, 491, 492
- Antuñada*, 600
- Apsam, or Topsham, 595
- Aquila, Don Juan d', 530
- Aquitaine, troops sent to, 242
- Arceo, secretary to Parma, 577
- Arctic, Nicholas of Lynn's voyage to the, 321
- Arculf, voyage of, 66 n.
- Ardenberg, Edward III. at the shrine of Our Lady of, 256
- Argyle, Ulster colonists in, 33
- Admiral Sir John of, 215 and n., 216-18
- Ari Marsson, voyage of, 64
- Ark Royal*, 423, 425, 429, 509, 514, 529
- — (or *Ark Raleigh*), 553 and n., 555 n., 557 n., 564, 569, 570, 572, 575 n., 588, 589
- Armada, origin of the Spanish, 539; proposed strength of the Spanish, 540; strategical plan, 541; Medina Sidonia's general orders for, 548, 549; sailing of, 549; religious aspect of, 550; official English account of the operations against the Spanish, 551, *et seq.*; leaves Corunna, 559; its strength while at Lisbon, 560; sighted, the, 563; organisation and formation of the, 567, 568; flight of the, 582; losses of the, 583-585; list of English ships employed against the Spanish, 587-597; list of the ships of the Spanish, 598-604; Summaries of the English and Spanish fleets, 604
- Armagnac, the Count d', 374; declines to recognise the Treaty of Troyes, the party of the, 381
- Armament of Spanish and English ships in 1588., 561
- Armourer, 147
- Arnold, William, 130
- Arrest of shipping, 193, 197, 232, 233, 235, 236, 242, 245, 249, 258, 259, 260, 262, 277, 279, 281, 286, 293, 294, 295, 296, 301, 369, 372, 379, 381
- evil results of, 348
- Artevelde, Jacob van, 262
- Arthur, King, mythical voyages of, 58 n.
- death of Prince, 176
- Articles of War, early, 151
- Artigo*, 419
- Artois, Robert, Count of, 255, 260
- Arundel, Admiral Richard, ninth Earl of, 249 and n., 250, 255, 257, 262, 265, 269
- tenth Earl of, 154, 289 and n., 290, 291, 298, 300, 301
- Sir John, 244, 292, 293; takes Duncan Campbell, 459
- Arzina, Bay of, 614, 615
- Ascension*, 518, 526, 592, 651, 654, 656
- Ashdown, battle of, 37
- Ashhurst, Thomas, 609
- Ashley, a volunteer with Parker, 530
- Captain Henry, 589
- Sir Anthony, 511 and n.
- Ashman, Admiral Robert, 222 and n.
- Ashton, Admiral Sir Robert, 279 and n., 280, 281, 282
- Astrolabe, Nicholas of Lynn and the, 321
- Astrolabe adapted by Behaim for use in navigation, 400
- Asuncion*, 599, 600, 602; sunk by the *Revenge*, 496
- Atacamas Bay, Richard Hawkyns in, 642
- Athelstan, King, 11, 40, 66
- son of Egbert, 36
- Athy, Admiral Sir John de, 218, 221 and n., 224, 233, 240
- Atrius, Quintus, 27
- Attorney impressed, 146

- Anbyn, Henry, 131
 Audley, Admiral, 388
Augusta, 598
 Augustus Caesar, 7
 Aula, John, 131 n.
 Aulus Plautius, 29
 Aumont, Marshal d', 502, 503
 Aurea, John de, 241
 Aurelianus, Ambrosius, 33, 34
 Ansteyne, John, 589
 Auxe, Peter de, 178
 Azores; cruise to the, 486; Lord Thomas Howard's expedition to the, 495, 496; Frobisher and Burgh's voyage to the, 498-501; Raleigh rejoins Essex at the, 521; Leveson ordered to the, 529
 Aztecs said to be connected with the Welsh, 305

 BACK-STAFF, of Davis's quadrant, 403
 Bacon, John, 592
 Bacon, on Sea Power, 353
 Bacqueville, De, 361
 Badlesmere, Sir Bartholomew de, 144
 Baeshe, Edward, 438 n.
 Bagnall defeated by O'Neill, 530
 Bagseeq, 37
 Baker, Capt. Christopher, 589
 Baldock, Robert, 229
 Baldwin, of Flanders, 49, 51
 Baliol, Edward, lands in Fifeshire, 231; is crowned at Scone, 231; is besieged in Perth, 231
 — John, 206; in alliance with France, 209; surrenders to England, 210
 Ballad of a fifteenth-century passenger-ship, 343, 344
 Ballingers, 143
 Ballista, 102
 Baltic, early intercourse with the, 55; voyages to the, 394
 Banastre, Sir Thomas, 272, 292, 293
 Bancks, Edward, 592
 Bannockburn, battle of, 217
Barbara, 427
 Barbary, company of traders to, 440; White's voyage to, 501; trade with, 614
 Barbenoire: *see* Bocanegra
 Barbotière, shipwreck of M. de la, 653
Barca de Amberg, 601
Barca de Anzique, 601
 Bard, Admiral Peter, 217 and n., 234, 243, 245
 Bardolf, Sir Thomas, 225
 — Admiral Sir William, 381
 Bardsey Island, a Scot's ship taken at, 357
 Barleur, 164, 175, 176; ships taken at, 263
 Baris, William de, 190
Bark Boud, 577 n., 590
 — *Bonner*, 590
 — *Buggins*, 591
 — *Burr*, 592
Bark Clifford, 486
 — *Fleming*, 566
 — *Halse*, 597
 — *Hawkyns*, 590
 — *Lamb*, 596
 — *Manington*, 591
 — *Polts*, 595
 — *St. Legers*, 591
 — *Sutton*, 597
 — *Talbot*, 577 n., 590
 — *Webb*, 595
 — *of Ballou*, 419, 422
 — *of Morlaix*, 419
 Barker (? Master of the *Victory*), 589
 — Edmund, 652, 653, 654
 Barking Creek, 405
Barkley Bay, 526
 Barlowe, Arthur, 616
 Barne, George, 592
 Barontus, 60
 Barrett, Robert, 592
 Barris, Peter de, 172
Bartholomew, 595
 Barton, Andrew, 419, 444, 446-449
 Basilisks, 410, 411
 Basing, 37
 Basins, 344
 Baskerville, Sir Thomas, 504, 506-508
 Bassett, Sir Ralph, 227, 236
 Bassils, 409, 412
 Bastard cannon, 410, 411
 — culverin, 408, 410, 411, 417
 Bastimentos, the, 531
 Battayle, Robert de, 137
 — Admiral Robert, 224 and n.
 Bauck, Berenger, 229
 Baudethon, Reginald, 131
 Bayeux Tapestry, 76-78, 85
 Bayona, 556 and n.
 Bayonnais seamen rewarded, 229; ships ordered out, 219; squadron at Sandwich, 248; ships offered to Edward III., 258; summoned to attack the Spaniards, 272; ships take a Spanish convoy, 289; Bayonne: 462; Bernard, Bishop of, 103; hire of ships from, 129; the Cinque Ports at war with, 195, 203; ordered to assist in the defence of the kingdom, 228; called upon for shipping, 237; vessels requisitioned from, 263
 Baxter, Robert, 589
 Bazan, Don Alonso de, 491, 495, 497, 501
Bazana, 603
 Beachy Head, 375
 Beacons, 139
 — established on the coasts, 249
 — fired at the approach of the Armada, 563 and n.
Bear, 423, 425
 — or *White Bear*, 565, 572, 575 n., 581 n., 588, 589, 650
 — *Yang*, 577 n., 591
Bear's Whelp, 650

- Boursain*, 594
 Beauchamp, Admiral Sir John, 154, 225, 268 and n., 273, 275, 278
 — Sir William, 297
 Beaufort, Sir Robert, 283 n.
 — Admiral Sir Thomas (later Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter), 369 and n.
 Beaugé, battle of, 382
 Beaulieu Abbey, surrender of Warbeck at, 447
 Beaumont, Lord; his barge taken, 232; his cog captured, 234, 301
 — Admiral John Lord, 301
 — Sir Henry, 229
 Beaupel, Admiral Sir Robert, 261 and n.
 Beccles, 114
 Bèche, Sir Nicholas de la, 251
 Bedford, of Hull, 220
 Bedford, Adam de, 315
 — Richard, 595
 — Admiral John, Duke of, 375, 377, 381, 382, 383, 460
 Beeston, Captain Sir George, 573 n., 576, 589
 Behaim, Martin, 400, 401
 Béhéchet, Nicolas, 239, 241 n., 245, 251, 255, 257
 Beirut, action off, 172
Belshara, 120 n.
 Bell, Edward, 594
 "Bellatorum," 122
 Bellay cited, Du, 412, 413, 462, 464, 465
 Belle Isle, 370
 Bellingham, Captain Henry, 487, 502
 Belis as signals, 246
 Beltoft, Simon de, 234
 Benevolences nominally abolished, 349
 Benfleet, 38
Bennot, 222
 — Stephen, 524
 Benstede, Sir John de, 211
 Beorn, son of Godwin, 50
 Beol, Robert, 371 n.
 Berghaven, 640
 Bergen burnt, 395, 396
 Berkeley, Admiral Thomas, 11th Lord, 356, 359 and n., 363
 — Sir John, 526, 527
Becaard, 148
 — Bishop of Bayonne, 103
 — of Toulouse, 263
 Berce taken, Don Antonio, 649
 Bert, Peter, 436
 Bertemona, Admiral Martin de, 571, 578, 600; said to have taken the *Rewings*, 600 n.
 Bertheaume Bay, 452
 Berwick, 231, 372; strange visitors at, 199; a fleet co-operates in the siege of, 209, 210; defence of, 214, 215; threatened by pirates, 219, 220; taken by Robert Bruce, 221, 222; siege of, 232; taken by the Scots, 271; recovered, 275; prosperity of, 315; threatened by the Earl of Mar, 365; Queen Margaret at, 389; Treaty of, 475
 Berwick, Sir John, 211
 Best, George, 624, 625, 626
 Betour, William le, 214
 Bendyn, Admiral Sir Robert, 225
 Bianco, map of Andrea, 606, 607
 Bigbury Bay, loss of the *San Pedro Mayor* in, 584
 Bigot, Hugh le, 201 n.
 Bilbao, attack on the *Primrose* off, 484
 Bingham, Sir Richard, 584
 Binon, a Welsh trader, 340
 Biscay, Armada of, 598
 Biscayner taken, a, 485, 499
 Bjorn Asbrandsson, voyage of, 64
Black Bark, 419 and n.
 — Book of the Admiralty, the, 119
 — *Dog*, 423, 593
 — *Galley*, 422
 — *Pinna*, 421
 — Prince, death of the, 286
 "Blackbeard": see *Bocanegra*
 Blackburne, Admiral Nicholas, 366
 Blackness, Scots vessels burnt off, 369
 Blagrove's improvements in nautical instruments, 402, 403
 Blancbilly, John, 120
 Blanch, William, 643
Blanch Not, La, or White Ship, 78, 81, 82
 Blanc-Sablon Bay, 455, 457
 Blankenberghe, English fleet off, 251
 Baskets, Loss of the *N. S. de la Rosa* on the, 584
 Blavet, 502
 Blaye, 206
Blessed Mary, 437, 217
 Blocks, 146, 340
 Blore Heath, 386
 Blount, Sir Charles, 589
 — Sir Christopher, 512 n., 515, 519
 Blucke, Richard, 589
 Blue dye used by early Britons for sails and clothing, 6, 57
 Blunderville's "Exercises," 402
Blyth, La, 120 n., 131 (2), 224
 Boadicea, 7
 Board of Admiralty, 438
 Boats, 121; how carried, 414; in action, 464
 Bobadilla, Don Francisco de, 582
 Bocanegra, Ambrosio, 282
 — Egipto, 244 n., 245, 251, 257, 258, 262
 Bodenham, Jonas, 589
 Bodleian Library, Origin of the, 517
 Bohun, Enjinger de, 116
Boat Confidentialia, 613
 — *Speranza*, 613
Bonaventure, 404, 423, 425, 495, n., 502, 504, 520, 529, 553 n., 575 n., 576, 588, 589, 635
Bonardin, 423, 488, 588, 589

- Bond, William, 405
 "Bondendon," 325, 330, 331
 Bonner, Abraham, 592
 Bonnets, 145, 418 n.
 Boons at St. Juan de Puerto Rico, 506
 Borachero, Don Diego de, 530, 536
 Bordeaux, 206, 379, 374; Henry III. at, 197; convoy to, 360; English wine-ships captured off, 268; taken by Shrewsbury, 385
 Borman, John, 589
 Borough, Stephen, 613, 615, 616, 617
 ——— Captain William, his writings, 402, 437 n., 438 n., 439, 487; his desertion of Drake, 487, 488, 580, 589, 615, 616, 617
 Bostocke, Captain John, 589
 Bosworth, battle of, 393
 Botetort, Sir John de, 142, 205 and n., 210, 218
 Botoner, William, 605, 606, 607
 Botreaux, William Lord, 381
 "Botts," 339
 Boulogne; 214; Carausius besieged in, 31; Danes at, 38; and Flanders, threaten invasion, 161; Alliance with, 162; French fleet chased into, and partly destroyed at, 247; Henry of Lancaster sails from, 302; besieged by Henry VII., 445; blockade of, 459, 460; besieged by the French, 464, 466, 469; informal hostilities at, 468; surrendered to France, 469; negotiations at, 529
 Bourbon, the Bastard of, 374, 377
 Bourg, 206; exploit of Montacute at, 210
 Bourc-en-Blaye besieged, 367
 Bourgneuf Bay, 282 and n., 285
 Bourne's "Regiment of the Sea," 402
 Bontières, de, 463
 Bouton, Sir Tomai, 283
 Bouvines, battle of, 182
 Boves, Sir Hugh de, 183, 184
 Bower, William, 594
 Bowers, Robert, 594
 Bowles, a Cherokee chief, 310
 Bowline, 344
 Bownan, Piers, 115 n.
 Bows and arrows, 413, 414
 Bowsprits, 145
 Boyville, Hugh de, 139
 ——— Sir John, 272
 Brabant, mercenaries from, 271; chains of Humphrey of Gloucester to lands in, 383
 ——— Clugnet de, 367
 Bradbury, Jonas, 593
 Bradeston, Sir Thomas, Lord, 255, 266
 Bradgate, Captain, 529, 537
 Bradley, Thomas, 608
 Bradshaw, Robert, 498
 Brails, 344
 Brancaster Bay, 8
 Brand, William, 654
 Brandan, voyage of St., 60
 Brandon, Sir Charles, 450, 451 and n., 452
 Branodunum, 8
 Braose, William de, 177 n.
 Braquemont, Jean de, 377
 ——— Robinet de, 374
Braon, 592
 Brawling, 130
 Bray, Sir Reginald, 401 and n.
 Brazil, or O'Brazile; a fabulous land, 61; William Hawkyns's voyages to, 611; voyages for the discovery of, 607
 Brazilman, Raleigh takes a, 523
 Breaming, 123
 Breechloaders, 119, 157
 Bréhat, castle of, 368
 Breme, Albrith le, 137
 "Bres," 326, 330, 331
 Brest, 285, 450; Edward III. at, 260, 261; Spanish fleet at, 288; John of Gaunt attacks, 298, 299; the *Regent* burnt off, 405; battle off, 451; blockade of, 453, *et seq.*; Howard's fatal cutting out expedition at, 455-457; Prigent chased into, 457; contemplated attack on, 473; blockaded, 502
Bret, La, 131
 Bretigny, treaty of, 278
 Bretony defeat English pirates, 358
 Brézé, Pierre de, 385, 388
 Bridgwater, a bark of, 595
 Bridlington, 302
 Brielle, 183
 Brighton, 464; burnt, 157
 Brighthelm, 42
 Briltric, 11
 Bringborne, Robert, 592
 Bristol, 197, 233, 234, 381, 395, 397, 398, 460; trade of, 400; galleys of, 414; a squadron of — — ships, 218; ships burnt, 247; ordered to send ships to Wales, 364; voyages from, 606, 607, 608
 ——— Channel; raid by a son of Harold in the, 87; operations in the, 357
 Britain circumnavigated, 29, 57
 British Isles, map of 1448 of the coasts of the, 606
 Brittany; pirates, 40; expedition to, 161; English seamen's feud with, 223; Duke of, 288; English pirates defeated off, 358, 359; coast of, ravaged, 360; assists the Earl of Richmond, 392; and betrays him, 393; transferred to France, 414; attacks on the coast of, 450; Mary Stuart lands in, 468
 Brixham, 139
 Broke, William, 137 n.
 Bromley, Henry, 526
 Brooke, Captain Sir William, 520
 — — Fulke Greville, Lord, 137 n.
 — — Robert, Lord, sent to Brittany, 443
 Brooms, 146
 Brough, John, 592
 Broughton, Sir Thomas, 443

- Brown, Brute, 589
 Browne, Captain, 537: killed, 538
 ——— Richard, 594
 Browning, Jordan, 346
 Bruce, Edward, 218, 221
 ——— Robert, 213, 215-18, 221, 222, 230
 Bruges, 445: convention of, 210: Parma at, 577
 Brumandurh, 40
 Bruynig, William, 131
 "Bruit y Tywysegon," 305
 Brute, the Trojan, 55
 Bryan, Edward, 594
 ——— Admiral Sir Guy, 275 and n., 276, 277, 280, 281, 282
 Brygandine, Robert, 115 n., 405, 436
Bryggandine, 421, 423, 588, 589
Buchan, 269
 Buck, Sir Peter, 438 n.
 Buckingham, troops sent to Brittany under the Earl of, 293: he besieges Nantes, 294
 ——— Thomas, Earl of, 288
 Buckland, John, 613, 615
 Buckley, Richard, 589
 Buceq, Jean de, destroys an English squadron, 300
 Buoy, John de, 177 n.
 Budgeigh, complaint from, 267
 Bucha, Comdele: *see* Niño, Don Pedro
Bull, 421, 423, 580, 588, 589
 Bull, John, 346
 ——— Stephen, 444, 453, 455
 Buoys, laws concerning, 108
 Burburata, John Hawkyns at, 617
 Bures, Richard I. at, 165
 Burgh, Hubert de, 185 and n., 186, 188-190, 194, 257
 ——— Sir John, 498 and n.
 ——— Sir Richard de, Earl of Ulster, 215, 217, 218
 ——— William, fifth Lord de, 498 n., 499, 500
 ——— William and Edward de, 221
 Burghersh, Admiral Sir Bartholomew, 250, 242, 243
 Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 553, 554, 555
 Burgundy, Duke of, 287, 363
 ——— Philip, Duke of, 279: partial truce with, 368: assists Edward IV., 389: treaty with, 446: alliance with, against Gelderland, 448
 Burnell, Captain Francis, 555 and n., 569 n., 589, 594
 ——— Hugh, second Lord, 356
 Burnham Down, camp at, 180
 Bury St. Edmunds, 229
 Busses, 101
 Butler, William, 592
 Butsecarls, 51, 52
 Butts, Sir William, 610: his son, 611
- CABEGAS, 531
 Cabins, 121, 310, 314: in Norse vessels, 71
 Cables, 116, 121, 414: iron, used by Venetians, 4: practice of cutting, 432
 Cabot, Sebastian: his map, 608: enters the service of Edward VI., 612, 613: Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, 613: notices the variation of the needle, Sebastian, 401
 ——— John, voyages of, 608, 609
 Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez, 633
Cacafuego, 631: taken by Drake, 632
 Cadiz, 448: instructions for the expedition, 1596, 1429: Drake's attack on, 487-489: the great expedition to, 509, *et seq.*; explorers knighted for services at, 651
 Cadsand: *see* Gadzand
 Caen, capture of, 264
 Caernarvon besieged by the French, 361
 Caesar, J., invasion, 24: fleet of, 27: second withdrawal of, 29
 Caesar, Charles, 590
 ——— William, 592
 Caithness ravaged, 40
 Calais, 185, 186, 291, 373, 374, 378, 382, 383, 386, 387, 389, 390, 445, 447, 457, 475: Scots ships at, 234: BOLL of, 265 n.: French convoy taken off, 266: besieged by Edward III., 264, 267: Edward III. repels an attempt on, 268: ceded to England, 278: siege of, 287: French ships wrecked near, 297: besieged by the French, 298: threatened, 360: captures by the captain of, 362: desultory action off, 366: threatened by the French, 367: besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, 383: relieved by Humphrey of Gloucester, 383, 384: Henry VIII. at, 460: loss of, 472: Spain takes, 508: scheme for Parma's junction with the Armada off, 547: arrival of the Armada off, 574, 575
 Caledoni, 33
 "Calfacted," 340
 Caligula, 29
 Calivers, 412, 417
 Callao, Drake at, 631
 Callineus of Heliopolis, 102
 Calms, signals in, 433
 Calshot Castle, 136
 Calverley, Admiral Sir Hugh, 288, 291, 292
 Camaret, 358
 ——— Bay, 451
 Camber, 375, 431
 ——— Castle, 363
 Cambridge, Edmund, Earl of, 285, 286: troops sent to Portugal under, 294
 Camoys, Thomas, Lord, 356
 ——— William, 381
 Campbell taken, Duncan, 459
 Campo Fregoso, Peter de, 284
 Camville, Richard de, 103, 167
 Canary Islands, 505: voyages of John Hawkyns to the, 617
 Candles, precautions as to, 432
 Cañete, the Marquis of, 642

- Canfield, Captain, 618, 619
 Cannibalism at sea, 610
 Cannon (*see also* Guns), 118, 109-111, 417
 — Pedro, or Pierrier, 409-411
 — Royal, 410, 411
 — Serpentine, 410, 411
 Cano, Sebastian del, 631 n.
 Canterbury, 377
 — Cathedral, Picture anciently in, 405, 406
 Cautilupe, Sir William de, 197
 Canute, 17, 45, 46, 47; chosen by the fleet, 18; defeated by the Swedes, 46; journey to Rome, 69
 — of Berwick, 97
 Canvas, 120, 121
 Canyng of Bristol trades to the north, William, 395, 397, 606, 607
 Cão, Behaim, accompanies Diogo, 400
 Cape Breton, 609; reached by Hore, 610
 — Farewell, Greenland, Frobisher off, 625
 — Hatteras, 609
 — Horn, Drake discovers, 630, 634
 — Race reached by Grube, 610
Capitana, 603
 "Captain-General," 545 n.
 Captain, 146
 Captains, 143
 "Captains and Leaders," 313
 Capstans, 12, 145, 341
 Capstanspokes, 340
Caraquan burnt, 462, 463
 Carausius, 7, 30-32
Cardinal, 120, 192
 Cardinal, John, 596
 Careless, Robert, 526
 Carew, Captain Sir George, 464, 485 n., 509 and n., 511, 513, 519, 520 and n.
 — Sir John, 450, 452
 — Sir Peter, 468
 — Sir Thomas, 372, 379
 Carey, Francis, 589
 — Sir George, 573
 — Sir George: *see* Humsdon, George Carey, second Lord.
 — Robert, 589
Cardinal, 602
 Carlingford, 233
Carouse, 597
 Carpenters, 146
 Carrack, 339; blown up, Spanish, 503
 Carracks, 143; taken by Prince Thomas, 363; taken by the Earl of Huntingdon, 380
 Carriekfergus, 224
 Cartagena, John Hlawkyns at, 619
 Carte, Harry at, 131
 Carter, John, 608
 Cartridges for heavy guns, 414
Carvel of Eve, 404
Casa de Paz Chica, 601
Casa de Paz Grande, 601
 Cascais, Drake off, 488, 492; vessels taken at, 492
 Caspian, Jenkinson in the, 616
 Cassi, 28
 Cassivelaunus, 28
 Castille, alliance with, 129; reprisals against, 220; apology to, 274; allied with France, 279; a ship of, captured by Harry Pay, 358; envoy sent to, 369; Treaty with, 439, 447; Armada of the galleons of, 599
Castillo Negro, 601
 Castillon surrenders, 206
 Castlewrights, 145
 Castro y de la Cueva, Don Beltran de, 642-4
 Caswale, 28
 "Catai," 252
 Cateau Cambresis, Treaty of, 475
 Cathay, Sir Hugh Willoughby's voyage to, 613
 Catlin on traces of Welsh in the Mandan tongue, 311
 Catton, William, 115 n.
 Caulking, 141, 310
 Caunton, Sir John de, 214, 215 and n.
 Caye, George, 503
 Cavendish, Thomas, 590, 636-638, 639, 646, 647
 Cawfield, Captain, 597
 "Celtas," 120
 Celts, Goidelic, 33
 Cely, Thomas, 591
 Cemmagui, 28
Centurion, 526 and n., 569, 592; splendid defence of the, 198
 Ceols, 11 n.
 Cerda, Don Carlos de la, 268
 — Don Luis de la, 259 and n. 260, 268, 269, 270
 Cerdic, 34
 Ceri, 56
 Ceton, 364
 Cezimbra, 533; attack on, 534, 535; Monson revisits, 537
 Chambers, guns with, 149, 157, 158, 312
Chauce, 591
 Chancellor, Richard, 613-616
Chamwell, 524, 525
 Chandos, Sir John, 255, 270
 Channel, Harold loses the command of the, 73; the passage, 138, 139, 154; insecurity of the, 236, 237; command of the, 265; French activity in the, 277; French superiority in the, 293, 294; English pusillanimity in the, 296; insecurity of the, 371; activity of French cruisers in the, 374, 375
 — islands, the, 274; quarrel between the Bretons and, 196; descents upon, 242; ships obtained from, 280
 Chaplains, 143
 Charges for guns, 410, 411
 Charlemagne and Oifa, 12, 66

- Charmouth, Egbert and Ethelwulf defeated at, 36
- Charity*, 120 n.
- Charles*, 423, 425, 588, 589
- Charles, Admiral Edward, 112, 213, and n. William, 131 n.
- Count of Valois, 205
- Chareau, Senior, 455, 456
- Charts, William Borough's, 616; misleading nature of plane, 402
- Chasing, regulations as to, 430, 431
- Chastillon, the Sire de, 379
- Châteaubriand, De, 361
- Châtel, Guillaume du, 358, 359, 361
- , Pamegü du, 361
- Chatham Chest, the, 433, 434
- Dockyard, 436, and n.
- Chaucer mentions the bonnet, 145
- Chaucer's Shipman, 156, 157
- supposed allusion to Nicholas of Lynn, 322
- Cheke, William, 346
- Cherbourg, raided, 208; burnt, 264; ships sent to, 280; transferred by Navarre to England, 289; English defeat off, 290; blockaded and reinforced, 290; Surrey's raid near, 458
- Chest at Chatham, the, 433, 434
- Chester, John, 592, 628
- Richard, 592
- Cheyne, Sir Thomas, 453, 455, 456
- Chichester, Dames at, 39
- Thomas, 593
- Chidley, John, 589
- "Chita," 364
- Chivalry*, 131
- Christ*, 419
- Christina*, 131
- Christopher*, 146, 147, 148, 312, 346, 419 n., 420, 597; taken, 244, 245, 250 n., 251, 253; retaken, 254, 256; (Drake's), 628, 630
- *Dary*, 427
- of Calais, 446 n.
- of Hull, 374
- of Westminster, 217
- of Yarmouth, 218
- *Spague*, 347, 380 n.
- Chronometer, prototypes of the, 401
- Chudleigh's voyage to the South Sea, 638, 639
- Cicero on Sea Power, 353
- Cicero Falato*, 601
- Cinarrones, the, 622, 623
- Cinque Ports, 106, 112, 116, 119, 121, 124, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 140, 141, 151, 155, 176, 184, 187, 190-198, 202-208, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224, 227, 234-236, 246-249, 258-262, 277, 349, 357, 368, 378, 379, 382, 387, 392; piracy of the, 136, 137; oppose the Crown, the, 200; piratical practices of the, 201; and Yarmouth, quarrels be-
- tween the, 211, 212; declare for Queen Mary, 471
- Cissa, 34
- Civil War, sufferings of England under, 98, 99
- Clare, Richard de, Earl of Pembroke, 163
- Clarence, George Duke of, 389
- Admiral Thomas, Duke of; *see* Thomas of Lancaster
- Clarke, successes of the privateer Francis, 477
- John, 594
- Richard, 645
- Claudius Cesar, 7, 29
- "Clavus," 11, 138, 145
- Clayes, 116, 214
- Clayton, Laurence, 595
- Cleanliness, 430
- Clear, Sir John Arundel, wrecked near Cape, 233
- Cleer, Lawrence, 589
- Clerc, Sir Thomas, 437 n.
- of Ormesby, Vice-Admiral Sir John, 473
- Clerk, John, 116, 119
- "Clerk," 342
- Clerk of Marine Causes, 115 n.
- of the Acts, 115 n.
- of the Navy, 115 n.
- of the Ships, 115 n., 381
- Clerke, Samuel, 589
- Thomas, 591
- Clerks, 146
- of the ships, 436, 437 and n., 438 n.
- Cleves, Robert, 136
- Cley, Prendergast fits out a ship of, 362
- Clifford, Sir Conyers, 511, 515
- Captain Sir Alexander, 502 n., 509 and n., 529, 589
- Henry, 526
- Lord, 269
- John Lord, 375
- Sir Nicholas, 506
- Clincher-built, early boats, 11, 56
- Clinton, Lord High Admiral, Edward Lord (later Earl of Lincoln), 467, 469, 472, 473, 475, 480, 483
- Admiral Sir William (later Earl of Huntingdon), 232 and n., 236
- Admiral, 388
- Clisson, Sir Amery de, 259
- Olivier de, 300, 358
- Claud in the Sun*, 421
- Clyderow, Admiral Richard, 356 and n., 366, 372
- Clyvedon, Richard, 115 n.
- Cnoven of s' Hertogenbosch, 321 and n.
- Coast defences, 434-436
- Coasters, serving under Lord Henry Seymour against the Armada, 596; serving under Howard of Effingham against the Armada, 595
- Cobham, Edward Lord, 387

- Cobham, Admiral Sir John, 231
 — Admiral Sir Reginald de, Lord, 251,
 255, 261 and n., 267, 269
 — William, Lord, 551 n.
 Cock, Edward, 592
 — Sir John, 273
 Cogs, 111, 112, 143
 "Coket," 243
 Cole, Humphrey, invents the log and line,
 402
 Coligny, D'Andelot de, 472 and n.
 "Collett," 338, 339
 Collision, 108
 Colthurst, Christopher, 526, 592
 Columba, St., 61
Columbe, La, 101 n.
 Columbers, Sir Matthew de, 130
 Columbus, Christopher, 400; observes the
 variation of the needle, 401
 Colville, Sir John, 370, 371
 Colyn, John, 275
 Comersall, William, 115 n.
 "Comes Britanniarum," 59
 "Comes Litton's Saxonici," 30, 58
 "Comitres," 129, 143
Commander, 385 n.
 Commerce, Anglo-Saxon, 19
 Commission for naval affairs, 236
 — of national defence, 237
 Commissioners of the Navy Office, 437, 438
 Commons, complaints of the, 280
 Commonus opposes Richard I., 170, 171
 Company, obligation to keep, 430
 Compass, the mariner's, 128, 147, 312 n.,
 327, 342
 "Complaynt of Scotland," extract from the,
 415 *et seq.*
 Complement of the *Henry Grace à Dieu*,
 109
 Complements, 100, 102, 137, 114
 Compostella, pilgrims to, 396
 Compton, sinking of a ship commanded by
 Captain, 455
 Comptrollers of Ships, 437 n.
 Conan of Brittany defeated, 161
Conception, 599
 — *de Capetillo*, 602
 — *de Capasa*, 602
 — *de Francisco de Labrador*, 602
 — *de Juanes del Cano*, 598
 — *de Sonanilha*, 602
 — *de Valmassola*, 602
 — *de Zabelza*, 598
 Condé, Henri de, 483
 Conduct-money, 427, 428
 Conny, John, 596
 Conquét, Le, 450, 455; burnt, 388, 173
Consent, 526 and n.
 Conservation of the navy, 338
 Constable, Marmaduke, 617
 Constables, 130 and n., 143
Constance, 526 and n.
 Constantius, 31, 32
 Consul at Pisa, Strozzi appointed English,
 398
Content, 127 n., 636, 638; brilliant defence
 of the, 197
 Contraband of war, 219, 220
 Contract, guardianship of the coasts uncer-
 tained by, 295; police of the seas carried
 out by, 318, 319; the war in Flanders
 undertaken by, 295
 Convoy, 198, 237, 316; to Brittany, 285;
 to Gascony, 272, 300, 304; neglect of, 248
 Conyers, Sir Robert, 272
 Cooke, Benjamin, 593
 Coracles, 2, 56; ancient Irish, 60 and n.,
 61; in America, 311
 Cordage, 120
 Cork, Warbeck at, 446
 Cormac, Mac Art, 59, 61
 Corn trade in early times, 57
 Cornet Castle retaken, 262, 263; besieged,
 284
 Cornewalshe, Admiral James, 371
 Cornhill, Reginald de, 111, 116
 — William de, 116
 Cornish, Hugh, 591
 — William, 590
 — pirates, 369
 Cornwall ravaged, 290; Spanish design on,
 323
 — Piers Gaveston, Earl of, 211, 215 n.,
 216
 Coro sacked by Preston, 651
 Corrientes, action off Cape, 497
 Cortes, Martin, his "Compendium," 402
 Corunna, John of Gaunt at, 290; attacked
 by Drake and Norreys, 191; Spanish pre-
 parations in, 194; Howard and Essex
 look into, 517; Essex's fleet reported at,
 521; Spanish preparations at, 528; Mon-
 son directed to watch, 536; the Spanish
 Armada at, 549
 Cosa's map, Juan de la, 608, 609, 616
 Cossard, Janyu, 346
 Cost of the early navy, 315
 Cotch, Thomas, 526
 Cotterell, Admiral Patrick, 374
 Council of War, 373, 534
 — to assist Howard and Essex, a, 511
Coutless, 116
 Count of the Saxon Shore, 30
 Courtenay, Sir Hugh, 296 n.
 — Sir Edward, 375
 — Sir Peter, 290 and n.
 — Admiral Sir Philip, 282, 285, 290 n.,
 293
 — Robert de, 186, 189, 190
 Court-martial, early examples of, 430
 Cowes, 434
 Cowey Stakes, 28
 Coxe, William, 570, 575 n., 591
 Coxon, William, 596
 Crabbe, John, 231, 232, 250, 255
 — Stephen, 120

- Cracliere*, 346, 347
Crafton, William, 524
Craue, 423, 425, 495 n., 509, 529, 530
Cramoges, 2
 "Craundon": *see* Crozon.
Crayers, 143, 144, 427
Crécy, battle of, 264
Crescent, 595
 Crescent formation for fleets, 109
Cressets in lighthouses, 125
Creye, Admiral William de, 217 and n., 218
Criol, Bertram de, 121
Cripps, William, 596
Crofts, Sir James à, 551
Cromer, 389
Cromwell, Edward, third Lord, 519 and n.
 — — Admiral Sir John de, 225
 — Sir Richard, 453, 456
Crook, near Waterford, 163, 179
Cross-staff, the, 400, 401, 403
Crosse, Captain Sir Robert, 495 n., 498, 500, 509 and n., 513, 529, 576 and n., 582 n., 589
Crotay, French convoy taken off, 266
Crown offered to Louis of France, the, 184
Crozon, 140, 141, 503
Crucifijo, 602
Crusade against Tunis, 301
Crusades, the, 164, 190, 202: stimulating effects of, 97
Crucabury, 137
Culverins, 409-411, 417
Cumberland, George Clifford, Earl of: first expedition, 483, 486, 490; third expedition, 493; fourth expedition, 494, 495; fifth expedition, 500 n., 504; sixth expedition, 501, 502; seventh expedition, 503, 504; eighth expedition, 508; ninth expedition, 518; tenth expedition, 525, *et seq.*; 576, 589 and n., 597, 654
Cumberland, U.S.S., 174
Cymbelinus: *see* Cymbeline.
Curach, or coracle, 60, 61
Curden, Peter, 630, 631
Curtalds, 412
Curton, Baron de, 163
Curzon, Sir John, 283 n.
Cuttle, Robert, 592
Cygnet, 423, 425, 580, 588, 589
Cymbeline, 7, 29
Cymon, 34
Cynic, 34
Cyprus, Edward I. at, 203

Daiuty, 505, 637, 641-643: taken by the Spaniards and re-named *Visitacion*, 643
Dale, Doctor Valentine, 551 n.
 — — John, 592
 — — Sir Thomas, 203
Dalkey Island, naval force off, 224
Dalriada, 33
Danford, 592

Danne, capture of Spanish ships bound for, 208; French fleet at, 180; Queen Eleanor collects a fleet at, 201; the Earl of Salisbury's naval success off, 181
Dannonii, 33
Danegeild, 16, 17, 42, 13, 44; remitted by Stephen, 92; revived, 78, 79
Danelagh, 16, 18, 43
Danes, the, banished from England, 48; bribed by William I., 88; in Northumbria, 14; intimidated by William I.'s fleet, 89; massacre of the, 43; masters of the Narrow Seas, 18; naval action with the, 39; storm York, 88
D'Angle, Sir Guichard, 282, 283
Daniel, 596
Danish raiders, 13, 35, 36, 37-45
 — — seizure of an English merchantman, 315
Danzig, trade with, 395
D'Arcy, Admiral Sir Philip, 298
 — — John, Lord, 260
 — — Philip with Lord, 356
 — Thomas, Lord, 448
Darell, Sir Marmaduke, 438 n., 513, 556 and n.
Darien, Isthmus of, Drake on the, 622;
 Raleigh's plan to cross the, 498
Darling, 650
Dartmouth, 139, 178, 183, 295, 301, 565, 627, 655; and Lynn, hostilities between, 124; burnt, 287; crusading fleet assembled at, 165, 166; fleet assembled at, 279; French defeat at, 361; Genoese carrack driven into, 378; pillaged by the French, 361; ships assembled at, 285; ships in the Seine, 296; Spanish ship driven into, 524
Dasent, Mr. J. R., quoted, 482
Daubeney, Giles, Lord, 147 and n.
 "David," 146
David (Span.), 601
David H., captured, 267
Davis, John, 593, 626; his Arctic voyages, 626, 627; serves as pilot to Lancaster, 654
 — — John, the navigator, accompanies Cavendish, 639; his voyages, 639-641
Davis's quadrant, or the back-staff, 403
 — — "Seaman's Secrets," John, 402, 403
 — — Strait, 627
Davits, 414
Dead Man's Lane, 277
 "Dead Shares," 126-128
Deak, 434
Decline of the navy, causes of the, 281
Decoration of ships, 340
Dee, John, cited, 321, 322
Defiance, 423, 425, 495 n., 504, 520, 529, 530, 532
De la Ware, John, 111
 — — Roger, Lord, 255
Delight, 570, 575 n., 591, 645

- Delight*, of Bristol, 638, 639
Demetæ, 33
Demi-cannon, 409-411
Demi-culverins, 409-411
Demi-slings, 409, 412, 417
Demoiselle, 120 n.
"Den," right of, 132
Dene, Jaunyn, 316
Denison, 592
Denmark, prevention of communication between France and, 280; Treaty of reciprocity with, 395
Dennis, a pirate, 124
Denny, Captain Sir Edward, 495 n.
Deptford, 598; Dockyard, 431; in 1548, ships at, 421; the *Golden Hind* at, 631
Derby, Henry, Earl of (later Earl of Lancaster), 241, 250, 255, 262, 266
— Henry, fourth Earl of, 551 n.
Dermot, King of Leinster, 162, 163
Derrick, Richard, 589
Descharges, the alleged inventor of port-holes, 412
Desertion, punishment for, 292
Desire, 636, 638-640
Descencer, junior, Hugh le, 223, 229, 237
Devereux, John, 137
Devon, Admiral Edward, Earl of, 295
— Hugh Courtenay, Earl of, 260
— ravaged, 290
Devonshire pirates, 369
Devyock, 233
Dials, 117
"Dials," 342
Diamond, 591
Dianna (Span.), 585 n., 603
— 592
Dieppe, 176; blockaded, 384, 459; burnt, 179; a barge of, takes a ship of York, 296
Dieu la Gardé, 279
Diket, Sir William, 232
Dinan taken by De la Cerda, 259
Dingle Bay, the Spaniards in, 482
Dinham, Sir John, 386, 387
Diocletian, 29
Disabled seamen, provision for, 433
Discharge, wrongful, 107
Discoveries, effects of maritime, 439
Discovery as a nursery for the navy, voyages of, 616, 620, 634
Disdain, 498, 564, 581 n., 593
Dispatch after the victory off Sluis, Edward III's, 256
Distance, preserving, 431
Diver in the Armada, a, 579
Dives, William I. collects his fleet in the, 81
Dividers, Ancient, 158
Dixon, John, 526
Doate, John, 593
Dobson, John, 596
Dock at Portsmouth, 431 n., 436
Docks, 117
Dockyards, 122, 123
"Doeg" tribe of Tuscarora Indians, 309
Does, Admiral Pieter van der, 558 n.
Doeg, 493
Doggers, 111
Dolphin, 592
Dominica, 505
— Chamberland at, 527
Dominion of the Seas, 5, 15, 134, 235, 236
Dowella, 579 and n.
Donyngan, Peter, 263
Donyngton, Richard, 262
Dorchester, 178
Dordrecht, 239; Isabella's fleet at, 228, 229
Doria, Otto, 260
Dorothy, 486, 616
Dorset, Admiral John Beaufort, Marquis of, 302
— Admiral John, Marquis of, 154
Double Rose, 421
Doughty, Captain Thomas, 439; Drake's trial and sentence of, 629
Douglas, Sir Archibald, 231
Doye, Richard, 592
Dover, 8, 124, 200, 203, 214, 223, 227, 231, 244, 247, 358, 373, 378, 379, 382, 390, 445, 480; ships furnished by, 131. French landing at, 298; Harbour, 439; held by Hubert de Burgh, 185; threatened, 280, 287, 300
Dowglas, Captain, 648, 649
Downs, fleet assembled in the, 236; return of Howard's ships to the, 581
Downton, Nicholas, 503
Dragon, 419, 421, 427, 508, 621
—, ex *Scourge of Malin*, 654-656
Drake, Captain John, 621, 622, 635, 636
— John, 486
— Joseph, 622
— Captain Thomas, 501.
— Sir Francis, 429, 433, 439, 487, 555-558, 564, 565, 569 n., 570, 573, 575, 576, 580, 589-91, 647; his attack on Cadiz, 488, 489; his expedition to Corunna and Lisbon, 491-493; his last voyage, 504-507; to be attacked by Medina Sidonia, 511; letter to the Council, 554; letter to Elizabeth, 554; his voyages, 617, 619-623; his circumnavigation, 627-634
— Thomas, 628, 634
Drayton, Admiral Sir Thomas, 243, 245
Dreadnought, 423, 425, 487, 491 n., 492 n., 502 n., 509, 518, 520, 532, 531 and n., 535, 537, 538, 570, 576, 588, 589
Dress of seamen, 613
"Drögö," 327, 328, 333, 337
Dromon, 339
Dromons, 101
Drouss, Robert, 275
Drums on ship-board, 432, 433
Dryby, Admiral Simon de, 222 and n.
Dry Docks, 436, 437

- Dublin, fleet for Scotland assembled at, 215 ; taken by Edgar, 41
- Dubris, 7
- Dudley, Captain Sir Robert, 509 and n.
- Sir Henry, 170
- Sir Robert, his voyage to the West Indies, 650, 651, 652
- Duo Repulse*, 423, 425; *see also Repulse*.
- Dunfield, Captain, 495 n.
- Dunjervoorde, Admiral Sir Jan van, 510, 516-518 and n., 529
- Duke of Wellington*, 464 n.
- Duke, Robert, 592
- Dumbarton, 233; Villegagnon embarks Mary Stuart at, 468
- Dumas, Las, 516 n.
- Dunbar, Earl of, 231
- taken, 210; Villegagnon lands troops at, 468; razing of the fortifications of, 476
- Dundalk taken by Edward Bruce, 218; Edward Bruce killed at, 221
- Dunquerque, pretended preparations against, 529; ships obtained from, 276; Spinola escapes to, 536; the supposed point of destination of the Armada, 547
- Dunwich, 114, 191; galleys of, 114
- Duquesa Santa Ana*, 583, 599
- Duro, Captain C. F., 539 n.
- Dutch, the, co-operation of in the Cadiz Expedition, 509, 515; co-operation with Leveson, 533, 535 n., 537; co-operation against the Armada, 558
- fleet under an English admiral, 483
- Duty levied on in-coming ships and goods, 292
- Dux Britannia, 59
- Dyrholm Isle, 396
- EDWY, William, 131
- Eagle*, 423
- Ealchere, 36
- Earth, circumference of the, determined by Eratosthenes, 399
- Ecurig*, 650
- East India Company, 440; origin of the, 489; chartered, 654; first fleet of the, 654, 655
- Ebbsfleet, 34
- Echingham, Sir Edward, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456
- Ecliptic, Obliquity of the, calculated by Eratosthenes, 399
- Eddystone, action with the Armada off the, 564-567
- Ederington, 8
- Edgar, 15, 41; James II.'s admiration for, 42
- Atheling, 53, 80, 87, 89
- Edinburgh, taken, 210; sacked, 160; plundered, 195; Treaty of, 476
- Edmonds, John, 589
- Edmund*, 269, 273
- Edmund, 14, 41
- Edmund Ironside, 17, 45, 46
- Edney, Walter, 597
- Edred, 14, 41
- Edric Streona, 46
- Edward the Elder, 13, 14, 40
- the Martyr, 16, 42
- the Confessor, 48-53
- Edward I., accession of, 129; goes on a crusade, 202; succeeds to the crown, 203; assists France, 213
- Edward II., accession of, 135, 136, 214; abdicates, 229
- Edward III., accession of, 143, 229, 230; does homage to Philip VI., 231; styles himself King of France, 238; at Antwerp, 243; returns from Flanders, 249; resumes his claim to the crown of France, 279; death of, 287
- Edward IV., accession of, 387, 466
- Edward V., accession of, 392
- Edward VI., list of the fleet in the first year of, 420, 421
- Edward*, 147, 211, 269, 270, 422
- taken, 244, 245, 253
- of Malden, 593
- Edward Bonaventure*, 484, 590, 613, 615, 652; wrecked near Pitsligo, 616
- Edwy, 14, 41
- Edingham, Lord High Admiral Charles Lord Howard of; *see* Howard of Edingham
- Egbert, 13, 36
- Egmont, Count, 473
- Eimeon, 304
- "Ejections," 133
- Elbeuf, the Marquis d', 476
- Eleanor*, 224, 423 and n.
- Elephant said to have been brought to Britain by Caesar, 6.
- Elfinar, treachery of, 45
- Elfric, 42
- Eliot (? Lieutenant of the *Triumph*), 589
- Eliot, Hugh, 609
- Elizabeth, Queen, accession of, 473, 474; the fleet under, 422, *et seq.*; firmness of, 440; Drake presented to, 623; death of, 538; her anxiety about the Cadiz booty, 517, 518
- Elizabeth*, 597, 646
- (Davis's ship), 627
- (Drake's), 628, 629, 630
- *Bonaventure*, 423, 425, 439, 487; *see also Bonaventure*.
- — — victualler, 594
- Elizabeth Drake*, 591
- — *Fonnes*, 591
- *Jonas*, 423, 425, 529, 569, 570, 572, 588, 589
- of Dover, 596
- of Leigh, 594
- of Lowestoft, 577 n., 597
- Elizabeth's Island, 532
- Elizabethides, the, 630

- Ella, 34, 35
Ellen, 627; of Greenwich, 379; of Calais, 446 n.
 Ellis, master of the *Dainty*, 643
 Eluan, Sir William, 285
 Elubam, Admiral Sir William, 292, 293
 Ely, Danes at, 88
 Embargo on shipping, 183, 262, 360
 — laid by Spain upon English, Dutch, and German shipping, 181
 Enciso, Martin Fernandez: his 'Suma de Geografia,' 402
 England at the accession of Elizabeth, position of, 473, 474
 English squadron under Sir Hugh Spencer destroyed, 300
 "Engroneland," 326, 331
 Enlistment of seamen, 118
 Enriquez, Don Diego Tellez, 571, 578, 579, 600
 — (of Peru), Don Diego, 567, 571, 573, 574, 578, 599
 Ephemerides of Regiomontanus, 400
 Eratosthenes calculates the obliquity of the ecliptic, 399
 Erisey, James, 590
 Erith, 165
 Erris, loss of the *Rata* off, 583
 Erskine of Dum, Seymour repulsed by, 468
Esayas, 601
 Escalin, Antoine: see Polain.
 Esneeca, 101
 "Espagnols sur Mer," "L," 144
Espicrier, 120 n.
Espirita Santo, 599, 602
 Essex, Henry, Earl of, 388
 — Robert Devereux, Earl of, 429, 491, 509, 510, 513-523, 530
 — William de Mandeville, Earl of, 164, 166
 "Estlanda," 325, 329, 330, 336
 "Estotiland," 326, 327, 328, 332, 333, 337
 Etaples, Peace of, 446
 Ethelbald, 12
 Ethelbert, 37
 Ethelred, 37
 — the Purposless, 16, 42, 45, 46
 Ethelwald, son of Ethelred, 40
 Ethelwulf, 36
 Eustace the Monk, 178 n., 183, 184 and n., 185, 186, 189
 Evan of Wales, 283, 291, 285
 Evans, John, journey of, in search of Welsh Indians, 310
 "Exclusa," 117
 Exeter, 139; Sweyn at, 44; galleys of, 114
 — Admiral John, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of, 383, 387
 — Admiral Thomas, Earl of Dorset and Duke of, 381, 382, 383
 Exmouth, Danes at, 43
 Export of gunpowder prohibited, 371
 — of provisions forbidden, 219
 FAIR ISLAND, loss of the *Gran Griffin* on, 583
Falcon, 116, 269, 273, 401, 421; retaken, 295
 — or *Fawcon*, 317, 351
 — takes a Flanand ship, 470
Blanco Mayor, 601
 — *Blanco Mediano*, 581, 601
 — in the *Fittelock*, 421
 Falconets, 419, 412
 Falcons, 409-411
 Falkland Islands discovered by John Davis, 639
 Falmouth, 233, 358, 364, 616, 653; burnt by the Count de la Marche, 362; Spanish design on, 524
Fancy, 593, 596
 "Fare-coast," 338
 Faro attacked, 517
 Farøe Islands, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333
 Farøes, Norsemen at the, 62
 Fastolf, Sir John, 606
 Faucenberg, Admiral William Neville, Lord, 387, 390
 — Thomas, bastard of, 390
 Fayal, taken by Cumberland, 193; ineffectual attempt on, 191; seized by Raleigh, 521
 Fearn, Richard, 596
 Fécamp, English success off, 179; Echyng-ham chases ships into, 154
 Felton, Sir John, 227
 — Sir Thomas, 285
 — Sir William, 255
 Femer, Captain, 520
 — Captain Edward, 589
 — George, 590; his voyage to Guinea, 477, 478
 — Captain Thomas, 429, 487, 491 n., 502 n., 557, 559, 576, 589; mortally wounded, 492 n.
 — Captain William, 491 n., 589
 Fenton, Captain Edward, 486, 576, 589, 625, 626; his voyage to Brazil, 635
 Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, appeals to John, 180, 181
 Fernandez, Simon, 589
 Fernando, Simon, 647
 Ferrers, Admiral Sir Ralph, 280, 281, 282
 — of Groby, Henry Lord, 250, 255
 — Sir Thomas de, 263
 — Lord, 250
 — Walter, Lord, 453 and n., 455, 456
 Ferrol, Spanish fleet at, 518
 Fifteenth granted for the defence of the realm, a, 295
 "Findals," right of, 132
 Finistère, 358
 Finmark, prohibition of trade to, 395
 "Fire-peace," 125
 Fire, prevention of, 430
 Fireships, 138; employed against the Armada, 575, 577

- Firing-irons, 149
 Fish, royal, 139
 Fisher, John, 565 n., 592
 Fisheries, concessions to the, 139
 — Scots, 315
 Fishermen distressed by the press, 465, 466
 — Drake harasses Spanish, 488
 — seized by the Spaniards, English, 566
 Fishing-boats, privileges to, 192
 Fishing in the Channel prevented, 198
 FitzCount, Henry, 116
 FitzErard, Stephen, 78
 FitzGerald, Maurice, 162 n.
 Fitzmaurice, James, 482
 FitzSampson, John, 122
 FitzStephen, Robert, 162, 163
 — Thomas, 78, 81
 FitzSuanild, William, 116, 119
 Fitzwalter, Admiral Sir Walter, 295
 — Walter, fourth Lord, 288; mutiny in his ship, 288
 — Walter, fifth Lord, 356
 Fitz-William (later Earl of Southampton), Admiral Sir William, 453 and n., 458, 459, 460
 Flag, honour of the, 470, 471, 472; the Dutch, 510 n.; the prince's, 510 n.; Spanish outrage on a, of truce, 493, 494
 "Flag of Council," 439
 Flags, 103, 125, 135, 147, 341, 342, 414, 655; duty of ships to follow, 432; carried by the Spanish Armada, 519, 562, 566
 Flamand fleet off the English coast, 224
 — piracies, 469, 470
 — vessels wrongfully captured, 373
 Flamands, admit the English dominion of the seas, 141; at the battle of Sluis, part taken by the, 252, 256, 257, 258; complain of piracy, 358; cut off near Brest, 473
 Flamborough Head, 362
 Flamsteed improves the Back-staff, 403
 Flanders, Godwin in, 51; and Boulogne threaten invasion, 161; Guy of, 241; Expedition to, 212 *et seq.*; the trade with, 243; Henry of, 255; Edward III. goes to, 262; Mercenaries from, 274; ships obtained from, 277; Peace with, 282; Margaret of Anjou flees to, 389; Warbeck in, 146
 Flanders pirates, 216
Flamard (?), 346
 Fleet of Offer, 12, 35
 — of Edgar, 15, 41; raised by English nobles, 17; built by Ethelred, 41; distribution of the, 113, 111; of Richard I., order of sailing of the, 169; revolt to Warwick of part of the, 387; collected by Edward VI., 167; mobilised in 1599., 529
 Fleming, master of the *Affection*, 526
 Flenyng, Captain Thomas, 562, 563, 566, 591
 Fletcher, Drake's chaplain, 629
 Flicke, Robert, 526, 590
Flight, 423
 Flodden Field, 456, 457
 Florence, treaty of reciprocity with, 398
Florescia, 568, 571, 598
 Flores, Lord Thomas Howard at, 495; Cumberland's seventh expedition at, 503, 527; Burgh and Crosse at, 500
 — de Valdes Diego, 568 and n., 571, 573, 578, 581, 582, 584, 599
 Florida, 397; John Hawkyns relieves the French in, 618
 Flotsam, 152
 Flotte, Pierre, 264
Flower de Luce, 421
 Flushing, 389, 483; Leicester goes to, 486; Spanish prizes taken into, 579 n.
 Fluves, 144
 Fog, a factor in naval warfare, 32
 Fogs, signals in, 433
 "Foists," 455
 Foljambe, Hercules, 526
Folkstone, 131
 Folkestone, 247; French attack on, 184; burnt, 287
 Folstoke, William, 437
 Forbernard, William de, 136
 Fordred, William, 596
 Forecastles, 145
 Foreigners, prohibition of sales of shipping to, 148
 "Fore-lock," 340
Forssight, 423, 425, 491 n., 495 and n., 498, 500, 501, 520, 529, 581 n., 588, 589
 Forestage, 146
 Forestalling, 152
 Forinden, William de, 131
 Fortescue, Captain, 529
 Forth, English fleet in the, 234; Jean de Viemie in the, 297; operations in the, 458; landing in the, 460; Sir William Wynter's successes in the, 475; the Armada to be chased as far as the, 580; the design abandoned, 581
 Fortress, a portable, 299
Fortune, 419, 597
 Fortz, William de, 103, 167
 Foster, master of the *Primrose*, 484
 Fomes, James, 591
 Fowey, 193, 358; burnt, 290
 Fowlers, 409, 412
 Foxcraft, Samuel, 592
 Fra Mauro, map of, 401
 France, war with, 163; seeks aid from Norway, 209; truce with, 212, 213, 296, 379, 384, 391; assisted by Edward I., 243; asks for assistance against Flanders, 219; war with, 225, 390, 469, 477; peace with, 226, 459, 466, 469, 475; Edward III. renounces his claim to the

- crown of, 278; Edward III. resumes his claim to the crown of, 279; aids the Welsh, 359; partial truce with, 368; Henry V. claims the crown of, 371; Henry VII. at war with, 141; friendship with, 502
Frances, 597
Francis, 486, 635, 636; taken by the Spaniards, 505, 506
 Franco-Burgundian squadron taken by Arundel, 300
 Frankish rovers in the Mediterranean, 31
 Freight, rates of, 122; cost of, 147, 154
 French merchants expelled, 193
 — in England arrested, 225, 228
 — raids on the Isle of Wight, 236, 237
 — raids in the Channel, 247
 — coast ravaged, 278
 — fleet built by Jean de Viemie, 286
 — balingers taken, 295
 — ships seized at Southampton, 296
 — vessels taken in the Seine, 296
 — vessels taken near Calais, 297
 — galleys, action with, 301
 — descent on Haverfordwest, 359
 — taken prisoners at Portland, 361
 — land at Milford, 363
 — ships captured, 367
 — in the Channel, partial action with the, 367, 368
 — and Genoese defeated by Huntingdon, 380
 — Newfoundland fleet, design to seize the, 468
 — forts in Scotland to be razed, 475
 — at Newfoundland, difficulties with the, 524
 — coast to be avoided by the Armada, 541 and n.
 — vessel seized by Hore and Wade, 610
French Frigate, 423
 Frenchmen in England imprisoned, 260
 Fries, de, Admiral of France, 359
 Frisian invaders, 10
Frisking, 650
 "Friskland," 325, 326, 327, 328, 330 and n., 331, 332, 336
 Frobiser, Sir Martin, 429, 498-500, 556, 565, 570, 573, 589; blockades Brest, 592; fatally wounded, 503; on the coast of Spain, 494; his voyages, 624-626; remains of hut discovered in 1861, 626
 Frobiser's Strait, 625
 Frontinus, Julius, 29
 Fugars, a volunteer with Parker, 530, 531
 Fulford, Sir Baldwin, 387
 Furthow, William, 592
 Fylle, Richard, 250

Gabriel, 269, 312, 316, 347, 624, 625
 — *de Harfleur*, 317
 — *Royal*, 108, 419
 Gadzand, 171; expedition against freebooters, at, 244; English disaster off, 300
 Gaillard, Robert, 122
 Galiota, 118
 Galleasses, 560 n., 564, 565, 568, 569, 570, 571, 575, 577, 578, 581, 583
Gallega, 597
Galloon Dudley, 590
 — *Hutchins*, 596
 — *Loicester*, 570, 590, 625
Gallerita, 423
Galley Blanchard, 419, 466 n.
 Galley, Roman, 8
 Galleys, 101, 102, 162-166; at Cadiz, 513, 544; at Ceimbra, 533-535, 536; English, commanded by an Italian, 267, 268; contributed by the ports in 1205, 114; convoy storeships to Scotland, 241; Drake's action with, 492; from Genoa, 284; Genoese, 265, 266; in the English navy, 419, 421, 423; obtained from Genoa, 221; taken off Brittany, Genoese, 258
 Galliasses, 101
 Gallio, 9, 32
 Gallions, 101
 Galliot, 114
Galopine, 120
 Gambling, 430
 Gamez, Gutierre Diez de, 364 and n.
 Gaming, Naval laws against, 105
 Gariannonum, 8
 Garibay, 571, 578
Garland, 120 n., 222, 423, 425, 494, 498, 504, 520, 522, 529, 530, 532, 534, 535, 536
 Gascony; ceded to England, 278; convoy to, 191, 275, 300, 301; expedition to, 225; final severance from England of, 385; invaded by Philip IV., 205; negotiations concerning, 246; rebellion in, 199
Gato, 601
 Gattenburg, John, 596
 Gaunt, John of, 298, 299
 Gaveston, Piers, Earl of Cornwall, 244, 246
 Gavran, 306
 Gear and stores, 116
 Gear of ships, price of, 411
 Gehney, John, 300
 Genua, Frisius of Louvain, 401, 402
 "Generals" at sea, 429, *et seq.*
 Genoa, 236, 237; Warwick attacks ships of, and Lübeck, 386; galleys obtained from, 221; letters of marque granted against, 369; mission to, 242; Richard I. at, 167; treaty with, 282, 382
 Genoese carracks in French service, 374
 — cogs and carracks taken, 298
 — galleys, 284; taken off Brittany, 258
 — seize English cargoes, 335
 — ships seized by French in the Downs, 220
 Geoffrey of Brittany, 101

- George*, 146, 147, 260, 279, 316, 347, 377 n., 421, 423, 425, 580, 588, 589, 626.
 — — *Boonventura*, 593
 — — *Noble*, 496, 592
 — — of Falmouth, 427
George, Tristan, 589
Gerard, Archbishop of Aix, 193
 — — John, 346
 — — Sir Thomas, 515 and n.
 — — Thomas, 575 and n., 589
Gerbrandtszoon, Admiral Jan, 558 n.
Germanicus, 7
Germany, alliance with Spain, 448: mercenaries from, 274: renewed alliance with, 458: third alliance of Henry VIII. with, 460: trade with, 100
Gesoriacum, 30
Gettour, Admiral William, 219, 222
Ghent, 445: Edward III. at, 256: relief of, 295
Giant's Causeway, loss of the *Girona* near, 583
Gibraltar, battle near, 31, 32: fight between English merchantmen and Spanish galleys off, 494
Gibson of Glasgow trades in salmon, 395
Gifford, Captain Sir George, 509, 648, 649, 651
Gift, 595, 651
 — — *of God*, 592
 — — *of God*, victualler, 591
Gil, Don Juan, 566, 568
Gilbert, Captain Sir John, 529
 — — John, 648
 — — of Colchester's theory of the earth a magnet, 402, 403
 — — Sir Humphrey, 479, 626: his voyage to North America, 645, 646
 — — Sir John, 520 n.
Giles, Edward, 530
Gillingham, 211
Gillyflower, 421
Girona, 583, 603
Gironde, English vessels burnt in the, 359: French vessels taken in the, 359
Glanvill, Ranulf de, 168
Glasgow, Bishop of, 239, 240
Glaucus, Nicholas, 241
Glenmagiveuy Bay, loss of the *Duquesa Saaba Ana* in, 583, 584
Globe of Behaim, the great, 100, 401
Globes, not charts, used by sixteenth century navigators, 401
Gloucester, Admiral Richard, Duke of (Richard III.), 388, 391-393
 — — — contributes a galley, 114
 — — — Hugh, Earl of, 255, 257
 — — Humphrey, Duke of, 382, 383
Godald, 224
Godefrey, Andrew, 346
Godlyne, 131
Godlibab, 269
Godwin and Warwick, parallel between, 386
Godwin, Earl, 17, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52
 — — Hugh, 649, 650
Godlyne, 131
Godyn, 131
Godyn, William, 131
Gokstad ship, the, 19
Golden Hind, 482, 562, 566 n., 591
 — — (Drake's), ex., *Pelican*, 628, 630-634
 — — (Gilbert's), 645
 — — *Lion*, 423, 487, 502, 569, 570, 572, 588, 589, 592: mutiny of the, 439: see also *Lion*.
 — — *Noble*, 590
 — — *Rial*, 597
Goldesborough, Sir John, 272
Gomara, Lopez de, cited, 307
Gonson, Benjamin, 617
 — — (senior) Benjamin, 437 n.
 — — (junior) Benjamin, 438 n.
 — — William, 115 n.
Good Pace, 340
Goodlad, William, 592
Goodwin, Edward, 526
Gordon, Lady Katherine, 446
Gore, Captain, 529 n., 530, 532
Gorges, Captain Sir Arthur, 519, 520
 — — Nicholas, 429, 593
Goring, Captain, 491 n.
Gosnoll, Bartholomew, voyage to North America of, 532
Gosport burnt, 280
Goulet, Le, 454, 455
Gourdan, M., 575 and n., 576, 577
Gova, 42
Governor, 354, 404
Gower, Captain Walter, 589
Grace, 596
Grace à Dieu, *Grace de Dieu*, or *Grace Dieu*, 342, 347, 354: 371 and n., 404
Grace de Dieu, 284
Grace of Apsam, 597
Grace of God, 596
Graciosa, 521, 522
Grande Maré, 347, 377 n.
Grandison, Sir Otho, 283
Grandmistress, 421
Gran Griffin, 583, 601
Gran-Girin, 567, 573, 576 n., 585 n., 598
Grant, Roger, 591
Grapuels, 270
Gravelines, 185, 366, 368: action with the Armada off, 575-579: naval co-operation at the battle of, 473: ships obtained from, 276
Gravesend, 274, 434, 524: burnt, 294
Gray, John, 589
 — — Thomas, 429, 589
Great Barbara, 419
 — — *Bark*, 408, 419, 420
 — — *Christopher*, 423 n.
 — — *Dragon*, 18
 — — *Elizabeth*, 419
 — — *Gabriel*, 347

- Great Nicholas*, 419
 — *Zabra*, 419
 Greek fire, 102, 109, 110, 172, 377
 Greenland, 323, 324, 326, 334-336; early settlers in, 63; Frobisher in, 626
 Greenwich Hospital, 131
 — the museum at, 405
Gregory Islay, 446 n.
 Greville, Captain Sir Fulke, 529
 Grey de Wilton, Arthur, Earl, 482; in Scotland, 475; surrenders Guisnes, 472
 Grey of Codnor, Admiral Richard Lord, 357
Greyhound, 121, 423, 598
 Greynvile, John, 590
 — Sir Richard, 495 and n., 590; his gallant fight, 495-497; his voyage to Virginia, 616, 617
 Greynvile, Captain Sir Richard, 597
 Greystock, William, Lord, 269
Griffin, 590, 596
 Griffith of Wales, 50, 52, 53
 Griffiths, a Welsh traveller, 310
 Grim, Simon, 113
Grim, the, 113, 116
 Grimaldi, Carlo, 260, 261
 — Prince of Monaco, Reyner III., 285, 287, 289
 — Reyner, 135
 Grimsby chapmen, 97
 Grimstone, Sir John, 283 n.
 "Grislanda," 325, 330, 336
 Grisling, John, 591
 "Grogue," 252
 Grove, pilot of the *Merc Honour*, 522
 Growth of trade, 394
 Grube reaches Cape Race, 610
 Grymble, Thomas, 596
 Guadalupe, 505
Guardland: *see* *Giarland*
 Guatulo, Drake at, 633; burnt by Cavendish, 638
 Gudleif, voyage of, 64
 Guerande invested by De la Cerdá, 259
 Guernsey, 436; raided by Béhuchet, 239; taken by the French, 291
Guest, 654, 655
Guiana, 526
Guide, 423
 Guienne, 369; and Poitou surrendered to France, 227; ceded to England, 278; harassed by the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, 367; precautions for ships bound to, 371
 Guildford, Sir Henry, 451 and n.
 — Sir Richard, 404 and n.
 Guinea Company chartered, the, 644
 — first voyage to, 476; voyages to, 611, 612
 Guise, Duke of, 557
 — François, Duke of, 472
 Guisnes ceded to England, 278
 Guldtoft, Admiral Andrew, 267
 Gundy William, 131
 Gunner's stores of a ship in 1406, 396
 Gunnery, inferiority of Spanish, 561, 583
 Gummibjörn's skerries, 63
 Gunpowder, 118, 411 n., 412, 413; influence of the invention of, 338; export of, prohibited, 371
 Guns, 118, 157, 158, 312; of the sixteenth century, 409-412
 Guttyn Owain, 306
 Guy, Count of Flanders, 210, 211
 Guy de Lusignan, 171
 Gybon, John, 273
Gyfalvesa, 121
 Gyrrh, son of Godwin, 52
 Gytla, wife of Godwin, 18

 Hacha burnt, La, 506
 Hadley's quadrant, 403
 Haretha land, 35
 Hail-shot pieces, 409, 412, 417
 Hainault, Sir John of, 228
 Hakluyt, Richard, England's debt to, 606
 Hales, Admiral Sir Robert, 286
 — Sir Stephen, 272
 Haley, Roger, 590
 Halfdene, 37
 Halidon Hill, battle of, 232
 Hall, Christopher, 625
 "Hallowing" of the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, 405
 Hallwood, Thomas, 593
 Halse Grenfield, 597
 Halton, Sir Christopher, 628, 630
 Hamble, the, 371 n.
 Hamburger, Cumberland takes a, 526
 Hamburg fly-boats taken, 512
 — ships riddled, 486
 Hampshire, Saxons land in, 35
 Hampton, John, 599
 Hand-guns, 409, 412
Handmaid, 123, 595, 596
 Hanekyn, Peter, 131
 Hangest, Renaud de, 363
 Hansa ships captured by Drake, 492
 Hansa Towns, Communications with the, 395; Elizabeth and the, 440; Trade falls into the hands of the, 348, 352 and n.
 Harbell, Leonard, 596
 Harbours improved, 139
 Harlicamute, 47, 48
 Hardinge, Hugh, 591
Hara, 421, 477
 Hare, William, 592
 Harleur, 281, 287, 361, 373-383, 381; burnt, 363; French fleet assembled at, 361; Henry VII. sails from, 393; Jean de Vienne at, 390; victory off, 375-377
 Harlech besieged by the French, 361
 Harold I., 19, 47
 Harold II., 50-51
 Harold, death of, 86
 — Haraldra, 48, 51
 — of Denmark, 48, 47

- Harold, raid in the Bristol Channel by a son of, 87
- Harold's fleet, reasons for the inaction of, 72, 73
- navy, dispersal of, 78
- Harp*, 421
- Harpeden, Sir John, 283
- Harper, Richard, 592
- William, 526
- Harriet*, 120 n.
- Harris, Captain John, 589
- Harrison, Robert, 594
- Hart*, 420, 477, 595
- William, 590
- Hartlepool, 123, 214: pillaged by Orkney-men, 94
- Harvey (? boatswain of the *Dreadnought*), 589
- Captain Sir William, 520, 529, 575 and n., 589
- Harwich, 228, 229: *Lion* lost off, 422: return of Howard's ships to, 581 and n.
- Hastings, 38
- Hastings, 7, 195, 244, 287, 294: burnt, 287: destroyed, 294: raided, 247, 277: ships furnished by, 131
- Hatches, 340
- Hatorash, 647, 648
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, 623
- Haverfordwest, ships sent to, 221: French descent on, 359
- Håvre, *Le*, 465: delivered to Elizabeth, 476, 477: evacuation of, 477
- Hawes, Ralph, 597
- Hawkes, Martin, 593
- Hawkyns, Captain Richard, 505, 576, 589 and n.
- junior, Captain William, 635
- senior, William, 611
- Sir John, 306, 428, 429, 433, 437 and n., 556, 558, 565, 570, 572, 573, 576 and n., 589, 590: on the coast of Spain, 394: his voyages, 617-620: his last voyage, 504-507: letter to Walsingham, 553: letter to Burgley, 553:
- Sir Richard, 637, 640, 641: his voyage to the South Sea, 641-644
- William, 590
- Hawthorn*, 421
- Hay, David de la, 239
- Hayward, John, 654
- Hazard*, 596
- Heartsease*, 521
- Heartly Ann*, 595
- Heathon*, 597
- Hebrides, Edgar at the, 41
- Hector*, 654, 656
- Hercules*, 592
- Hezham, Admiral Sir Roger, 233
- "Helilot," 338
- Hengest, 34
- Hennebont relieved, 259: the English fleet at, 261
- Henriquez, Don Martin, 619
- Henry* galley, 419
- *Grace à Dieu*, 405-409, 412-414, 420, 422, 434 n., 463, 464
- of Bristol, 446 n.
- of *Hampton*, 419
- Henry I. opposed by Robert, 91: captures him, 91
- Henry II., 98: does homage to France, 161: treaty between Barbarossa and, 97
- Henry III., assists Brittany, 194: invades France, 196
- Henry IV., accession of, 338, 355: in Wales, 364: proceeds against Scotland, 356
- Henry V., accession of, 369
- Henry VI., accession of, 382
- Henry VII. and John Cabot, 608: commercial instincts of, 442: lets out ships to the merchants, 439: ships of, 404
- Henry VIII. accession of, 448: list of ships lost or disposed of under, 419: reorganises the administration of the Navy, 457: death of, 466
- Herbert, Sir Thomas, cited, 307
- Heredia, Captain Pedro de, 576 and n., 577
- Hereford and Essex, Humphrey, Earl of, 255
- Hereford, Humphrey, Earl of, 269
- Heregeld, 17, 19, 47
- Heriot on the use of Rhumbs, 402, 403
- Thomas, 647
- Herle, Admiral Sir Robert, 154, 273, 278
- Hermitage*, 446 n.
- Hernandez, Tomas, treachery of, 637
- Herring fishery of Yarmouth, 314
- Herwick, Abraham van, 524
- Hethe, William, 346
- Hewys, Admiral Thomas de, 217
- "Heyras," 116, 120
- Heyte, Le*, 126
- Hialtland, 329
- Hickman, Eleazar, 593
- "High Admiral," 152, 153
- High treason, piracy to be accounted, 371
- Hind*, 421
- Hingston Down, 36
- Hipparchus: his services to navigation, 339, 400
- Hire by tonnage, 293, 298
- of ships, 345
- vessels, 138, 139
- Hired vessels, payment for, 114
- Hoby, Sir Edward, 589
- Hoc-boats, 144
- Hodges, Richard, 589
- Hog, 120 n.
- Hogue, *La*, 275: burnt, 363
- Holbein, Volpe's picture wrongly ascribed to, 405, 406
- Holigost Spayne*, 347, 380 n.
- Holland, Admiral Sir Robert, 233 and n.
- Holland and Zealand, Elizabeth offered the

- protectorate of, 480, 483; ships purchased from, 372
- Holland, Robert, 591
- Sir Thomas, 269
- Holstock, William, 437 n., 438 n.; as Vice-Admiral, represses piracy, 480, 481
- Holy Cross*, 130, 131
- Holy Ghost*, 431, 340, 346, 347, 371 and n.
- Holy League, the, 418, 450, 458
- Home, tendency to retain the fleet at, 264
- Hondius's chart, 402, 403
- Honfleur, 377; attacked, 289
- Honorius, 33
- Honour of the flag, 119
- Hood's improvements in nautical instruments, 402, 403
- Hooper, Captain, 537
- Hope*, 423, 425, 477, 504, 520 and n., 529, 576, 581 n., 582 n., 588, 589
- Hope*, victualler, 594
- Hope Hawkins*, 577 n., 590
- Hoper, Edward, 346
- Hopewell*, 497, 524, 525, 590
- Hore, Captain, 529; reaches Cape Breton, 610
- Hornsey of Newcastle, 373
- Horologes, 146
- Horsa, 34
- Hoskard, Ralph, 346
- Hostages required by Caesar, 27
- Hotspur operates against Owen Glendower, 357
- Houghton, James, 595
- Houston, James, 595
- Howard, Admiral Lord Thomas, 509, 511, 513, 517, 519, 520, 522, 529
- Charles, 593
- Lord Thomas, 494, 495, 497, 565, 572, 573, 576, 589
- Lord High Admiral, Lord Edward, 449 and n., 450, 453-457
- (later Earl of Surrey), 449, 457 and n., 458, 459
- of Effingham (later Earl of Nottingham), the Lord High Admiral, Charles Lord, 429, 433, 437, 479, 483 and n., 509, 510, 513, 514, 515, 516-518, 552, 556; created Earl of Nottingham, 516; letters to Burghley, 552, 554, 555; letter to Elizabeth, 557; his plan for watching the Channel, 558, 559, 562-585
- Charles, 589
- William Lord, 171, 472
- Sir Edward, agreement concerning the fleet of 1512, 426-428
- Admiral Sir John, senior, 233 and n., 234, 265, 266
- Howlet, John, 615
- Howlett, Richard, 438 n.
- Hoy Bark*, 421
- Hubbard, William, 597
- Hues's 'Tractatus de Globis,' 402, 403
- Hugh Gallant*, 636, 638
- Hugo the Minorite, 322
- "Hulks," 144
- Hull, 234, 294, 302, 358
- Humber, Danes in the, 45, 88; Tostig in the, 54
- Humboldt's opinion of the Madoc story, 394
- Hungerford, Admiral Sir Walter, 375 and n.; revises the 'Label on English Policies,' 359
- Hunsdon, George Carey second Lord, 197
- Huntingdon, Admiral John, Earl of, 394, 375, 379, 380
- Admiral William Clinton, Earl of, 237, 249, 250, 255, 257, 262, 263
- William de, 136
- Hurst, 434
- Huscarsls, 47
- Hythe, 8, 195, 297; remission of service granted to, 357; ships furnished by, 131
- "ICARIA," 327, 332
- Iceland; Irish in, 61-63; English trade with, 316, 322; intercourse with, 396; misconduct of English in, 396, 397; Danish prohibition of trade with, 397; trade with, 439
- Idwal, 304
- Iean Breehva, 306
- Ilfracombe, 198, 630
- "Iofe," 325, 327, 330
- Images of saints in ships, 148, 340
- Immorality in the fleet, 288
- Impressment, 146; of goods, 123; of men, 118, 123; of ships, 112, 123
- India; travel overland to, 651; the first English voyage to, 651, 652; profits of the trade to, 489
- Indulgences captured, 501
- Ingram, David, 620; cited, 306-308
- Instructions to Howard and Essex, Elizabeth's, 511
- Intercourse, "The Great," 416
- International action against pirates, 368
- Invasion threatened from Boulogne and Flanders, 161
- "Inventio Fortunata," 321
- Inverness ships, high repute of, 315
- Iona, pirates at, 44; a missionary centre, 61
- Ipswich, 191, 228; galleys of, 111
- Irandah-al-Kabirah, 65
- Ireland; assists Wales, 50; early intercourse with, 57; galleys of, 111; King's ships in, 124; Saltire of, 162 n.; Conquest of, 162, etc.; John's expedition to, 179; Madoc probably went to, 312; Warbeck in, 417; Spanish designs on, 504, 518, 519; Essex in, 528; Spanish attempt on, 530; apprehensions of a Spanish descent in, 536; the Armada rounds the west coast of, 582, 583
- "Ireland the great," 61
- Irish; good seamen, 58; early voyages, 58, 60, etc.; descents on England, 59; pilgrims to the Orkneys, 61; energy of

- the early, 61: Englishmen enslaved by the, 162: rising suppressed by the Duke of York, 384: Dames reduced by Edgar, 41
- Ironclads, early, 12
- Isabel*, 217
- Isabela*, 598
- Isabella, Queen: her treachery, 226, 227: her banishment, 227: expelled from France, 228: collects transports at Dor-drecht, 228: lands in England, 229: is joined by the people, 229: rewards certain seamen, 229: her influence, 230
- Isabella*, 269
- Isla de Pinos, action off, 507, 508
- "Islands," 326 and n., 327-331
- Islands, voyage to the, 519
- - Barning, 323
- - Skimming, 323
- Italy, early intercourse with, 55: trade falls into the hands of, 348: Hull trades to, 395
- JACKMAN, Charles, 625, 626
- Jacob*, 595
- Jacobi, Peter, 226
- Jaille, De la, 361
- James, brother of Eustace, the Monk, 183
- - King of Aragon, 226
- - Prince of Scots taken by John Prender-gast, 362
- James VI. of Scotland assists against the Spanish Armada, 486
- James*, 224, 346, 347, 362, 419 n.
- - of Hull, 451
- Jane Bonaventure*, 593
- Janssen, Zacharias, of Middelberg, 403
- Japan, William Adams enters the service of, 594
- Jarret, David, 508
- Jason, Captain, 537
- Java, factory established in, 656
- Jay, John, 607
- Jeffrey, Martin, 589
- Jenkinson, voyages of Anthony, 616
- Jennet*, 421, 427
- - *Peruyn*, 419: taken from Andrew Barton, 448, 449
- Jermyn, Thomas, 115 n.
- Jernegan, promptness of Sir Henry, 471
- Jersey, 436: seized by the French, 248: taken by the French, 294: requisitioned, 366: and Guernsey, attacked by Strozzi, are relieved by Wynter, 469
- Jerusalem*, 269, 273
- Jesus*, or *Jesu*, 316, 347, 420
- - of *Lubeck*, 617, 620
- Jewel*, 592
- John, accession of, 111: concludes a truce with France, 179: interdicted and ex-communicated, 180
- John*, 224, 268, 269, 340, 341, 347, 594
- - and *Francis*, 513
- John* of Barnstaple, 597
- - of Chichester, 595
- John of Gamut, 269, 272, 274
- John* of Greenwich, 419, 459
- - of Hampton, 446 n.
- - *Baptist*, 419
- - *Castelyn*, 446 n.
- - *Erangelist*, 353
- - *Hopton*, 419 n.
- - *Trelawney*, 595
- - *Young*, 596
- Johnson, Francis, 596
- - Robert, 596
- Jolliffe, Henry, 526
- Jomas*, 594, 617
- - of Aldborough, 597
- Jones, Captain, 529
- - Rev. Morgan, cited, 308, 309
- Jonette*, 269
- Juan, Captain Marolin de, 571
- Judith*, 619, 620
- Julia*, 598
- Julian, 32
- Juliana*, 600
- Junk, 340
- Juryman of the Court of Admiralty, oath and duties of a, 153
- Jutes, 10
- KARA SEA, Jackman in the, 626
- Karlsefni, voyage of, 63
- Katherine*, or *Katrine*, 224, 253, 268, 341, 342, 346, 347, 397, 593
- - of Guernsey, 356
- - of Ipswich, 596
- - of Salisbury, 379
- - of Weymouth, 595
- - galley, 419
- - *Fortaleza*, 408, 419
- - *Pensance*, 408, 419
- - *Pomegranate*, 405 n., 414
- Katrine Brectton*, 347, 377 n.
- "Keels," 144
- Keeper of the King's ships, 115
- Kemes, John de, 178
- Ken, Thomas le, 131
- Kendall, Abraham, 650, 651
- - Henry de, 235
- Kent raided by the French, 385
- - Edmund, Earl of, Admiral of England, 363, 367 and n., 368
- - Thomas, Earl of, 288
- Kenton, 139
- Keynis, Captain Lawrence, 648, 650
- Keynor, 34
- Kholmogori, 615
- Killingworth, George, 615
- King, Captain, 509
- - John, 592
- - William, 501
- King's Bark*, 404
- "King's Lieutenants," 343
- Kinghorn, 231

- Kingsbridge, 139
 Kingston-upon-Hull, fleet assembled at, 217
 Kinsale, 635; attacked, 291; Spanish land-
 ing at, 530, 635
 Kirkeudbright, 213
 Kirkley, 239
 Kirkwall, fort built at, 329
 Kittey, John, 131
 Knockfergus, 215
 Knollys, Sir Robert, 288
 Knyvett, Sir Thomas, 450 and n., 451, 452
 Kyngeston, John, 316
 Kyriel, Sir Thomas, 381
 Kyriel, Admiral Sir Nicholas, 222 and n.,
 227, 228
- LA HOGUE, Edward III. at, 263; ships
 taken at, 263
 Labienus, 27, 28, 29
 Labrador, the *Sampson* wrecked on, 610
 Laburkin, Sir Stephen de, 251
 Lagos, 208
 Laine, Richard, 589
 Lambert, John, 131
 Lambert, Thomas, 596
 Lamina, 612
 Lancashire, Martin Schwartz lands in, 143
 Lancaster, Henry of, 143
 — Sir James, makes the first English
 voyage to India, 590, 651, 652, 653;
 takes Pernambuco, 653, 654; commands
 the East India Company's first fleet, 654-
 657
 — Henry Earl and Duke of (previously
 Earl of Derby), 269, 271, 273 and n., 275,
 280, 285, 290, 302
 — — — See also Derby, Henry Earl of.
 — Thomas of, opposes Gaveston, 216;
 rebellion of, 223
 Landaff, capture of the Bishop of, 40
 Landais, Pierre, 392, 393
 Landing with permission, 432
 Lane, Ralph, 646; leads a colony to Virginia,
 647
 Langdale, Walter, 269
 Langdon, abbey of, 227
 Langford, John, 591
 Langton, Captain, 598
 — James, 526, 595
 — Sir John de, 211
 Lanterns, 146, 430, 432
 Lanton, Sir John, 283
 Lanzarote plundered by Cumberland, 527
 Large vessels, relative superiority of, 379
Lark, 593
 Larne, Scots land at, 218
 Latimer, William Lord, 288, 295
 Latitude, Behaim's method of discovering
 the, 100
 Launch of a ship, ceremony at the, 312
 "Laurum," 116
Lario, 600
Lawrence, 269
 Laws: see Naval Laws.
 League, Spain supports the, 502
 "Ledovo," 325, 327, 330
 Ledrede, Robert, 275
 Lee, Gilbert, 597
 Legge, Robert, 137 n.
 Leicester, Robert Dudley Earl of, 186, 634,
 635
 Leif Eriksson, voyage of, 63
 Leigh, Charles, 524
 Leith taken, 467; blockade of, 175
 Lemenemouth, 38
 Lemnaüs, 8
 Lemon-juice used as an anti-scorbutic,
 655
 Lemon, Piers, 591
 Lengthening vessels, early example of, 72
 Lemox harness Arran, etc., 460
 Leofric, 17
 Leofwin, son of Godwin, 52
 Leon, Isle of, 513, 514
 — Captain Pedro de, 574
Leonard of Westminster, 217
 Leopold of Austria captures Richard I.,
 174
 "L'Espagnols sur Mer," 270 *et seq.*
Less Bark, 408, 419, 420
 — *Pinnace*, 419
Lesser Barbara, 419
 — *Zabra*, 419
 Letters of marque, 126, 369
 — Patent for discovery, 608, 609
 Levant, commerce with the, 439; Spain
 seizes ships in the, 484; the Levant
 Company, 590, 592, 593, *bis*; the voyage
 to the, 610
 Leveson, Admiral Sir Richard, 512 and n.,
 520 and n., 529, 530, 532-536, 589
 Lewes, sack of, 287
 Ley, John, 526
 Leybourne, Admiral Sir Robert de, 221
 and n., 224, 288
 — Admiral William de, 142, 206 and n.,
 211
 Leyva, Admiral Don Alonso de, 567, 568,
 571, 573, 578, 581, 583, 584
 — Don Pedro de, 485
 "Libel of English Policie," 350, 375 n.,
 377 n., 397
 "Liburna," 25
 Lidgen, John, 596
 Lieux, 206
 Lighthouses, 125
 Lightning, 169
 Lights, precautions as to, 432
 — ships', 125
 Linnasol, Richard I. at, 171
 Lime as a weapon, unslaked, 188
 — pots, 411
 Limehill, 8
 Lincoln, Edward Earl of: see Clinton,
 Edward Lord.
 Linde es, Sir Maubrande, 283

- Lion*, 119, 121, 122, 423, 425, 427, 177, 509, 520, 529, 611, 646; taken from Andrew Barton, 118, 449 and n.; taken by the *Patsy* and lost off Harwich, 467
Lion's Whelp, 423, 512, 537
 — — *Whelp's* longboat in the Orinoco, 649
 Lionel of Antwerp, 274
 Liques, 141
 Lisbon, 209, 533, 537; English fleet at, 166; English misbehaviour at, 166; attacked, 191, 192; Spanish fleet assembled at, 518; Slingsby's actions off, 518; strength of the Armada while at, 569
 Lisle, Sir John de, 224
 — Lord High Admiral John Lord, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466
 Liste, Nicholas, 497 n.
 Lister, Charles, 593
 ——— Christopher, 493
Little Hare, 596
 — *John*, 346, 347, 595
 — *Marie*, 347
 (or *Petite Trinity*), 346, 347
 Littlebury, Admiral Sir Humphrey de, 219
 Lizard, the, 56—562
Lizard, 405, 419
 Llewellyn, death of, 204
 Lloyd, Thomas, 398
 "Llwyd," Dr., quoted, 307
 Loarie, Richard, 590
 Loaysa, Garcia de, 631 and n.
 Lobo, Don Diego, 535
 Lock, John, 611, 612
 Lodships, 114
 "Lodnamagium," 132
 Log and line, invention of the, 402
 Loggin William, 590
 Loire, Cesar victorious at the mouth of the, 24
 Lok, Michael, 624
 Lomh, John, 131
 London, 214, 228; attacked by a fleet, 46; trade of, 99; galleys of, 114; fortified, 246; ships assembled at, 372; ships fitted out against the Armada by the City of, 592
 Long, William, the pirate, 369
Long Serpent, 71
 Long ships, 11 n., 13, 114
 Longespee, William de, Earl of Salisbury, 116
 Longitude, difficulty of ascertaining the, 401
 Looe, 364
 Lord High Admiral, 153, 437
 Lord's Prayer to be sung at night, 432
 Lorinan, a volunteer with Parker, 530, 531
 Loring, Sir Nele, 255 and n., 256
 Lothing and Yrling, 49
 Louis d'Outremer restored, 40
 Lovell, John, fifth Lord, 356
 ——— John, 619
 Lovenex, Roger de, 184
 Lowe, Barnaby, 596
 Lowestoft, 114; Wynter and Seymour quit the fleet off, 580
 Lübeck, convention of Hausa merchants at, 492
 ——— and Genoa, Warwick attacks, 386
 Lucy, Geoffrey de, 116, 118, 179, 180
 ——— Richard de, 161
 Luna, Don Juan de, 491
 "Lunars," 401
 Lundy Island, 198, 229; a pirate stronghold, 314
 Lung, John Le, the pirate, 136
 Luntlowe, Thomas, 592
 Lupicinus, 32
 Lusignan, Guy de, 171
 ——— Hugh de, 176
 Lutterel, Geoffrey de, 116
 Luzon, Don Alonso de, 571, 578
 Lyme, 133, 223
 Lynes, 144
 Lynn, 238, 389; galleys of, 114; and Dartmouth, hostilities between, 124; prosperity of, 314; Nicholas of, 321; Prussian trade with, 395; kidnappers, 397
Mabely, 131
 Mace, William, 648; voyage to Virginia, 532
 Macham, Robert, voyage to Madeira, 317
 Madagascar, Lancaster at, 656
 Maddox, Fenton's chaplain, 635
 Madeira, Robert Macham's voyage to, 317—320
 Madoc, 303, 337; makes a second voyage westward, 304; consideration of his claim to have discovered America, 305 *et seq.*
Madre de Dios, capture of the, 500, 501
 Maeda, Don Luis de, 571
 Maenige, 43
Magdalena, 598
Magdalene, 224
 Magellan Strait, Spanish colony in, 635; Richard Hawkyns in, 641; Drake in, 630
 Magna Charta, 183
 Magnet, the, 128, 147
 Magnetic rock, 322, 323
 "Magni," 129
 Magnus threatens invasion, 48, 49
 — — of Orkney, success of, 90
 Magroth, Mr., 639
Maidenhead, 421
 Maikyn, John, 269
 Maildm, voyage of, 61
 Maine, William I. recovers, 88; William II. pacifies, 90
 Mainwaring, Captain, 530, 532
Maitresse, 463
 Majorcan galleys taken, 226
Makeshift, 591, 423
 Malchién, Roger, 170
 Malcolm of Cumbria, 13
 Maldonado, Don Juan, 571
 Malgo, mythical voyages of, 58 n.

- Malise sperre, 329
Malolcone, Savery de, 193
Malyn, Vice-Admiral, 475
Malyne, 131
Man, Isle of, 215
Mandeville, William de, Earl of Essex, 461, 466
Mandeville's travels, Sir John, 315
Manekyn, John, 131
Manington, Ambrose, 591
Manny, Admiral Sir Walter, 240 and n., 241, 242, 243, 254, 255, 259, 260, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269
Manrique, Don Jorge, 577
Mansell, Sir Robert, 520: defeats Spinola, 536
Maucha, 598
Map of 1448 of the coasts of the British Isles, 606
Mar, Earl of, dispatch of a squadron against the, 365
Marans taken, 301
March, Admiral Edmund, Earl of, 379
Marchant, John, 590
March, Count de la, 196, 360, 361, 362
Marco Polo, 315
"Maræ Clausum" cited, 134
Mare Sugenun, 323
Margaret, 347, 404, 493, 597
— taken from the Scots, 444
— and *Johan*, 526, 565 n., 569, 592
— *Bull*, 446 n.
Margaret of Anjou, treason of, 381, 385, 388, 389, 390
— of Burgundy plots against Henry VII., 442, 447
Margaret of Ipswich, 353
Margarita, island of, 527
Margate, 241, 541-547; French piracies off, 219
María de Aguirre, 598
María Juan, 598
María San Juan, 600
Marie, 346, 347, 354, 377 n., 380 n.
— *Bretton*, 347
— *la Cordeliere*, 450, 451
Marcigobl, 593; of Hull, 596
— victualler, 594
Marinelli, 118
Mariner's compass, 117, 342
Marlots, 269
Marisco, Stephen de, 162
— William de, 144
Marish, Sir William de, 498
Mark Florentine, 449 n.
Markham, William, 628, 635, 636
Marlion, 421
Marocco, Englishmen in, 318
Marque, letters of, 208
Marris, John, 396
Marseilles, Richard I. at, 167
Martel, 361
Martent, 427
Martín García, 353, 404
Martyn, Thomas, 346
Mary, Queen, the fleet at the death of, 422
Mary, 448, 379, 404
Mary I., accession of, 470; death of, 473
Mary and John, 404 n., 408, 419, 427
— *Aslo*, 351
— *Bied*, of Bristol, 446 n.
— *Fortune*, 404, 405, 446 n.
— *George*, 449, 427
— *Gloria*, 419
— *Grace*, 419
— *Guilford*, 419
— *Humberow*, 424
— *Hastings*, 446 n.
— *Honora*, 425 n.
— *Howard*, 419 n.
— *Imperial*, 419
— *James*, 449
— *Lorette*, 419 n.
— *Odierac*, 419
— *Rose*, 408-410, 414, 419, 423, 425, 426, 509, 520, 522, 529, 532, 537, 538, 555 n., 565, 569, 570, 572, 576, 588, 589, 591; loss of the, 463 and n., 464
— *Sparke*, 486
Mary Stuart carried off by Villegagnon, 468
Mary Thomas, 419
— *Tower*, of Bristol, 416 n.
— *W'illoughby*, 420; retaken, 467 n.
— *of Guilford*, 610
Marygold (Drake's), 628, 630
Masham, Thomas, 651
Massacre of the Danes, 43
Masts, 138, 115, 146, 310, 401
Master, the captain in an Elizabethan flag-ship, 429
Master shipwright of the navy, the first, 405
Masters of the Ordnance of the Navy, 438 n.
Matthew, 420, 596
— of Bristol, 608
Maunder, Nicholas, 590
Mawdlyn of Deptford, 419
Maximian, 29-32
Maximus, 32
May, Henry, 652, 653; wrecked at Bermuda, 653
— John, 397
— Captain, 537
Maydeston, Thomas de, 234
Mayflower, 503, 570, 592
— of King's Lynn, 596
Meate, 33
Medina, Admiral Juan Gomez de, 583, 601
— Pedro de, 402
— Sidonia, Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of, 516, 540, 598; instructions to, 541, 542, 543; his views, 544; his letter to Parma, 545; his general orders to the Armada, 548; sails, 549; is disheartened, 549; leaves Corunna, 559; leads the

- Armada, 560-585: his failure and excuses, 583
 Mediterranean pirates, alliance of Carausius with, 30, 31
 — Scots intercourse with the, 93
 — trade with the, 606, 610
 Medrano, Don Diego, 603
 Meek, Thomas, 595
 Megar, William, 595
Megg, 493
 Meldrum, Thomas, 597
 Melendez, Don Pedro, 531 n.
 Mehm, treaty of, 436, 501, 502
 Menai Strait, Madoc said to have defeated the English in the, 308, 313: bridged, 204
 Mendoza, Don Antonio Hurtado de, 602
 Mercator (Gerard Cremer), 402: cited, 321
 Mercator's globe, 401, 402
 — projection, 402
 Mercer, John, 291
 Merchant Adventurers, the Company of, 610, 613
Merchant Royal, 484, 485, 526, 569, 590, 651, 652
 Merchant service and the navy, connection between the, 347, 348, 605
 — ships serving with Drake against the Armada, 590, 591
 Merchants, privileges to Scots, 97: undertake the guard of the sea, 365, 366, 367
 Merchantmen in consort elect their "admiral," 374
 — serving with Howard of Effingham against the Armada, 593
 Mercia, 12
 Mercœur, the Duc de, 502
Mercury, 423
Mer (or *Mere*) *Honour*, 423, 425
Mere Honour, 509, 513 n., 520 and n., 521, 529
 Merelydd ap Rhys on Madoc, 305, 306, 308
 Merick, master of the *Delight*, of Bristol, 638
 Meridian, Wright's method of dividing the, 402
Merlin, 306, 423, 425, 580, 588, 589
 Mersli, John, 346
 Merton, 37
 Messina, Richard I. at, 167, 168
 "*Mela Incognita*," 625, 626
 Mexia, Don Augustin, 573, 578
 Mexican rites, traces of Christian ritual in, 65
 Mexico, Michelson makes prizes in the Gulf of, 493: story of Madoc in, 305, 307, 308: William King's voyage to the Gulf of, 501
 Meyrick, Captain Sir Gelly, 520 and n.
Michael, 222, 269, 411, 624, 625
 — of Dartmouth, 446 n.
 Michell, Robert, 131
 Michelson, William, voyage of, 493, 494
 Micklegarth, 96
 Middelburg, 245, 256
 Middleton, master of the *Moonshine*, 495
 — Gerald, 526
 — Henry, 656
 — John, 654, 656
 — Sir John, 391
 — Thomas, 597
 Miguel Suso, Patax de, 598
 Mildenhall, John, sent envoy to Agra, 654
 "Milesian" Invasion, 59
 Milford, a Scots ship taken near, 357: the French land at, 363
 — Haven, Madoc said to have embarked at, 308: Henry VII. lands at, 393
 Miller, Richard, 595
 Milton, Hasting lands at, 38
Minion, 419, 423, 590, 592, 610, 619, 620
 — of Bristol, 595
 Minions, 410, 411
Minutkin, 423
 Minstrels, 146: on ship-board, 270
 Miran relieves La Rochelle, 479
 Miranda, Count of, 644
 Mitchelburne, Captain Edward, 520
 Mitchell, Richard, 596
 Mobilisation of an Elizabethan fleet, rapid, 528
 Mocha, Isle of, Drake at the, 631: Richard Hawkyns at the, 642
 Modbury, 139
 Mocket, John, 131
 Moleyns, Bishop Adam de, 350 n.
 Monaco, 236 n.
 "Monaco," 330, 331
 Moncada, Don Hugo de, 603
 Monson, Admiral Sir William, 493, 502, 508, 509, 513, 519, 520, 522, 523, 529, 532-538, 589 n.: taken prisoner, 494: quoted, 485: on Drake's expedition to Coruma and the Tagus, 493
 Montacute, Admiral Sir Simon de, 210 and n., 215
 — Admiral Sir William, 216 and n., 239 and n.
 Montalembert, Baron d'Essé, Andre de, 467
 Montalt, Sir Robert de, 225
 Montegauger, William de, 129
 Montfort, Henry de, 201
 — Simon de, 200, 201, 202
 — Sir Simon, 387
 Montgomeri, enterprise of Gabriel de, 479, 480
 Montgomery, Admiral Sir John, 260, 261, 265, 266
 Month, the naval meaning of a, 427 n.
 Monthermer, Sir Thomas de, 255 and n.
 Montnorenici, Anne de, 477
 Montros, Seymour repulsed at, 468
Moon, 421, 423, 425, 520, 581 n., 588, 589
Moonshine, 495, 592, 627
 Moor, Admiral Joos de, 558 n.
 Moore, John, 594

- Moore, Lawrence, 594
 Moors, Portugal assisted against the, 164
 — co-operation against the, 148
Mora, 76-78
 Morgan, Captain, 589
 Morgan, "Sir Piers, 450 n., 451
 Morgan, Thomas, 479
 Morieux, Sir Thomas, 292
 Morkere, 53; William I. crushes, 88
 Morlaas, money of, 129
 Morlaix, 358; sack of, 458; reduced, 503
 Morley, Admiral Sir Robert (Lord Morley),
 246 and n. 247, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255,
 258, 261, 266, 268, 269, 273, 275, 276,
 277
 — Thomas, 438 n.
 — Admiral Thomas Lord, 375, 378
 Morris pikes, 414
 Mortaingé, Sir John, 283
 Mortimer defeated by Edward Bruce, Lord
 Justice, 218
 — Sir John, 379
 — Roger, 229, 230
 — of Wigmore, Roger Lord, 221
 "Mosso," 144
 Mouser, John Le, 131
 Mount's Bay, 620; Spaniards at, 504
 Mountjoy, Charles, Lord, 512 and n., 519,
 520
 Mousehole burnt, 504
 Mouy de la Meilleraye, 462
 Mowbray, John, Lord, 269
 Müller, Johann, 400
 Multon, Sir Thomas de, 202
 Munster, Spain foments the rebellion in,
 482
 Murray repulses Seynour, the Regent, 468
Murrayan, 420
 Musard, 293
 Muscovy (or Russia) Company, the, 615,
 616
 Musgrave, Alexander, 596
 — Edmund, 593
 — John, 596
 — William, 596
 Mutinous conduct of the Cinque Ports'
 ships, 212
 — state of Ethelred's navy, 43
 Mutiny in Lord Fitzwalter's ships, 288
 — of the *Golden Lion*, 439
 Mychell, William, 589
- NAMUR, JOHN, COUNT OF, 270
 — Sir Robert de, 269, 271
 Naples, Richard I. at, 167
Napolitana, 603
 Narbonne, Count of, 284
 Narrow Seas, Scots in the, 356
 Nascellas, 119, 120
 Nash, John, 592
 Nassau, Admiral Justinus van, 558 n., 579 n.
 Nauclerus, 101
 'Nautical Magazine' quoted, 157
- Naval Discipline Act, the preamble to the,
 352, 353
 — Laws, 101, 104-109
 — Law, first code of, 101, 101
 — operations in winter, 453 and n.
 Navarre allied with France, 271
 Navigation laws, early, 100; of Henry VII.,
 439
 Navy and the merchant service, connection
 between the, 347, 348, 474
 — annual grant for the repair of the, 194
 — Board, the, 437, 438
 — extra officers of the, 438
 — in 1402, disorganisation of the, 357
 — lack of national confidence in the, 246
 — Office, 438
 — on the accession of Mary, influence of
 the, 170
 —, parliamentary remonstrances concern-
 ing the, 291, 293
 — reconstitution of the, 353
 — the personal property of the sovereign,
 the, 348
 — under Henry VI., sale of the, 348
 Needle, dipping of the, 323 n.; variation of
 the, 401
 Negroes, ill-treatment of, 486; John Haw-
 kyns trades in, 617, 619
 Nelson quoted, 126
 "Neome," 328 and n.
 Netherlands, Elizabeth assists the, 473, 486;
 ships hired from the, 280; treaty with
 the, 527, 528
 Neutrality, lax observation of, 236
 Neutrals, laws respecting, 113
 Nevill, Ralph Lord, 269
 Neville, Admiral Sir William, 282, 285
 — of Raby, Admiral John Lord, 280, 281
 — or Nevill, Robert de, 201
 New Albion, Drake discovers, 633
 Newark, 443
New Bark, 421
 "New Island," the, 609
 Newcastle, 234, 294, 373
 Newenden, 8
 Newfoundland, 303; discovery of, 609;
 fisheries, the, 644; fleet, design to seize
 the French, 468; Leigh and Van Her-
 wick's expedition to, 524, 525; trade,
 440
 Newhaven, French repulse at, 464; galleys
 of, 114
 Newlyn burnt, 504
 Newport, voyage of Christopher, 501
 Newton ("Admirals' man"), 589
 — Ferrars, 139
 — William, 593
 Niall of the Nine Hostages, 59
Nicholas, 131 (³), 224, 310, 311, 312, 346,
 347, 349, 351
 — of Hampton, 414, 427
 — of Lynn, 321
 — *Red*, 426

- Nicolas on Henry V., 370
 Nieulay, surprise of the Bridge of, 472
Nightingale, 591, 593
 Niño, Don Pedro (later, Conde de Bucha),
 364 and n., 365, 366
 Njörfa Sound, 95
 Noble of Edward III., gold, 145, 351
 Nombre de Dios, 565, 566; Drake captures,
 621
 Nominus, or Nuñez, Pedro, 402
Nouparail, 423, 425, 491 n., 495 n., 509,
 513 n., 520 and n., 529, 532, 534, 536,
 559 n., 569, 572, 576, 581 n., 588, 589
 Nordenskiöld, Baron, on the Behaim Globe,
 401
 Norfolk, Admiral John, first Duke of, 392,
 393
 — Samuel, 590
 — threatened with invasion, 225
 Norman characteristics, 73, 74
 — conquerors, piratical objects of the, 75
 — influence, beginning of, 48
 — on magnetism, 403
 — pirates in the North Sea, 294
 — towns burnt, 247
 — vessels captured, 227
 Normandy, difficulties with, 17; and Anjou,
 Henry III. surrenders his claim to, 200;
 conquered by the French, 176; expedi-
 tion to, 379; pillaged, coast of, 363;
 ravaged, coast of, 264; Shrewsbury's
 expedition to, 384; unofficial hostilities
 with, 204; Wallop's raid on, 457
 Normans prevent fishing in the Channel, 198
 Norreys, Sir John, 490, 491; co-operates
 with Henry IV., 502, 503
 Norris, Admiral of the Fleet, Sir John: his
 picture of the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, 405,
 406
 — Captain, 537
 — Captain John, 427 n.
 Northampton, Earl of, 250, 266
 — William de Bohun, Earl of, 260
 — William, Earl of, 269, 273 and n.
 North-East Passage to India, the, 626
 North Sea, insecurity of the, 239; Norman
 pirates in the, 294
 Northumberland, Admiral Henry, Earl of,
 295
 North-West Passage to India, the, 621-626,
 627, 635
 Norton, Captain, 501
 "Norumbega," 645, 646
 Norway assists France, 209
 — conquered by Canute, 17, 47
 — exercises reprisals against England,
 220
 — intercourse between England and, 314
 — treaty of 1269 with, 128
 — voyages to, 394
 Norwegian descent on the Orkneys, 201
 Norwich, Admiral Sir John, 333, 235, 237,
 238
 Novaya Zemlya, Willoughby at, 614;
 Stephen Borough at, 615
Nuestra Señora de Beçoña, 571 and n.,
 578 n., 599, 602
 — *Castro*, 602
 — *Gracia*, 602
 — *Guadalupe*, 602
 — *del Barrio*, 599
 — *de la Rosa*, 584, 600
 — *del Pilar de Zaragoza*, 602
 — *Puerto*, 602
 — *Rosario*, 423, 564 n., 565 n.,
 568 n., 585 n., 599
 — *Sororro*, 599
 Nuñez, or Nominus, Pedro, 402
 OARS, 144, 146; for use as sweeps, 405
 Oath of a jurymen of the Court of Admiralty,
 153
 "O'Brazil," 398
Occasion, 535 n.
 Ochoa, Domingo, 574
 Ocoa sacked, 501
 O'Connor, Roderick, 163
 Ockley, Dames defeated at, 37
 Odda, 51, 52
 Offa, 12, 35, 66
 Offensive, importance of assuming the, 257
 — advantages of the, 490
 Officers: and men, 342; pay of, 103; titles
 of early, 103; under King John, 115,
 116, 118
 Ojeda, Captain, 566, 568
 Olaf, or Aulaff, 14, 40
 — Tryggvesson, 42
 Oleron, laws of, 106-109, 133; roll of, 106;
 ships furnished by, 124
 O'Neil submits to Edward Bruce, 218
 O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, Rebellion of Hugh,
 530
 Ongressil, Bernard d', 208
 Oppenheim, Mr. M., on the office of Clerk
 of the Ships, 115 n.
 Oquendo, Admiral Miquel de, 567, 568 n.,
 571, 578, 600
 Orford, 114
 Orfordness, 228, 372
 Orinoco, Raleigh ascends the, 649
 Orkney, Earl of, 362
 — freebooters, 94
 — Henry Sinclair, Earl of, 324, 328
 — Sir John Clere defeated in, 473
 Orkneys, a Norseman's base, 69
 — the Armada off the, 582
 Ormond, commander in the Irish Sea, 206
 — Earl of, 381
 Oropesa, Count of, 631
 Ortega, Don Juan de, 624
 Orwell, 238, 241, 366, 378, 461; appre-
 hended descent at, 228, 229; convoys
 assembled at, 237; Edward III. at, 249,
 250; fleet assembled at, 242, 243, 375;
 ships assembled at, 259; threatened, 300

- Osbeck, or Warbeck, Perkin, 116
 Oseley, Nicholas, 589
 Osgod Clapa, 49, 50
 Ostorius Scapula, 29
Ostrich Feather, 421
 Othona, 7
 Oughtred, Sir Anthony, 451
 Owain Gwynedd, 303, 305
 Owen Glendower, 357, 359; assisted by the French, 367; of Cumberland, 10
 Oxenham, John, 621, 623, 631
 Oxford fortified, 289
 — John de Vere, Earl of, 393 and n.
 — Lord High Admiral John, Earl of, 442
 Oyster Point, 309 and n.
- PACIFIC, Drake first sights the, 622; John Oxenham the first Englishman to navigate the, 623
 Padstow, 618
 Painting of a Turkish dromon, 172
 — of Norman ships, 78
 Pallig, 13
 Palner, Captain Sir Henry, 529, 589
 — Henry, 526
 — Sir Henry, 429, 437 n.
 — William, 526
Paloma Blanca, 601
 Pamlico Sound, 647
 Panama, Baskerville attempts, 506; Drake near, 622; Raleigh's plan to seize, 498
Pansy, 592
 — or *Paucy*, 420, 422
 — takes the *Lion*, 467 and n.
 Pantelaria, engagement off, 485
 Papal encouragement of Spain, 487
Paradise, 116
Paragon, 537, 538
 Paredes, Count of, 583
 Paris, Henry V. enters, 382
 Park, Walter atte, 268
 Parker, privateering venture of William, 530-532
 — Sir Nicholas, 522
 — William, 594, 651
 Parkhurst, Anthony, 614
 Parliament, complains of proceedings in the Admiralty Courts, 360; complains of illegal seizure of shipping, 374; ports ordered to build ships without consent of, 257; remonstrates concerning the navy, 291, 293, 295, 298
 Parma, Duke of, co-operation of Medina Sidonia with the, 541-543; sealed instructions for, 544, 545, 546, 553, 551 *et seq.*
 Parmenius, Stephanus, 615
 Particular Service Squadron of 1896, 528
 Pasajes, 645
Pasha, 621
 Passedeve, William, 269
 Passenger-ship, ballad of a fifteenth century, 313, 314
 Passerettes, 119, 120
Passport, 592
 Pate, William, 131 n.
Patrik, 120
Patriuaster, 136
Patreca Zuliga, 603
Paul, 346, 347, 380 n.
 Paul, John, 593
 Paveley, Admiral Sir John, 277
 Pay, 130, 131, 137, 138, 143, 150, 164, 1299, 132; of officers, 103; of officers and men, 124, 426-429; of shipwrights, 115; under Henry III., 122; under King John, 118
 — Harry, 358 and n., 363, 365, 368
 Paying ships' bottoms, 144
 Payne, William, 346
 Peace with France, 190, 226, 115, 446, 459, 466, 469, 475
 — with Scotland, 231
 — with Spain, 273
Pearl, 530, 594
 Pearson, Hugh, 597
 Pechora, Stephen Borough at the mouth of the, 615
 Peckham cited, Sir George, 307
 Pedroso, Bernabé de, 577
 Peck, Edward, 593
Pegasus, 526 and n.
Pelican, 482, 594
 Pembroke, John Earl of, 282 and n.; attempts to relieve La Rochelle, and is taken prisoner, 283
 — Lawrence Earl of, 255
 — Richard de Clare, Earl of, 163
 — Richard Earl of, 185
 — William Earl of, 472
 Peñafiel, the Marquis of, 571, 578, 582
 Penang, Lancaster at, 652
 Penda, 12
 Pendennis Castle, 434
Pendrop, 576 n., 651, 652
 Penhert, Admiral of Brittany, the Sire de, 358 and n.
 Peniche, capture of, 491; Monson taken to, 491
 Pennants, 414
 Penmonceul, 147
 Pensions for wounded, 119
 Pentire, John, 597
 Penzance burnt, 501
 Peon, Fernando de, 283
 Pepys, Samuel, 115 n.; on Volpe's picture at Whitehall, 106
 Pepsian collection, drawing of the *Henry Grauc à Dieu* in the, 405, 407
 Perbroun, Admiral John de, 221 and n., 224, 231, 232
Perecol, 120
 Percy, Admiral Sir Thomas, 291 and n., 292, 293, 296, 298
 — Earl of Worcester, Admiral Sir Thomas, 356
 — Habbakuk, 594

- Perey, Henry Lord, 255, 269
 ——— Sir Henry, 300
 ——— Sir Thomas, 288
Perry Marina, 601
 Perth, defence of, 214, 215; siege of, 231
 Pessoners, 144
 Pet, Arthur, 626
Peter, 346, 347, 380 n., 420, 446 n.
 ——— of Fowey, 427 n.
 ——— *Pomegranate*, 426
 Peter, Count of Brittany, 194
 "Peter's Port," 289
 Peterson, Sir John, 282
 Petilius Cerealis, 29
 Petit, William le, 178
 Peurlach, Georg, 400
 Pevensey, 34; fortified, 278
 ——— Bay, William I. lands in, 85
Philip, La, 144
Philip, 347
 ——— and *Mary*, 423 n., 615
 Philip Augustus, alliance with, 165; attacks Normandy, 175; co-operation of Richard I. with, 104, 105; threatens to invade England, 180
 ——— Count of Flanders, assists Richard I., 169
 ——— Duke of Burgundy, 279
 ——— of Austria, polite detention of, 447
 ——— II. decides to invade England, 540; contemplates the possibility of failure, 544; his motives, 550; England's view of him, 550-552; death of, 528 and n.
 ——— IV. invades Gascony, 205
 ——— of Spain, arrival in England of, 471, 472
Phillip, of Dartmouth, 276
 Phillips, Miles, 620
 Philippa, the Princess, 366
 Philippott, John, patriotism of, 291, 294
 Phonician commerce, 55
Phonix, 421
 Picard fishermen kidnapped by English pirates, 357
 Picardy ravaged, coast of, 360
 Pickards, 141
 "Pieta," 6
 Pietish invaders, 33
 Piets and Scots, 9, 32
 Pierce, William, 593
 Piers, John, 346
 ——— William, 269
 Pigot, Christopher, 592
Pilgrim, 116
 Pilgrims delayed by pirates, 127
 Pilots, 108
 Pimentel, Don Diego, 567, 578, 579
 Pine's engravings of the House of Lords tapestries, 539 n.
 Pinkie Clench, battle of, 467 and n.
 "Pinnaces," 144
Pinnock, 120 n.
 Pinos, action off Isla de, 597, 598
 Piombino, 167
Pippin, 593
 Piracies; of Hugh le Despencer the younger, 223; of Ravenstein, 445; of the Flamands, 469, 470
 Piracy, 124, 136, 394, 395; in the Channel, 357; in the Narrow Seas, 179; off Margate, French, 219; steps for the prevention of, 447; to be accounted high treason, 371
 Pirates, captured by Sir Henry Dudley, 470; defeated off Brittany, English, 358, 359; international action against, 368; in the Mediterranean, English, 94; of Holland and Hainault, 215; of Zealand, 224; threaten Berwick, 219, 220
 Pitched battle between English and Normans in the Channel, 205
 Pitcher, William, 630
 Pitt, Christopher, 595
 Pivots for small arms, 412
Planche, 120 n.
 Plata, Rio de la, 486
Plenty, 120 n., 259, 269
 Ploungastel, 454
 Plymouth, 206, 233, 238, 358, 359, 372, 448, 456, 488, 491, 493, 497, 503, 505, 512, 517 n., 520, 526, 536, 538, 559, 562, 563, 565, 566, 617, 621, 623, 628, 631, 634, 652; burnt, 287; fleet assembled at, 267; ships assembled at, 285; the Black Prince embarks from, 274; vessels burnt at, 247; defences of, 436 and n.; Franco-Spanish attack on, 364; Venetian galley at, 356
 Plympton, 139
 Point de Galle, Lancaster at, 652
 Poitiers, battle of, 275; prisoners taken at, 275
 Poitou ceded to England, 278; expedition to, 196; and Guienne surrendered to France, 227; invaded by the French, 279
 Polain, Baron de la Garde, Capitaine, 462 and n., 463, 464, 465, 479
 Pole, Admiral Sir Michael de la, 286
Pole, of Plymouth, 611
 "Politia Conservativa Maris," De, 350
 Polyves, 146
 Pomponius Mela, Codex of, 401
 Pons, Baron de, 369
 ——— Henry III. at, 196
 Ponthieu ceded to England, 278
 Poole, 133, 223, 225, 371; burnt, 287; Spanish attack on, 365
 ——— William, 590
 Poop, 340
 Pope intervenes between Edward III. and France, the, 263
 Popham, Captain Sir Francis, 650, 651
 ——— John, 563 n.
Popinjay, 423
 Population of England, seafaring, 139
 Porchester, 263

- Porchester Castle used as a prison, 183
 "Portland," 325, 329, 331
 Port Audemer, 289
Porteallis, 121
 Port, Panes successful at, 36
 ——— Desire, 639
 ——— dues, 19
 ——— Famine, 637, 639
 Port-holes, 112
 Portland, 434, 436, 458; action with the
 Armada off, 569-572; French landing at,
 364, 365; ravaged, 374; ravaged by the
 French, 361
 Portlemouth, 139
 Porto Baratto, 167
 Portofino, 167
 Porto Santo pillaged, 508
 Port Pheasant, Drake at, 621
 ——— pieces, 412
 ——— Reeves, 112
 ——— Royal, 308
 Ports illegally ordered to build a ship
 apiece, 257
 ——— lowness of, 463, 464 and n.
 Portsmouth, 122, 124, 175, 176, 194, 195,
 206, 274, 295, 358, 462, 465, 477, 480;
 galleys collected at, 182; ships ordered
 to, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196; fleets as-
 sembled at, 199, 225, 228, 238, 249, 259,
 450; convoys assembled at, 237; raided
 by Béluchet, 239; ships in the Seine,
 296; burnt, 279, 287; destroyed, 294;
 panic at, 277; works at, 380, 381; dock-
 yard, 434 and n.; in 1548, ships at, 420,
 421; French attack on, 462-464
 Ports, quota of ships furnished by the, 212
 and n., 215
 Port St. Julian, Drake at, 629
 Ports, watchfulness at the, 227
 Port tenures, 19 (*see also* Cinque Ports)
 Portugal, Armada of, 598; assisted against
 the Moors, 164; convention with, 155;
 England seeks help from, 365; part of
 Philip's dominions, 490; trade with, 394;
 treaty with, 273
 Portuguese, fights of London ships with the,
 612; Niño protects some ships, 366;
 vessels hired, 391; vessels taken, 486
 Portus Icius, 24, 28
 Portzmoguer, Hervé de, 450 and n., 151,
 152, 453
 Posidonius, 3
Post, 423
 Postranti, Fulk, 167
 "Potent" fleet, influence of a, 380
 "Potential Fleet," the, 181, 189
 ——— neglect of the, 290
 Potts, Anthony, 595
 Poulter, Richard, 589
 Powderham, 439
 Powder, scarcity of, in the English fleet,
 554, 564, 570; preservation of, 430
 Powhatan, 618
 Powel, Dr. David, quoted, 307
 Powys, Lord, 356
 Poynings, Sir Edward, 445 and n., 448
 Poyntz, Anthony, 459 and n.
 Pratte, John, 589
 Prayers, 429, 430
 Prigent de Bidoux, Admiral, 450, 452
 and n., 453, 454, 455, 456, 457
 Prendergast captures James, Prince of Scots,
 John, 362; his piracies, 369
 Prest of Wages, Payment in, 149
 Preston, Captain Sir Amyas, 508, 509, 520,
 530, 575 and n., 589; cruise to the West
 Indies, 651
 Pretty, Francis, 636
 Price of ship's gear, 414
 Prideaux of the *Bark Hawkyus*, 590
 "Primangaius," 453
Primauguet, 453
 "Prinna Vista" of Cabot, the, 608
 "Primoguet," 453
Primrose, 419, 421, 423, 425, 592, 611
 ——— Spanish attack on the, 484
 ——— of Harwich, 596
Princesa, 603
 Priorino, Cape, 559
 Privateering, 126
 Privateers, 198; in the Channel, 476, 477,
 478; measures for their restraint, 477,
 479; licensed, 362; of Holland and Zee-
 land, excesses of, 481
 Prize in the war with Spain, the first, 485
 Prize Money, 117, 118, 123
 Prizes, 150, 152; division of, 427, 428;
 illegal, 177, 178; ransom of, 423; treat-
 ment of, 431, 432; wrongful, 423, 440,
 281, 298, 369, 373
 Probus, 31
 Pronan, Jacob, 284
 Proof charges, 411, 412
Prosperous, 526
 Protestants; in France, Elizabeth assists
 the, 476-481, 483; in Scotland, Elizabeth
 protects the, 475; in the Netherlands,
 Elizabeth aids the, 478, 479, 481, 483
 Provisions, 125, 130; export of, forbidden,
 219
 Prowse, a commander of fireships, 575 n.
Prudence, 530, 592
 Prussians attack English seamen, 370, 371
 Prussia, treaty with, 394, 395
 Psalm to be sung at night, 432
 Ptolemaic system, 400
 Ptolemy's atlas, 401
 Puerto Bello taken by Parker, 531; in-
 tended attack on, 506
 Puerto Caballos plundered, 501
 ——— Reade, Raleigh sent to burn ships at,
 516
 ——— Rico, attack on San Juan de, 505, 506
 — Rico, Cumberland takes San Juan de, 527
 — Santa Maria, women from Cadiz sent
 to, 516

- Pullison, Michael, 597
Punabo, 167
 Pumps, 340
 Puna, Cavendish at, 637, 638
 Punishments, 104, 151, 152, 438, 439
 Punta Delgada, Raleigh at, 523 and n.
 Puntal Road, action in, 514
 — stormed, 515
 Puyano, Peter de, 238, 258
 Pyper, Geoffrey, 126
 Pyrkyne, Myhyll, 589
 Pytheas, 3, 55
- QUARTER, 239, 240
 — refused, 13, 138, 271, 359
 Quarles, James, 438 n., 555 and n.
Queen, 120
 Queenborough, 434
 Quéret, Hugues, 239 n., 241 n., 245, 251, 255
 Quimper reduced, 503
 Quimperlé, Manny's success at, 259
 Quintéro, Cavendish at, 637
Quittance, 423, 425, 502 n., 509, 529, 537, 538
- RABINETS OF ROBINETS, 410, 411
 Radyngton, Admiral Sir John, 296, 297
 Ragusan merchantman taken, 488
 Railstone, Matthew, 596
Rainbow, 423, 425, 487, 502 n., 509, 514 and n., 529, 522, 529, 558, 576, 580, 588, 589
 Raix (or Roze), Jean de, 284, 287
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 486, 498, 499, 509, 511, 513, 514 n., 515, 519-523, 329, 553 n., 590, 645; his Virginia projects, 646-648; his first Guinea voyage, 648-650
 — on sea power, 353
Raleigh, 645
 Raif, 51, 52
 Ram, use of the, 109, 173, 189, 363
 — John, 269
 Ramea Island, quarrel with the French off, 525
 Rannekins, 483
 Rancheria taken, La, 531
 Randolph, Admiral Henry, 232
Rankie, 220
Raphael, 597
 Rashley, John, 597
Rat, 597
Rata Coronada, 571, 583, 600
 Ratcliff, 532
 Ravenser, *see* Ravensrode
 Ravenspur, *see* Ravensrode
 Ravensrode, 140, 234, 302, 389
 Ravenstein, Philip von Kleve, 142, 145, 449
 Rawlins, Robert, 539
 Rawlyn, Henry, 292
 Raymond, Captain George, 576, 589, 651, 652
 Recable, Vice-Admiral Juan Martínez de, 645 and n., 565, 567, 569, 571-573, 578, 581, 582, 584, 598
 Rector, 118, 130, 143
 Reculver, 8
Red Coy, 347
 — *Dragon*, 486
 — *Lion*, 592
 Redling Creek, 404
 Reeves of the ports, 112
Regazona, 571 n., 600
Regent, 404, 405, 412, 426, 446 n., 450, 451
 Regiomontanus, 400
 Regrating, 152
 Regulbium, 8
 Reims, Richard I. at, 165
Release, 592
 "Reliquie Antiqua," ballad quoted from, 343, 344
 Rempsot, Admiral Sir Thomas, 357
Repentance, later the *Dainty* (*q.v.*)
 Reprisals, 220; letters of, 226; against Spain, 485
Repulse, 423, 425, 509, 520 and n., 529, 532, 534 n.
 Retz, Baron de, *see* Amiebaut, Claude d'
 Reuse, James, 621
Revenge, 174, 423, 453, 491 n., 495 and n.; her gallant fight, 495-497, 565, 576, 588, 589
 — of Lyme, 595
 Revolt to Warwick of part of the fleet, 387
 Revolution of 1460, naval character of the, 347
 "Rewards," 424, 426
 Reynell, Captain Carew, 520 and n., 529, 532
 Rhé ravaged by English pirates, 357
 — ravaged, 388
 Rhine, Roman fleet in the mouths of the, 31
 Rhodes, Richard I. at, 170
 Ria, German de la, 122
 Rich, Robert, third Lord, 519
 Richard I., accession of, 101; allies himself with Philip Augustus, 165; at Limasol, 171; engages a Turkish dromon, 172; taken prisoner, 174; death of, 175
 Richard II., accession of, 156, 287
 Richard III., 392, 393
 Richard, bastard of England, 187, 189, 191; created Earl of Cornwall, 191, 196, 199, 200
 — *Duffield*, 594
 — Earl of Cornwall, *see* Richard, bastard of England
 — of London, 116
 Richborough, 8, 57
Riche, 131
 Richeman, William, 346
 Richmond, Henry, Earl of, 392, 393
 — Lord High Admiral, Henry, Duke of, 159, 160
 — John, Earl of, 269, 272
 Ridere, Thomas le, 131

- Rieux, Marshal de, 363
 Rigging, 340
 Riggs, Captain Gregory, 589
 Rio Cestos, 611
 Rio de la Hacha, John Hawkyns at, 618, 619
 Riryd, brother of Madoc, 312
 Risban seized by Coligny, Fort, 472
 Rivers freed from obstructions, 439
 ——— John, 590
 ——— Richard Woodville, Lord, 386; seized by Sir John Dinham, 387
 Roanoke, 646, 617
 Robert, Hamond, 131
 Robertolt, Adam, 126
 Robert opposes William II., 89; accepts service under him, 89; his naval ill-success, 89; opposes Henry I., 90; captured at Tenechbrai, 91
 ——— of Sandwich, 132
 Roberts, a Welsh traveller, 310
 ——— Captain John, 589
 Robertus Ketenensis, travels of, 97
 Robin, 596
 Robynson, William, 316
 Roccafortis, 121 n.
 Roche, Admiral Sir John, 154, 295, 301
 Roche-Guyon, De la, 361
 Rochelle, La, besieged, 282, 364, 370; expeditions to, 177, 178, 182; France seizes, 191; French squadron at, 196; taken, 284; attacked, 301; abortive English attempt on, 362; blockaded, 479; Henry of Navarre besieged in, 483
 Rochester, Dames at, 43
 Rock, John, 590
Rode Coy, 273
 Roe, 486
 Roebuck, 565, 590, 646
 Rogers, Dr. John, 551 n.
 ——— Thomas, 115
 Rognvald, Earl of Orkney, 69
 Rognvald to the Mediterranean, expedition of Earl, 95; he fights with a dromon, 96
 Rojas, Ruy Diaz de, 283
 Roke, William, 266
 Rokesle, Gregory de, 133
 Rokke, John, 269
 Rolf, the Ganger, 69
 Romney, 195; Godwin lands at, 51; burnt by William I., 87; galleys of, 114; ships furnished by, 131
 Roos, 419
 Roos, Admiral Sir John, 146, 147, 149, 237-239
 ——— Thomas, seventh Lord, 356
 ——— William, Lord, 269
 Roozendaal, Captain Louck van, 558 n.
 Rosas, Admiral Roderigo de, 284
 Rose, Edmund, 281
 ——— Richard, 594
 Rose, 130, 131 (2), 224, 253, 595
 ——— or *Roos*, 347
- Rose*, galley, 419
 ——— *in the Sun*, 121
 ——— *Lion*, 592
 ——— *Slip*, 121
 Rother River, 38
 Rotherhithe, Edward III. sails from, 274
 Rottingdean, French success at, 287
 Ronen, 365, 366; French naval yard at, 285
 "Rovers of the sea," 394
 Rowe, 346
 Rowell, 592
 Rowet, supercargo of the *Merchant Royal*, 484
Royal Defence, 526, 592
 ——— *Exchange*, 503
 Royal fish, 139
 ——— standard, 117
 Roze, Jean de: see Raix, Jean de
 Rudder chains, 145
 Rudders, or steering paddles, 102, 138, 141, 145
 Rudeland, Harold II. victorious at, 52
 Russell, John, 137, 589
 Russia, commercial relations with, 615
 ——— Company, the, 440: see also Muscovy Company
 Rust, Robert, 293
 Rut, John, 610
 Rutland, Admiral Edward, Earl of, 154, 304
 ——— Roger, fifth Earl of, 519
 "Ruttier," a, 651
 Rutapia, 8
 Ruysch's map, John, 322, 323, 401
 Rye, 106, 123, 241, 272, 278, 289, 358, 377; galleys of, 114; raided, 247, 277; plundered, 287; ships retake the *Falcon*, 295
 Rylle, River, 289
- SABLOIL, ROBERT DE, 103, 167
Sabyon, 427
 Sachfield, John, 595
 Sackville, Captain, 191 n.
 ——— John, 595
 Sacrilege by Sir John Arundel at Southampton, 292
 Saewulf, voyage of, 93
 Sail stones, 147
 Sailing directions, early book of, 606
 Sailing-needles, 147, 312
 Sails, care of, 130
 Sails, 101, 102, 112, 114, 145, 138; leather, used by Venetians, 4; blues-dyed, used by early Britons, 6, 57; embroidered, 311; striped, 12
 St. Agnes, light at, 125
St. Andrew, 423, 425, 513, 517 n., 520, 521
 St. Andrew's, Strozzi seizes Protestants at, 167
 St. Aubin, Woodville killed at, 143
 St. Bartholomew's, massacre of, 179

- Saint Denis*, 254
 St. Dominic, devotion of Medina Sidonia to, 575
St. Edward, 131 (2)
 St. George, flag of, 103
Saint Georges, 254
 St. Gildas, 194
St. Giles, 131
 St. Helena, Lancaster at, 652
 St. Helen's road, 463
 St. Ives, 651
 St. John, Thomas, Lord, 356
 — William, Lord, 465
 St. Leger, John, 591
 St. Macaire surrenders, 206
 St. Malo, 285; Henry III. lands at, 194; attacked by the Duke of Lancaster, 290; an army convoyed to, 292
St. Mary, 120 n., 131, 208, 268, 269, 273, 369
 St. Mathieu, 358, 358
St. Matthew, 423, 425, 513, 520, 521
 St. Maur, Richard, fifth Lord, 356
 St. Mawes, 434
St. Michael, 217
 St. Michael's, Drake off, 489; Cumberland cuts out vessels at, 493; the *Berengye* founders off, 496; Essex at, 522, 523
 — Mount, Warbeck taken, 447
 St. Nicholas, 239
 St. Ninian's, Seymour repulsed at, 468
 "St. Patrick's Cross," 462 n.
St. Peter, 353
 St. Peter Port burnt, 239
 St. Pol de Léon, 358, 359
 St. Quentin, Edward IV. at, 391
 St. Sebastian, 369
St. Thomas, 131 (3)
 St. Valery, 368
 — en-Caux, William I. at, 81, 85
 St. Vincent, action off, 538; Fenton's action in the Bay of, 635; Cape de Verde captured, 531
 Saints in ships, images of, 340
Saker, 421
 Sakers, 409-411
Salamander, 420, 460 n., 592
 Sale of the navy under Henry VI., 348
 Salekin of Dover, 122
 Sales of shipping, 113
 to foreigners prohibited, 148
 Salisbury, Richard, Earl of, 383
 — William Longespée, Earl of, 181 n., 191, 192
 — success off Danne, the, 181
 — Admiral, William de Montacute, second Earl of, 285, 286 and n., 289, 290
 Salmon, trade in pickled, 395
Salvator, 119 n.
Samuritan, 597
 Sampson, John, 589
Sampson, 597, 610
Sampson, 503, 526
Samuel, 593
Sau Andrés, 513
 — *Antonio de Padua*, 599
 San Domingo, John Hawkyms at, 617
Sau Bartolomé, 599
 — *Bernabé*, 600
 — *Bernardo*, 598
 — *Buenaventura*, 600
 — *Cristóbal*, 568 n., 598, 599
 — *Esteban*, 598, 600
 — *Felipe*, 496, 571, 576 n., 578 n., 579 and n., 585 n., 598; capture of the, 489; at Cadiz, blown up, 515
 — *Felipe y Santiago*, 599
 San Felipe, fort, 513
Sau Francisco, 568 n., 599, 602
 — *Gabriel*, 601
 — *Jerónimo*, 602
 San José, Raleigh captures, 649
Sau Juan, 571 and n., 573, 578, 581, 584
 598 bis, 599 bis
 — *Bautista*, 571, 599 bis
 — *de Caracas*, 602
 — *de Guayana*, 599
 — *de Sicilia*, 571, 573, 577, 578 and n., 579 n., 585 n., 600
 San Juan de Ulloa, Spanish treachery to Hawkyms at, 619, 620
Sau Lorenzo, 575 and n., 577 n., 578 n., 585 n., 603
 San Lucar, galleons at, 533
Sau Luis, 568, 571, 573, 598
 — *Mucos*, 571, 578, 581, 582, 584, 598
 — *Martin*, 559, 571 n., 576 n., 579 n., 598
 — *Matteo*, 568, 571, 576 n., 578 n., 579 and n., 585 n., 598; taken, 513
 — *Mateo y Celadon*, 599
 — *Nicolas Prodanelli*, 600
 — *Pedro*, 599
 — *Mayor*, 601
 — *Menor*, 601
 — *Salvador*, 564 n., 565 n., 568 n., 585 n., 600, 601
 San Sebastian, Peninsula of, 513
 Sancho, King of Majorca, complaint of, 226
 Sanderson, William, 627
 Sandrekyn, Nicholas, 131
 Sandgate, 434
 Sandown, 434
 Sandwich, 28, 124, 185, 193, 195, 208, 212, 240, 241, 244, 268, 274, 276, 284, 363, 390, 480; naval action off, 36; taken by the Danes, 44; Danes at, 45; attacked by Lothing and Yrling, 49; Edward the Confessor's fleets at, 49, 51; galleys of, 111; ships furnished by, 131; burnt, 186 n., 385; threatened, 247; Bayonnais ships at, 248; fleets assembled at, 250, 265, 286, 356, 378; Edward III. lands at, 260, 267; panic at, 277; Warwick surprises Montfort off, 387; Warbeck at, 446

- Sandye, Thomas, 595
 "Sanestol," 325, 330, 331
 Sanitary carefulness of Drake, 628, 629
Sanson, 601
Santa Ana, 571 and n., 572 n., 573, 574, 585 n., 598, 599, 600; taken by Cavendish, 638
 Barbara, 600, 601
 Catalina, 597, 599 bis, 602
 Santa Caterina taken, 492
 Cruz, the Marquis de, 488; proposes an invasion of England, 539, 540
Santa Cruz, 600
 Maria del Juuvel, 599
 de Monte-Mayor, 598
 de Vison, 600
 Santa Marta burnt, 506; sacked by Shirley, 651
Santa Marta, 600
 Santander, 458; Letters of Marque granted against, 369; Spanish fleet assembled at, 361
Santiago, 568, 571, 590 bis, 601
 de Leon sacked by Preston, 651
 — *el Mayor*, 599
 Santiso, Captain Juan Poza de, 579
Santo Andres, 601, 602 bis
São Valentino, 535 n.
 Sark, seized by the French, 183; retaken, *ib.*
 Sarkland, 95
 Sarmiento, Don Pedro, 631, 632, 635, 637; doubts the variation of the Needle, 401
 Sauvage, William le, 126
 Sauvaye, 131
 Savage, John, 211
 Savile, Captain, 502 n.
 Savoisi, Charles de, 361 and n., 365, 366
 Sawkell, Captain, 532
 "Saxon" invaders, 10, 31
 Saxons, 10; in Thanet, 31
 Say, Admiral Sir Geoffrey, 235, 236, 237
 — John, 398
 Scandal-mongering to be punished, 433
 Scarborough, 216; attacked, 291, 294
 — ships taken by John Mercer, 291
 Schuyts, 111, 112
 Schwartz, Martin, landing in Lancashire of, 113
 Scilly, 136
 — — Isles, ships of the Armada driven near the, 549 and n., 557
 Scot, Gilbert, 131
 Scotland invaded by Athelstan, 10; William I. attacks, 88; war with, 163, 167; ships sent to, 213, 215; truce with, 222, 223, 224; English expedition to, 231; peace with, 231; prevention of communication between France and, 280; projected French feint against, 296, 297; Jean de Vieme in, 297; Gloucester leads a fleet against, 391; makes a treaty of reciprocity with Norway, 395; in 1548, ships in, 421; Warbeck in, 446; assisted by France, 467; resumption of war with, 475; Mary Stuart returns to, 476; French evacuation of, 476; alliance with, 486; supposed Spanish designs on, 552
 "Scots" from Iceland visit Alfred, 61
 Scots; raid upon Suffolk, 233; covertly aided by France, Flanders, Holland, Gelderland, and Norway, 237; ship taken, 239, 294; trade in the fourteenth century, decline of, 315; aggression of the, 356; ships taken in the Bristol Channel, 357; privateers, 373; navy under James IV., 111; fleet annihilated, 167; and Piets, 9, 32
 Scott, Captain Thomas, 589
 Walter, 116
Scourge of Malice, 508, 518, 526
Scout, 123, 125, 526, 580, 588, 589
 Scrope, Sir Henry, 272
 Sir William, 272
 of Bolton, Richard, Lord, 272
 Sculls, 116
 Scurvy, ravages of, 611, 629, 630, 640, 655
 Seager, Adam, 530
 Seals of the ports, ancient, 155, 156
 Seamanship, superiority of English over Spanish, 583
 Seamen, provision for disabled, 433; wages of, 117, 202
 Sea power, danger of neglecting the influence of, 90; early illustrations of the influence of, 181, 189; influence of, 230; antiquity of the doctrine of the influence of, 353; Bacon on, 353; Cicero on, 353; Raleigh on, 353; understood by Henry V., the influence of, 380
 Search resisted by Prussians, the right of, 370, 371
Search, 423
 Searche, Tristram, 589
Searchthrift, 615
 Sea-sickness of French prisoners, 373
 Seas, dominion of the, 235, 236
 Secretary of the Admiralty, 115 n.
 Seg-boats, 114
 Segontraci, 28
 Seine, English successes in the, 179; the Cinque Ports fleet victorious in the, 205; French fleet collected in the, 279; blockaded, the, 285; Jean de Vieme retires up the, 290; English ships in the, 296; English fleet in the, 373, 375; French fleet collected in the, 462; partial action in the mouth of the, 462
 Sellen, and early British dominion of the seas, 5; on Edgar's navy, 15
 Selman, Edward, 626
 Seneca's prophecy of the discovery of a new world, 363
 the battle of, 86, 87
 Serocold, John, 592
Serpent, 486

- Serpentines, 401, 410, 411
 "Serpents," 103, 172
 Serrano, Captain, 577
 Seton, William, 232
Seven Stars, 421, 423
 Severn, Harold in the, 51
 Sewell, Captain, 535
 James, 589
 Seymour, Vice-Admiral Lord Henry, 429
 - Lord Henry, 554, 558, 564, 573, 575,
 576, 580, 582 n., 589
 Sir Henry, 461 n.
 of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral,
 Thomas, Lord, 419, 460, 461 and n., 465,
 466, 468, 469.
 Shad, Robert, 346
 Sharpsham, Hannibal, 591
 Sheffield, Captain Edmund Lord, 573, 576,
 589
 H., 589
 Sheppee, William, 131
 Sheppey seized by the Danes, 36
 Sherborne, 137
 Sherburn, Sir Henry, 453, 455, 456
 Sheriff, John, 589
 Sherkin, Cape, 293
 Shields, 228; round bulwarks, 102, 109;
 placed along bulwarks, 147
 Shipman, Robert, 269
 Chaucer's, 156, 157
 Ship-money, early example of, 44
 Ship not to be quitted without leave, 432,
 433
 Shipping arrested, 193, 197, 232, 233, 235,
 236, 242, 245, 249, 258-260, 262, 277,
 279, 281, 286, 293-296, 301, 369, 372,
 379, 381; evil results of, 348; incon-
 venience of premature, 365; surveyed,
 225, 235
 Ships: early British, 2; Venetian, 4, 23;
 Roman, 6; Anglo-Saxon, 11, 19; Danish,
 18; of the time of the Conquest, 71; of
 the twelfth century, size of, 81, 82; mis-
 leading nature of many representations
 of, 83; joint ownership of, 93; of
 Henry II., 100
 Ships of war: hired to the merchants, 120,
 124, 139; pictures of ancient, 138;
 bottoms paid, 141; contributed by Sicily
 to Richard I.'s crusade, 168; furnished
 by the ports, quota of, 212 and n., 215;
 surveying of, 219; drawn ashore to con-
 ceal them from the French, 277; to
 foreigners, prohibition of sale of, 282;
 re-taken at Kinsale, 294; decoration of,
 310; in 1415, disposition of, 372; formal
 manning of, 405; lost or disposed of
 under Henry VIII., 419; of the first year
 of Edward VI., 420, 421; in 1565, 422;
 in 1575, 422; at the death of Queen
 Mary, 422
 "Ships of assise," 411 n.
 Shipwrights, pay of, 145
 Shirley, Sir Anthony: his cruise in the
 West Indies, 651
 - Captain Sir Thomas, 529
 Shoreditch, John de, 139
 Shoreham, Alan de, 116; 123, 175; galleys
 of, 114
 Shot with foreign bodies in centre, 158
 - *Medina Sidonia* falls short of, 561
 571, 578 and n., 582
 Shrewsbury, John Talbot, Earl of, 384
 and n., 385
 Shuta, 364
 Shutes, 144
 Sicily, Edward I. in, 202
 Sick, provision for the, 107; care of the,
 431
 Sickness in the fleet, 456, 465, 492, 538,
 559
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 59
 Sierra Leone, Drake at, 634
 Sighehn, voyage of, 68
 Sigismund, the Emperor, in England, 374,
 377, 378; death of, 351
 Signals, 150, 372, 373 and n., 375, 431
 Silves taken, 166
 Simmel Lambert, imposture of, 412, 443
 Simon, Richard, 442
 Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, Henry, 321, 328
 Siriaco defeated by Leveson, 530
 Skiff, 339
 Skinburrness, 212, 213, 224, 231
 Skinner, John, 594
 "Skrellings," perhaps Eskimos, 64
 Sleatford, John de, 148
 Slings, 109, 412, 417
 Slingsby, Captain, 529, 532
 Francis, 518, 526
 Sluis, 211, 238, 273, 366, 378; Scots cogs
 loading at, 218; French fleet assembled
 at, 247, 250, 251, 296, 299; victory of
 Edward III. off, 252 *et seq.*; ships ob-
 tained from, 276; Spanish fleet at, 288;
 expedition against Ravenstein at, 445
 Smerwick, Spanish landing at, 482
 Smith, Hugh, 626
 Sir Thomas, 654
 Smyth, John, 595
Snake, 131
 Snakes, 101
 Snell, William, 590
 Soldiers: on ship-board placed under Hot-
 spur, 300; disputes between marines
 and, 431
Solomon, 593, 617
 of Aldborough, 591
 Solton, John Le, 131
 Somers, Captain, 529, 530, 532
 George, 508
 Somerset, Edmund Duke of, 384 and n.,
 385
 Henry Beaufort, Duke of, 386, 387
 Admiral John, Earl of, 367 and n.
 Soper, William, 145 n.

- "Sorano," 325, 329, 333
 Sore, Jacques, 479
 Sornecks, 119, 120
 Sosa, Gaspar de, 571
 South Foreland, victory off the, 188-190
 Southampton, 223, 225, 233, 234, 236, 249, 250, 275, 279, 290, 292, 360, 371, 374, 426, 458; Danes defeated at, 36; galleys of, 111; affray with Venetians at, 224; raid upon, 243, 244; Normans at, 246; vessels burnt at, 247; panic at, 277; fortified, 278; fleet assembled at, 279, 375; fleet collected at, 290; Water, fleet assembled in, 286; threatened, 287; French ships seized at, 296; Henry VI. seizes tin at, 348; ships assembled at, 372, 379; carrack founders off, 378; prizes taken to, 380; voyages from, 611; Henry, third Earl of, 549, 520 and n., 522, 523 and n.
 — William Earl of: *see* FitzWilliam, Sir William.
 Southey's opinion of the Madoc story, 304
 Southsea, 434, 436
 Southwell, Captain Sir Robert, 509, 513, 576, 589
 Southwold, Isabella lands near, 229
Soverain, 404, 408, 409, 412, 419, 450, 451
 Sovereignty of the Seas, 119, 140, 144
 Spain, early intercourse with, 55; English squadron driven to, 197; Edward III. driven to, 261; peace with, 273; promises to assist in the blockade of Calais, 360, 364; truce with, 368, 374; trade with, 394; passenger trade to, 395, 396; intercourse with, 440; and Germany, alliance with, 448; reprisals against, 478, 479; significance of the great struggle with, 481, 482; prepares to attack England, 483, 487; negotiations for peace with, 529
 Spaniards defeated off Winchelsea, 270 *et seq.*
 Spanish ships seized, 219
 — and Flamaud convoy defeated by Sir Thomas Percy, 288
 — convoy taken by ships of Bayonne, 289
 — transport taken by Sir Thomas Percy, 293
 — vessels plundered by the French, 364
 invasion, apprehended, 381
 co-operation with England, 473
 coast, Leveson's voyage to the, 533
 Indian taken by Monson, 533
 fleet, Monson engages a, 537
 prisoners, cruelty of the Irish to, 584
Spanish Shallop, 421
Spark, 590
 Spark, William, 590
 Sparke, junior, John, 617
 Sparrow, Francis, 649, 650
 Spars, care of, 430 cost of, 144
Spedwell, 425, 594
 Speke, Sir John, 349
 Spencer, Admiral Sir Hugh, 509
 — Bishop of Norwich, Henry, 295
 Spert, Sir Thomas, 115 n., 138
 Spigurnell, Admiral Sir Ralph, 124, 278 and n.
 Spindelow, Henry, 590
 Spinola, Federigo, 534, 536
 Spit Sand, 163
 "Spojours," 114
Spy, 423, 425, 588, 589
Squirrel, 645
Squyukygy, 224
 Stafford, Edmund, Bishop of Exeter, 136 n.
 — Ralph, Lord, 260, 269
 — Sir Richard, 255
 Stamford Bride, 54
 Starboard, derivation of, 11
 Starkey, William, 656
 Start, the, 565
 — Richard, 594
 Stealing, 430
 Stedman, a Welsh traveller, 309
 Steelyard, restriction of the privileges of the merchants of the, 430; withdrawal of the monopolies of the merchants of the, 643
 Stephen, Hikeman, 266
 Stephen's accession, 91; he remits the Danegeld, 92; recaptures Normandy, 92; dies, 92
 Stern castles, 145
 Stewart, Sir John, 239
 Stirling, English defeated near, 212
 Stockton, Robert de, 103
 Stoke, battle of, 443
 Stonar, 185
 Stones as missiles, 270, 274
 Stoppage of wages for the Chest at Chatham, 433, 434
 Stores, ships', 425, 430; for the English fleet, lack of, 556; on board the Spanish Armada, 560
 Storms, 162, 166, 170, 175, 183, 184, 197, 202, 206, 247, 261, 288, 293, 297, 299, 366, 373, 375, 392, 396, 476, 496, 497, 518, 524, 523, 524, 549, 557, 590, 619, 639, 656
 Stour, the, 28
 Strabo, 3, 55
 Standamore, Thomas de, 131
 Strange, Sir Baldwin le, 379
 Street, George, 594
 Striking an officer, penalty for, 433
 "Strond," right of, 132
 "Strongbow," 163
 Strother of Newcastle, 373
 Strozzi appointed English Consul at Pisa, 398
 — Leo, Prior of Capua, 462, 467, 469
Struer of Daneske, 420
 Studland, 178
 Sturmanni, 118

- Stunmy, Admiral Sir John, 216 and n., 217, 219, 225, 227, 228
 Robert, of Bristol, 606
 Stygcy, John, 269
 Suaco, the bridge at, 514, 515
 Suard, Sir Richard, 187
 Subsidy, naval, 222
Sabth, galley, 421, 422
 "Sudero," Gulf of, 325, 331
 Suetonius Paulinus, 7, 22
 Suffolk raided by the Scots, 233
 Edmund de la Poë, Duke of, 447
 Admiral Robert Ufford, Earl of: *see* Ufford, Admiral Sir Robert
 Admiral William, fourth Earl of, 286, 381, 384
 Suley, Haseuil de, 118
Sun, 421, 423, 425, 589, 588, 589
Suashiu, 627
 Suthorpe, 110
Superlativa, 423
 Sugières, Sir James de, 283
 Surrey, Thomas, Earl of: *see* Howard, Lord Thomas.
 Survey of shipping, 225, 235
 Surveying of ships, 219
 Surveyors of ships, 437 n.
 of victuals, 438 n.
Susan, 484, 596, 654, 656
 Parnell, 593
 Sussex, Prigent raids, 157
 Henry, Earl of, 573
 Sutton, 139
Swallow, 262, 419, 420, 423, 425, 477, 497, 570, 576, 588, 589, 617, 641, 645
Swan, 346, 347, 512, 621, 628
 Swearing, 430
 Swedes defeat Canute, 46
 Sweeps, 405
Sweepstake, 404, 405, 414, 419, 420, 446 n.
 Sweyn Estrithson, 48
 — —, 17, 42, 43, 44, 45
 son of Godwin, 59, 51
 Sweyn's attempt against William I., 87
Swift, 421
Swiftsure, 423, 425, 491 n., 509, 520, 529, 537, 538, 581 n., 588, 589
 Swinburne, Sir Thomas, 363
 Swyn, the, 217 n.
 Sydenham, Humphrey, 599
 Sydney, Sir William, 151 and n., 153, 155, 156

 TABLE BAY, Lancaster at, 655
 Tacks, 340
 Tierra del Fuego, Drake at, 630
 Tagus, Drake at the mouth of the, 488
 Talbot, Sir Richard, 236, 249
Talbot, 423
 Talbot, Gilbert, Lord, 266
 fifth Lord, 378
 — of Brecheud, Sir Gilbert, 372
 Tamar, Dames in the, 43
 Tampico, the *Minion's* people left at, 620.
 Spanish cruelty to them, 620, 621
 Tanworth, Admiral Sir Nicholas, 279, 280
 Tancred, Richard I., quarrels with, 168
 Tapestries formerly in the House of Lords, 539 n.
 Tapiawari, 649, 650
 Taries, 144
 Tarste, Sir Aimery de, 283
 Taunton, Warbeck at, 447
 Taverner of Hull trades to Italy, John, 395
 Tavy, raid by the sons of Harold in the, 87
 Taxes without consent of Parliament, 151
 Tay, the, 231, 232
 Telescope, invention of the, 403
 Tello, Don Rodrigo, 574, 577
 Tenchebrai, Battle of, 91
 Tendrel, 316
 Tenth granted for the navy, a, 249
 volunteered by the spiritual Lords, a, 356
 Tereira, Battle of, 539; gallant action off, 478; Monsoon fails to reach, 538; Spanish treasure ships make for, 522, 523
 Terms, antiquity of some naval, 144
 Ternate, Drake at, 634
 Tewkesbury, Margaret of Anjou defeated at, 390
 Thames, the, blocked, 246; Danes in the, 37; fleet assembled in the, 286; Godwin in the, 52; the French in the, 294
 Thanet garrisoned, 289; raided, 247
 Thénouciel, Admiral Jean de, 450
 Theodosius, 32; victories of, 59
 Thermes, Marsial de, 473
 Thirkill, Laneclot, 608
Thomas, 144, 256, 269, 270, 317
 Beauchamp, 269, 273
 Bonaventure, of Lyme, 597
 Bonaventure, 592
 Drake, 577 n., 590
 Thomas, fifteenth Lord Grey de Wilton, 519 and n.
 John, 609
 of Dover, 116, 119
 of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, Admiral Prince, 362, 369, 370, 382; his difficulties, 363
 Friar, of the Temple, 192
 Stephen, 316
 Thoretton, Leonard, 115 n.
 Thorfinn and Karl of Scots, 69, 70
 Thorne, Dr., 609
 Thornyng, John, 346
 Thorwald, voyage of, 63
 Thours, fall of, 284
 Throckmorton, Captain, 520
 Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, 471 and n.
 "Thule," Irish in, 62
 Thurecytel the Tall, 44, 45
 Thurkel: *see* Thurecytel.
 Thyble, the voyager, 607, 608
 Tiber, Richard I. in the, 167

- Tiberius, 7
Tide, 425
 — at the Battle of Shin, time of high, 253
Tiger, 421, 423, 425, 580, 588, 589, 592, 617, 616
 Tilbury, 434
 "Tile," 397, 398
 Tillers, 145
 Tilton, Dr. W. F., quoted, 561
 Tin trade with Britain, 3, 55
 Tiptoft, Sir Robert, 205 and n.
 Tirington, Rawlin, 396
 Titchfield Abbey, 372
Toby, 484, 592 *bis*.
 Toledo, Don Francisco de, 578 and n., 579, 631, 632
 Tolls suppressed, illegal, 139
 Tomson, Richard, 592
 Tops, fighting, 138
 Topsham, 139, 595
 Top-masts, fixed, 401 n.
 Top-pieces, 409, 412
 Torcy, Admiral de, 287
 Tornellis, Ralph de, 190
 Torres Vedras, 491
 Tostig, son of Godwin, 51-51
 Totness, 139
 Touchet, Sir John, 283
 Toulouse, expedition to, 161
 Touques, 380; Henry IV. at, 346
 Tower Hill, Navy Office on, 438
 — "Meaning of the expression" of the, 148
 "Tower" (of the) the old equivalent of "H.M.S.," 347
 Towerson, William, 612
 Townshend, Sir Roger, 573
 Trade, growth of, 391; of Bristol, 100; of London, 99; Saxon encouragement of, 66; with Germany, 99, 100
 Transport, cost of, 147, 154: *see also* Freight
 Tranton, John, 590
 Treason of Sir Thomas de Turberville, 207, 208
 Treasurers of Marine causes, 437 n.
 Treasure ships, attempt to capture Spanish, 494, 495; attempts upon Spanish, 529; distress caused by non-arrival of Spanish, 494; Essex takes three, 522, 523; Raleigh's attempt upon the, 498
 Treaty; of Cateau Cambresis, 475; of Berwick, 175; of Edinburgh, 476; of Troyes, 477
Tremontana, 423, 425, 509, 520, 529, 580, 588, 589
 Trenchener, Alan, 103; Richard, 103; Alan, junior, 116
Treach-the-Mer, 103
 Tréport burnt, 459; Lisle's success at, 465; Robert's fleet at, 90
 Trevor, Captain, 532, 537
 — John, 437 n.
 Triana, Parker lands at, 531
 Triebs, 145
 "Trin," 328 and n., 331
Trinidad, 599 *bis*, 602
 — *de Scala*, 600
Trinidad, 535 n.
Trinidad Valencera, 571 and n., 578 n., 584, 600
Trinity, 145, 379, 404, 610
 — *Heary*, 420
 Trinity House, 138
Trinity, of Bristol, 414
 — or *Trinity Royal*, 340, 346, 347, 354, 362, 371, 372
 Trinobantes, 28
Triumph, 423, 425, 529, 569, 570, 572 and n., 573 n., 588, 589
 Trivet, Admiral Sir Thomas, 298
 Troughton, Captain, 501, 507, 508, 529
 Troyes, treaty of, 381, 477
 Truce with France, 197, 261, 296, 379, 381, 391; and Spain, 285
 — with Scotland, 222, 223, 221
True Love, 512
 Trumpets on ship-board, 432, 433
 Trumpington, Sir Nicholas, 293
 Trussell, Admiral Sir William, 246 and n., 255, 257, 261
Trust, 423
Tryright, 423
 Tucker, Thomas, 596
 Tunis, international crusade against, 301
 Turberville, Sir Henry de, 187
 — Sir Thomas de, 207, 208
 Turkey Company chartered, the, 611; factories of, 651
 — ships and thirteen Spaniards, fight between, 484, 485
 Turkeyman *Content*, defence of the, 498
 Turkish dromon, Richard I. engages a, 172
 Turner, Captain Jeremy, 589
 — Nicholas, 596
 Turnham, Sir Stephen de, 169-171
 — Stephen de, 103
 Tuscarora Indians alleged to understand Welsh, 309
 Tyne, convoy in the, 460
 Tynemouth, 388
 Tyrone's rebellion, 530
 Ua Corra, voyages of the sons of, 60
 Ufford, Admiral Sir Robert, later Earl of Suffolk, 238 and n., 261, 262, 265, 269
 Ughtred, Admiral Sir Thomas, 235
 Ulfaytel, 44
 Ulster, Sir Richard de Burgh, Earl of, 215, 217, 218
 Umfraville, Sir Gilborn, 378
 — Admiral Sir Robert, 399
Unicorn, 420, 460 n.
 — of Bristol, 595
 — of Dartmouth, 597
 Uniform furnished by the king, 119

- Unity*, 590
 — victualler, 594
 Unofficial war with France, 355, 356
 Unwyne, Stephen, 131
 Upnor Castle, 436
 Urrie, 102
 Ursters or vissers, 101
 Ususmaris, Nicholas, 238, 240, 241
 "Uttangtheff," 132

 VACA, Cabeza de, 282
Vaca, La, 130
 Valdes, Admiral Don Pedro de, 533, 547, 562, 564 n., 565 and n., 567, 568, 569, 574, 599
Valentine, 347
 Valoignes, Admiral Waresius de, 231
 Valois, Charles Count of, 205
 Valparaiso, Richard Hawkyns at, 642
 Vanegas, Don Luis, 579; cited in Chap. XV., *passim*
Vanguard, 423, 502 n., 509, 514, 529, 553 n., 576, 580, 588, 589
 Vanishing island, 60, 63
 Vannes, blockade of, 260; English ships destroyed off, 260
 Vardó, 615
 Variation of the needle observed by Columbus, 401
 Vassall, John, 593
 Vassy, Massacre of, 476
 Vavasour, Captain Sir Thomas, 495 n., 520, 529, 589
 Vayle, John, 589
 Vel, Stephen de, 122
 Venetan ships, 4
 Veneti defeated by Cesar, 4
 Venetian galley detained at Plymouth, 356
 Venezuela, raids on the coast of, 508
Vengour, 453
 Venice, trade with, 224
Ventura, 601
 Vere, Captain Sir Francis, 509 and n., 511, 513-516, 519, 520, 522, 523
 Vernon quoted, 121
 Vesey, Reynold, 596
 Vessels, price of, 130
 Vézelay, Richard I. at, 166
 Vice-admirals, 153
 Victorinus, 33
Victory, 423, 425, 493, 565, 569, 570, 576, 581 n., 588, 589
 "Victual Brothers," the, 352 n.
 Victuals to be economised, 430
 Victuallers serving against the Armada, 591
 Vieille, Jean de, 284 and n., 285-287, 289, 290, 296, 297, 300
 Vigo burnt by Drake, 492
 "Vilet," 289
 Villa Franca taken by Essex, 523
 Villegaignon, Admiral, 468 and n.
 Vincennes, Henry V. dies at, 382

 Vincent of Hastings, 116
 Vinesauf quoted, 167-169, 172
Vineyard, 593
Violet, 593
Virgin God Save Her, 590
 Virgin Islands, Cumberland at the, 527
 Virginia, colonists in, 532; taken possession of, 646; first settlers in, 647
 Vissers or ursters, 101
 Vivero, Don Rodrigo de, 579
Volatilla, 423
 Volcano seen by Zeno, 327, 328, 331
 Volpe's picture of the embarkation of Henry VIII., 405-409
 Voluntary ships serving against the Armada, 597
 Volusenus, Caius, 24
 Vortigern, 33
 Vortimer, 34
 Votat, Admiral Don Alfonso, 298

 WADE reaches Cape Breton, 610
 Wages, of seamen, 108, 147, 150, 202.
 — and pay, 346, 349
 — — unpaid, 358, 361, 363
 Waigatsch Strait explored, 615
 Wake, Lord, 250
 Wabiron, William, trades to the Mediterranean, 395
 Wakeis, Alan le, 119
 — Henry le, 133
 Walerand, Robert, 201 n.
 Wales, operations against, 90; preparations against, 161; John's expedition to, 179, 180; expedition against, 204; threatened by the Count de la Marche, 361
 Wallace, revolt of William, 212
 Wallingford, Treaty of, 92
 Wallop, Sir John, 453 and n., 455-457
 Walmer, 25, 434
 Walney relics, the, 157
 Walsh, Richard, 346
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 552, 553; letter to Howard, 555-559, 563 n., 580
 War with France, 225, 469, 477
 — with Spain, 484
 — unofficial, 355, 356
 Warbeck, imposture of Perkin, 446, 447
 Ward, Captain Ambrose, 589
 — Captain Luke, 589, 635
 — Philip, 530
 — Richard, 609
 Wardon, Gervaise de, 131
 Ware, John de la, 114
 Warfare, methods of naval, 109
 Warham, 133
 — Colin de, 122
Warspite, 423, 425, 509, 520, 521 530, 532, 534 and n.
 Warwick, Ambrose, Earl of, 477
 — Lord High Admiral, Dudley, Earl of, 469
 — Edward Plantagenet, Earl of, 442

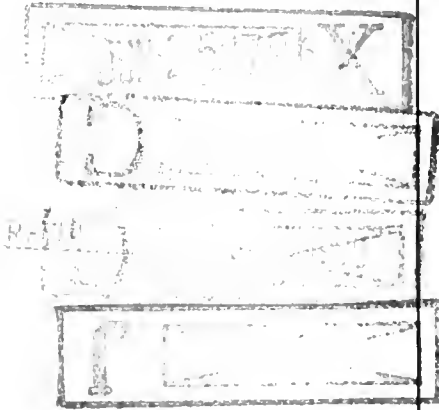
- Warwick, Admiral Richard Neville, Earl of (the "King-maker"), 386-390
 — Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of, 378
 — Admiral Thomas, Earl of, 269, 288, 289, 291
- Wassenaer, Admiral Jan van, 558 n.
- Watch to be set at 8 p.m., 432
- Watches, division into, 432
- Water, Edmund, 115 n.
- Wateville, Hilary de, 177
- Watewang, John de, 234
- Watte, 650
- Watts, John, 526
 — Sir John, 592 *bis*
- Waynepayne, 131
- Weapons of twelfth century, 102
- Weather-gauge, manœuvring for the, 188, 465
- Webb, Nicholas, 591
- Welfare, 268, 269
- Welles, Stephen, 346
- Welsh soldiers in the army of Edward I., 211
 — claim to the discovery of America, 303-314
 — Bible in Pennsylvania, alleged, 310
 — naval operations against the, 357
- Wenstan, John, 131
- Wentworth surrenders Calais, Lord, 472
 — Sir Thomas, 392
- Werner of Nürnberg, 400, 401
- West, Thomas, Lord, 378, 379
 — Indies, Madoc's alleged epitaph in the, 305, 308 · expedition of Preston and Somers to the, 508; Sir Robert Dudley's voyage to the, 650, 651; Preston's and Shirley's cruises to, 651
- Westminster, naval council at, 285
 — Abbey, an asylum, 369
- Weston, Sir Richard, 513
- Westward, discovery to the, 610
- Wexford taken by Fitz Stephen, 163
- Weymouth, 223, 390; Philip of Austria at, 447; a galleon of, 595; Christopher, 595; voyage of George, 532
- Whencing, 34
- Whiddon, Jacob, 590, 648
- Whistle, the Lord High Admiral's, 449, 456
- Whitaker, Sir Simon, 283 n.
- Whitby pillaged by Orkney-men, 94
- White, John, 647
 — Thomas, 501
 — Captain, 529
- White Bear, 423, 425, 487; *see also Bear*.
 — Hind, 594
 — Lion, 581 n., 593
- Whitgarsburh, 35
- Whitsand Bay, Warbeck lands in, 447
- Whyte, Henry, 589
 — (master of the *Bark Talbot*), Henry, 590
- Widrington, Robert, 486
- Wight, Isle of, 263, 274, 279, 372; French raids on, 236, 237; French attempt on, 296; French repulsed from, 360; Spanish landing in, 365; threatened by the Spaniards, 382; D'Annebaut off, 463; French landing in, 461; Medina Sidonia to capture, 543; action with the Armada off, 572-574
- Wiltgils, 34
- Wilcox, Robert, 592
- Wild Man, 638
- Wilde, Jervis, 592
- Wilford, William, 359
- Wilkinson, George, 589
- Wille, John, 269
- Willey, Roger, 131
- William I., 53; prepares to invade England, 76, 81; invasion of, 84; rapacity of, 79; successful in Scotland, 88; fleet of, 76, 88
- William, II., accession of, 89; his naval successes, 89; his energy and bravery, 90
- William, 596
 — (Jackman's ship), 626
 — of Colchester, 596
 — of Plymouth, 597
 — of Rye, 596
 — and John, 484
- William, John, 316
 — of Worcester, 606
 — son of Henry I., death of, 78, 81
- William's claim to the English crown, 75
- Williamson, Edward, 485
- Willibald, voyage of, 66 n.
- Willoughby, Sir Hugh, 613-615, 619
 — de Broke, Robert Lord, 416 n.
 — de Eresby, William, fifth Lord, 356
- Willow charcoal used for making powder, 149
- Wilson, John, 595
- Winchelsea, 106, 123, 125, 196, 211, 244, 270, 274, 284, 289, 368; galleys of, 114; seamen from Ireland ordered to, 186; a fleet assembled at, 226; burnt, 277; French repulse at, 287; taken, 294; ships assembled at, 372
- Winchester, 136; Danes hanged at, 39; threatened, 359
- Windage, 411, 412
- Windham, Thomas, 438 n.; his voyage to Guinea, 470
- Winding-balies, 144
- Wingfield, Captain Sir John, 509, 514, 516
 — John, 597
- Winland, 63, 61 n.
- Winter, naval operations in, 453 and n.
 "Winter's Bark," 630
- Wisby, English factories at, 394
- Wissant, 21, 120, 138, 139, 185, 199, 231, 236
- Wistlegrei, Simon, 122
- Witluss, 512
- Wolf Rock, wreck on the, 231

- Wolreckford, 215
 Women of bad character in the fleet, 288
 — with the Armada, 548 and n.
 Wood, Sir Andrew, of Largs, exploits of, 444
 Woodhouse, Admiral Sir William, 437 n.,
 438 n., 467, 477
 Woodroffe, John, 589
 Woodville, Anthony, 387
 — Edward IV. marries Elizabeth, 388,
 389
 — expedition of Edward Lord, 443, 444
 Woolwich in 1548, ships at, 420
 — dockyard, 434, 437
 Worcester, Earl of, 480
 Workmen impressed, 371
 Worms, marine, 169
 Wounded, pensions for, 119
 Wreck, Law of, 81, 106, 127, 128
 — of the *White Ship*, 81
 Wreckers, 108, 109
 Wright, John, 589
 — Nicholas, 595
 — Edward, of Garveston utilises Mercator's
 theory, 402, 403
 Wrotham, William de, 111, 115
 Wulfnoth, 44
 Wulfstan, voyage of, 67, 68 and n.
 Wymund of Winchelsea, 116
 Wynnall, John, 595
 Wynter, George, 438 n.
 — John, 115 n.
 — Captain John, 520, 589, 628, 630
 — Robert, 629
 — Sir William, 429, 437 and n., 438 n.,
 460 n., 469, 471 and n., 475, 481, 553,
 554, 562, 564, 570, 573, 575, 576 and n.,
 577 n., 580, 589, 591
 — Captain William, junior, 491 n., 504,
 590
 Wyse, John le, 131
- YALMOUTH, 139
 Yalton, William, 346
 Yare, Sweyn in the, 44
 Yarmouth, 8, 114, 125, 132, 136, 184, 214,
 224, 225, 239; galleys of, 114; and the
 Cinque Ports, quarrels between, 202, 211,
 212, 235; fleet assembled at, 231, 242,
 243; Scots ships driven into, 275; herring
 fishery, 314; blockaded in the interests
 of Lady Jane Grey, 470; return of ships
 to, 581; Isle of Wight, John embarks at,
 178; requisitioned, 287
 Yellow Ford, battle of the, 530
 Yonge, John, 575 n., 591
Yonge, fly-boat, 591
 York, the Duke of, protectorate of, 385;
 death of, 387
 — popularity of the house of, 442
 — stormed by the Danes, 88
 Yorke, Sir Edward, 502
 — Captain Gilbert, 504, 625, 626
 Yorkists with the navy, popularity of the,
 348
 Ypres besieged, 295
 Young, John, 595
- ZABRA, meaning of, 419 n.
 Zanzibar, Lancaster at, 652
 Zarate, Don Francisco, 632; his description
 of Drake, 633
 Zealand pirates, 203, 224
 — Armada driven towards, 581
 Zeni, travels of the brothers, 324 *et seq.*
 Zeno, Nicolo, junior, 337 and n.; narrative
 of, 324
 "Zichumi," 324 *et seq.*
 Zierikzee, 373; battle off, 138
 Zúñiga, Don Balthasar de, 567, 582

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